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JOHN E. HODGE

The Chicago Civic Opera Company, Its Rise and Fall

John E. Hodge was graduated from the College of Charleston (South Carolina) in 1959 and is now working toward his doctorate in Latin American history at the University of Illinois. Last year he held a University Fellowship there and is now research assistant to Professor Charles E. Nowell. The production of opera is also a major interest of the author's, and he is working on a history of opera in Chicago from 1929 to 1944.

AFTER REVIEWING the history of opera in Chicago from its real beginning through 1928, Edward C. Moore concluded his *Forty Years of Opera in Chicago* on a note of rosy optimism. Three years after the noted music critic went to press, however, the Chicago Civic Opera Company for which he had predicted a bright future was a thing of the past.

The Chicago Civic Opera Company, as organized in 1922, was actually a continuation of a company which had been operating under different names in Chicago since 1910. When the Manhattan Opera ceased to exist in New York as a competitor to the Metropolitan, its personnel moved as a group to Chicago, where it was set up in 1910 as the Chicago-Philadelphia Grand Opera Company. Later the Philadelphia connection was dropped, and in 1915 the company underwent a thorough reorganization to emerge as the Chicago Opera Association, backed primarily by Harold F. McCormick and Mrs. Edith Rockefeller McCormick. As a result of growing costs and the financially disastrous season of 1921-1922 the McCormicks withdrew their support, and Samuel Insull took charge of opera in Chicago.

The installation of Samuel Insull as director of the Chicago Opera Company pleased the opera's financial backers who had become increasingly alarmed over the disregard of the company's managers for the realities of economics. A period of growing deficits had been topped off in supremely cavalier fashion by the famous soprano Mary Garden, who served as director during the 1921-1922 season in which losses exceeded a million dollars.[1] Nothing better indicates Garden's attitude toward the problems of operatic management than her own words:

> The newspapers said that the company lost one million dollars during the season I was director. I don't know, because I had nothing to do with the business end of it. It was news to me. It may well have happened, but I don't know. I do know we finished the way Mr. McCormick wanted us to finish — in a blaze of glory. That's what he asked for and that's what he got. If it cost a million dollars, I'm sure it was worth it.[2]

The new organization was formed January 11, 1922, and was completely dominated by Samuel Insull.[3] Just how did Insull come to take over the company, and why did he decide to shoulder such a burden? The old board of directors of the Chicago Opera Association was ever on the lookout for a big businessman whose pocketbook could be reached through either his vanity or his civic pride. Just how much of each influenced Insull is impossible to determine, but his own statements and those of men closely connected with the management of the company agree with the views expressed by a man who was vice-president of Commonwealth Edison under Insull and intimately associated with the business operations of the Chicago Civic Opera Company:

> When Mr. Insull took over the responsibility of the Opera

1. The published figure was $1,100,000; Edward C. Moore, *Forty Years of Opera in Chicago* (New York, 1930), 239. The actual amount may have been much larger.

2. Mary Garden and Louis Biancolli, *Mary Garden's Story* (New York, 1951), 178.

3. *Special Announcement to the Guarantors of the Chicago Civic Opera Company, 1922* (Chicago Historical Society).

Mary Garden as she appeared in 1928.

Company, he had at least three objectives in mind. One was to popularize opera and attract more people to performances; another, to educate the average businessman to the realization that opera would help round out the cultural life of the city and be another facet in making Chicago a more cosmopolitan place in which to work and live; and the third, to place the whole opera project under more businesslike management with practical men running its business side rather than being under the overall direction of artists.[4]

Insull was a logical choice for the position since he had been associated with the old company and was growing daily in wealth, prestige, and power. According to Abner Stilwell, Insull did not intend to control the company for more than a year, but once he became involved he found it impossible to get out from under his new responsibility.[5]

Insull's plan for operating an opera company was radically different from the conventional arrangement. All financial

4. John W. Evers, Jr., to the author, May 6, 1960.

5. Author's interview with Abner Stilwell, March 16, 1960. Stilwell was a vice-president of the Continental Bank of Chicago and chairman of the Chicago Music Foundation from 1934 to 1944.

control was taken away from the artists. There was to be no general manager or director; instead, businessmen were to run the company in a businesslike manner. There would be a musical director, to be sure, but he was subordinate to the business office and was expected to tailor his plans accordingly.

In spite of this arrangement, which portended too much control over artistic matters by those unqualified, a very good balance was in fact achieved, largely as a result of the appointment of Giorgio Polacco as musical director. Next to the great Cleofonte Campanini, who before his death had so successfully piloted the company under the McCormick regime, Polacco was the outstanding co-ordinating musical force behind opera in Chicago for the entire period from 1910 to 1932.

In a special meeting of January 21, 1922, the officers of the corporation known as the Civic Opera Association of Chicago agreed to enlarge the board of trustees, and subsequently at a meeting in July passed a resolution to change the name of the corporation to Chicago Civic Opera Company.[6] The new company was made up of a galaxy of great singers, most of whom had been with the Chicago Opera Association for years. Among the new artists Claudia Muzio and Cesare Formichi were the most notable. At the time of this last reorganization the company gave all its performances in the Auditorium on Michigan Avenue, which was to be its home till the 1929-1930 season.

To meet operating costs Insull devised the novel plan of a guaranty fund of $500,000 subscribed before each season. He first called for two thousand guarantors, subscribing for five-year periods; but as time went on the number of guarantors reached 3,200. Contrary to official publications and secondary accounts, the amount pledged never exceeded

6. This information comes from records of the Secretary of State, Corporation Department, Dissolved Corporations file, Box 1603, No. 107288: "Civic Opera Association of Chicago" (MSS, Illinois State Archives, Springfield).

$450,000.[7] Each January during the life of the Chicago Civic Opera Company Insull told the guarantors at a gala performance in their honor just what percentage of their pledges would be required to wipe out the deficit of the preceding season.

In 1927 at the gala performance for the guarantors on January 28 Insull first publicly announced his plan for a new opera house. The plan was startling in originality and boldness; if anyone ever "thought big," it was Sam Insull. He had already made preliminary arrangements to acquire property facing the Chicago River on Wacker Drive between Madison and Washington streets. It was, Insull said, the only location in Chicago near enough to the center of business and transportation to be comparable to the European plazas or squares on which the famous Old World opera houses were located. He advised against erecting a building that would be purely monumental; he proposed a building that would be commercial — not only self-supporting but also profitable. But, he said, such a gigantic task was not worth the effort involved unless the builders of the opera house could look forward to the day when the income from the rented space could bear, at first in part and then entirely, the expenses of the opera. He estimated that construction would cost somewhere between fifteen and sixteen million dollars.[8]

At the next gala for the guarantors, on January 27, 1928, he had more to say about the proposed building. He announced that he had made all the arrangements to obtain the land and that wrecking of the buildings on the site was to begin shortly.

The guarantors must have gone home in a state of shock that night, wondering just what they had become involved

7. John W. Evers, Jr., to the author, May 6, 1960.

8. Moore, *Opera in Chicago,* 317; Samuel Insull, "Speech to the Guarantors," Jan., 1927, printed in *Opera Topics,* March, 1927. This was an official publication of the Chicago Civic Opera; a file is in the Chicago Historical Society.

in. Although the company had been rolling right along through the 1920's, with the guarantors picking up the check for the deficits, those deficits were increasing little by little. Insull believed that the new building would preclude any losses by the company once it was built and paid for. But the major reason he gave for the move was that the Auditorium was inadequate and expensive to rent and maintain. Defenders of the Auditorium stoutly denied this and some continue to do so to this day.

Many opera-lovers were violently loyal to the old Auditorium, which, in the opinion of numerous singers, including Mary Garden and Jean de Reszke, had the finest theater acoustics in the world. Frank Lloyd Wright has been quoted as referring to it as "the greatest room for opera and music in the world."[9] Insull ignored the howls of protest from the defenders of the Auditorium and thereby made many enemies among the social elite of Chicago. He went right ahead with his plans to build what he thought would be the crowning achievement of his remarkable career.

Construction of the gigantic opera house-office building progressed with astonishing speed. Although wrecking crews had not begun to clear the site until February, 1928, the building was finished by November, 1929. Anyone who has seen the impressive tower of steel and concrete on Wacker Drive will agree with Insull that it was the fruit of "industry and unfailing efforts."[10]

The history of the opera company was to be drastically affected by its move into new quarters, and this building is the one remaining tangible monument to its greatness. A statement Insull made on the day of its opening shows just how grandiose and risky the whole undertaking really was:

9. Garden and Biancolli, *Mary Garden's Story,* 246; *High Fidelity Magazine,* Feb., 1960. The Auditorium, designed by Louis Sullivan and one of the great buildings of the world, may be restored if a current drive for $3,000,000 is successful.

10. Samuel Insull, "Statement to the People of Chicago," printed in the *Gala Program* sold at the opening of the Wacker Drive theater, Nov. 4, 1929 (Chicago Historical Society).

"To make tonight's opening possible, good citizens of Chicago have lent their money and their faith and their credit to the extent of $20,000,000."[11] Of this sum one-half had been subscribed in cash. Using his favorite device, Insull had set up a separate corporation, entitled the 20 Wacker Drive Building Corporation, and had sold preferred shares of its stock. In this manner he raised $10,000,000. The remaining $10,000,000 was borrowed from the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company with the proposed building as security for the loan.[12]

The construction corporation was organized as follows: Samuel Insull, president; Stanley Field, vice-president; Samuel Insull, Jr., treasurer; John W. Evers, Jr., secretary; and the directors were Stanley Field, John F. Gilchrist, Ernest R. Graham, Samuel Insull, Samuel Insull, Jr., George F. Mitchell, and Herman Waldeck.[13]

Displaying the technique for which he was famous, Insull created still another new corporation, the Chicago Music Foundation, "to train and educate men and women for the production of opera, and thereby make Chicago a music center worthy of its place in the world's affairs."[14] The foundation was to operate the new opera house.

On opening night Insull stated that absorption of the debt had already begun. A group consisting of Stanley Field, Edward F. Swift, B. A. Eckhart, D. R. McLennan, C. W. Seabury, Ernest Graham, Samuel Insull, Mrs. Insull, and Samuel Insull, Jr., had placed 3,750 shares ($375,000) of preferred stock of the building corporation at the disposal of the trustees of the Chicago Music Foundation and had given another 2,000 shares to the building corporation it-

11. *Ibid.*

12. *Ibid.*

13. *The 20 Wacker Drive Building* (Chicago, n.d.); a copy of this pamphlet, which was published by the building corporation, is in the Chicago Historical Society.

14. Samuel Insull, *Gala Program.* Under the auspices of the foundation, scholarships for study in Italy were made available to young singers from Cook County. For details see *Opera Topics,* May, 1930.

Samuel Insull — without him there would not have been a Chicago Civic Opera Company or a Civic Opera House.
Photo courtesy Chicago Sun-Times.

self.[15] Insull felt that to have begun paying off the debt so soon was "auspicious." No one seems to have thought it the least bit strange to shift so many shares of one company to another when all were headed by the same man and supervised by the same group. In effect, the group of donors had given $575,000 to the combined companies which owed, in all, $20,000,000.

The new building had been designed by Graham, Anderson, Probst and White of Chicago, an architectural firm with a distinguished record of achievement. Its buildings were to be found in most of the major cities of the United States, and among its other notable structures in Chicago are the Merchandise Mart, the Shedd Aquarium, and the Union Station.[16]

The finished Civic Opera House was very much like the structure Insull proposed in 1927. It was as radical a

15. Samuel Insull, *Gala Program.*
16. *The 20 Wacker Drive Building.*

departure from the norm in theater construction as could be imagined, and it attracted worldwide attention. It was a skyscraper within which were located two theaters serviced by the most elaborate machinery available. The building itself weighed 202,000 tons and rose to a height of 550 feet at the top of its tower. The main section of the structure, which faced Wacker Drive, contained forty-two stories; the two wings paralleling Washington and Madison streets had twenty-one stories each. Twenty-six high-speed elevators serviced the office section. Total rentable office space amounted to 739,600 square feet.

The building's two theaters were the enormous opera house and the smaller Civic Theatre. At the entrance to the opera house was a foyer 39 feet high and 119 feet long. Seating capacity was 3,517, and — what was really remarkable — each seat afforded its occupant an unobstructed view of the entire stage. No pillar or post supported the two balconies or the incredibly high ceiling, which spanned a chasm twelve stories high. The proscenium measured 50 feet by 35, and the stage was 75 feet in depth and 120 in width at its maximum dimensions — the widest in the United States. It could be divided into twenty separate sections, which could be raised and lowered individually as much as twelve feet and tilted to a maximum angle of thirty-five degrees. The gridiron was high enough to permit a clear lift of 145 feet.

To the rear of the stage was a giant trap, five feet by seventy-five, that could be raised five feet or lowered thirty-five. Inside the vault to which this trap descended was storage space for two thousand drops. Immense switchboards were located under the stage, where the stagehands had ten feet of working headroom. Overhead, the gridiron's 103 pipes with counterweights could hang drops for as many as ten operas at a time. Three cycloramic frames, a steam curtain, and two fast-working curtains made certain special effects possible. There were sixteen bank-light

frames and nine rows of border lights, each sixteen feet long. These, together with spotlights, provided a maximum illumination of 1,250 kilowatts. The orchestra pit seated 120 musicians. Elevator service and a public address system, by which directors could communicate with every part of the backstage area, helped to reduce the chaos attending the production of grand opera.

The smaller theater had a capacity of 878 in an auditorium 57 feet wide, 80 feet deep, and 47 feet high. The stage of this miniature house was 70 feet wide and 30 feet deep, with a height from stage floor to gridiron of 71½ feet.

Under the massive 20 Wacker Drive Building, twenty-eight feet below the level of the Chicago River, a connection was made with the Chicago Tunnel Company's system by which coal could be delivered to the boiler rooms and the cinders removed without ever being above ground.[17]

The new house opened on November 4, 1929, with an outstanding performance of *Aïda*. The opera and the cast were the same as when Insull first took over the company in 1922. The Radamès of Charles Marshall evoked the inevitable comparisons with Caruso; the Aïda of Rosa Raisa and the Amonasro of Cesare Formichi provided future generations with a standard of comparison. Although some critics did comment on the performance, few in the audience attended the opening with music in mind. All attention was focused on the building itself, on Samuel Insull, and on the bar. All papers reviewing the event concentrated on the fact that the building cost over $20,000,000; then they went on to describe the greatness of the Civic Opera House, the genius of Insull, and, above all, the superiority of

17. *Ibid.*; *The Civic Opera House, The Civic Theatre* (Chicago, n.d.; pamphlet in the Chicago Historical Society); *Scientific American,* Feb., 1930; *Literary Digest,* Nov. 9, 1929; *Musical America,* Nov. 10, 1929; *Musical Digest,* Dec., 1929; author's interview, March 16, 1960, with Alfred Shaw, formerly a draftsman for Graham, Anderson, Probst and White.

No two contemporary descriptions of the house are alike; some sources, for instance, say the building had 44 stories, others say 43. The pamphlet on the Opera House and the Theatre was prepared by the architects, and their figures are the ones given here.

Chicago as a progressive city with a great future.[18]

The performance approached perfection, and all the equipment functioned properly. Giorgio Polacco was quoted as saying that "everything worked without a flaw," and Frederick Stock, conductor of the Chicago Symphony, reported that "it was all simply vibrant with intensity and warmth."[19]

Good wishes poured in from all over the world. Otto H. Kahn, chairman of the board of directors of the Metropolitan Opera in New York and the Metropolitan's general manager, Guilio Gatti-Casazza, sent their congratulations. Similar messages were received from executives of the Boston Opera Association and the Philadelphia Grand Opera Company.

Nearly everyone was favorably impressed with the quality of the auditorium as well as with its size. Most people agreed that the acoustics were wonderful and that there was not a bad seat in the house.[20] Philip King, critic for *Musical Digest,* summed up the majority view when he said, "In regard to acoustics, the house is, on the whole, excellent, making the act of singing as comfortable as it is satisfactory."[21] "WE HAVE EATEN OUR CAKE AND STILL HAVE IT," crowed the *Chicago Evening American* in a full-page tribute. Outstating all its rivals, the *American* acclaimed the building's "magnificence on a mighty scale," "beauty beyond words," and "achievement outstanding even in a city where achievement is less the exception than the rule." Insull was spoken of as a "titan of commerce unafraid to crusade for culture."[22]

The shift from the old Auditorium to this magnificent new showcase injected vitality and enthusiasm into the com-

18. *Chicago Evening American, Chicago Daily News, Chicago Tribune,* Nov. 4 and 5, 1929.

19. *Musical Digest,* Dec., 1929.

20. One reviewer did complain about the acoustics; see *Music News,* Nov. 15, 1929.

21. *Musical Digest,* Dec., 1929.

22. *Chicago Evening American,* Nov. 9, 1929.

pany and drew the eyes of opera-lovers the world over to Chicago. The blazing performance of *Aïda* heralded a season unparalleled for excellence and grandeur in the company's history, and one which hindsight indicates was the summit of its achievement as a cultural institution.[23]

One might imagine that after an investment such as that required for the construction of the Wacker Drive building the management would follow a policy of retrenchment, but Insull and the board seem to have felt that nothing less than a season on the grandest scale could be mounted and offered to the public of Chicago in such a building.

The Chicago Civic Opera had more than its share of really great singers. Rosa Raisa, Claudia Muzio, Tito Schipa, Cesare Formichi, and Vanni-Marcoux gave it an unusually strong Italian wing. All the men in the French wing were not first-class, but the presence of Mary Garden was enough to insure definitive productions of French works, in which she was acknowledged supreme throughout the world. For this season the German wing was below par, a condition remedied before the next season was out. The array of names which have gone down in the operatic hall of fame was backed by a solid phalanx of lesser singers who would have enhanced the rosters of any opera house commanding their services. Several outstanding American singers, among whom were Charles Hackett, Charles Marshall, and Edith Mason, upheld the growing standards and reputation of native artists.[24]

Thirty-two operas were given that year, requiring productions in Italian, French, and German. As only 101 performances were given in Chicago, this meant paying the expenses for musical preparation, working rehearsals, dress rehearsals, costumes, and scenery in order to create produc-

23. The author's conclusions are based on talks with musicians, a study of recordings, and reviews in Chicago newspapers and musical periodicals.

24. For rosters of the company through 1928, see Moore, *Opera in Chicago*. Rosters for the three remaining seasons can be compiled from the *Programs of Opera in Chicago, 1910-31, 1934-41, 1944* (this bound and complete set, so titled, is in the Music Department, Chicago Public Library).

tions which received only a few performances at best, and only one at worst.[25]

By comparison, the Metropolitan, under the shrewd management of Gatti-Casazza, gave ten more operas than the Chicago company, but these were spread over a much longer season during which 180 performances of entire operas were given, not to mention the many Sunday night concerts and galas at which portions of operas were presented.[26] No production was mounted at the Metropolitan for just one performance. While a given opera might get from one to three performances in Chicago, the same opera could count on from three to six in New York, and this comparison does not take into account the Metropolitan's much larger backlog of productions and established traditions of performance.

Every opera company usually strives each year for one or two "artistic successes" — that is, works given at great expense not for the general public but for the musically elite. While such endeavors at the Metropolitan were carefully chosen and sprinkled deftly among the chestnuts of the repertoire, those of the Chicago Civic seem to have been chosen at random (some were incredibly obscure) and were offered one after another in seemingly unending succession.[27] Mary Garden appears to have had considerable authority in the selection of these new pieces, as she was ever in the forefront of those demanding novelty in the repertoire. (In his role of dictator of the company Insull did not determine the repertoire, but in the old opera house had attempted to present works that minimized losses. He kept a large oil painting of Adelina Patti on the wall of his office, according to Mary Garden, to whom he confided that he hated modern opera — her specialty — and added that he liked "the old

25. Samuel Insull, *Report to the Guarantors, 1929-30,* printed in *Opera Topics,* Sept., 1930.

26. William H. Seltsam, ed., *Metropolitan Opera Annals* (New York, 1947), 502-16.

27. The variety and exotic quality of the repertoire more than once caused comment in New York music circles; see *Musical Digest,* Jan., 1932.

Claudia Muzio and Cesare Formichi were two of the great singers who helped to give the Chicago Civic Opera Company an unusually strong Italian wing.
Photos courtesy Chicago Tribune.

things."[28] He frequently stated in public that his preferences were *Aïda* and *Il Trovatore.*)

The 1929-1930 season saw the production of four Wagnerian works which did not greatly please either the critics or the audiences. In general, these performances were not up to par, and their inclusion in the repertoire necessitated hiring singers who could not usually be used in other works.[29]

28. Garden and Biancolli, *Mary Garden's Story,* 245-46.

29. The Chicago Civic Opera had a great deal of trouble over salaries. Singers were hired on a seasonal basis instead of a straight fee per performance; as a result, many singers were well paid who hardly appeared at all. Moore makes several references to this practice. Abner Stilwell also pointed it out.

But the season nevertheless made a big impression on the music world, as well as on Chicago.[30] It was the costliest Insull-managed season up to that time, and the deficit surpassed the $500,000 guaranty fund which was supposed to have been raised.

Not only did the company give more performances in Chicago than ever before, but it also went on an extended tour, performing in Boston, Detroit, Columbus, Louisville, Jackson (Mississippi), New Orleans, Memphis, Shreveport, Dallas, San Antonio, Houston, Tulsa, Lincoln (Nebraska), Minneapolis, Des Moines, Omaha, and Kansas City. Sixteen performances were given in Boston, and from one to four in each of the other cities.

The tour well illustrates the importance of the Chicago Civic Opera Company as a national cultural force — an importance now overlooked or forgotten in view of the Metropolitan's equally impressive accomplishments during this same period and of the continuation of the Metropolitan's career throughout the thirty years following the collapse of the Chicago company. There was something grandly defiant about the 1930 tour, for it was even more lavish than those preceding it. Although Chicago was recognized as a great railroad center and a bastion of economic power, the eastern seaboard had a tendency to smugly patronize the cultural accomplishments of the burgeoning midwestern giant.[31] The tour of the Chicago company was like the building which housed it — a bid for recognition. There is no doubt that the company could have saved an enormous amount of money by abandoning the tour; instead, the tour was extended.

On the surface, the company's situation looked promising. Attendance in the new building had been 306,018, compared with 272,000 the year before in the Auditorium. Total receipts from ticket sales and other income from Chicago

30. *Enciclopedia dello Spettacolo* (Rome, 1956), I: 651.

31. Pierre Key, a New York editor, was a striking exception. See *Musical Digest,* March, 1929 and Jan., 1931.

performances amounted to $1,230,244.67, compared with $948,459.48 in 1928-1929. The average price of seats was slightly higher ($4.02 compared with $3.49) because in the new building there were more seats on the ground floor. The difference in attendance is not quite as striking as it first appears when one considers that four more performances were given than in the last season in the Auditorium. Insull explained the larger deficit by stating that receipts were "entirely satisfactory," but that the increase in revenue was "nullified by the constantly increasing cost of producing grand opera."[32]

This same season saw the inauguration of another costly financial and artistic experiment about which Insull was enthusiastic. This was the production of operettas in the smaller Civic Theatre. The deficit incurred in that program, however, was met by private subscription, and its burden did not fall on the shoulders of the regular guarantors.[33]

The balance sheet for the corporation at the end of the 1929-1930 season, reduced to simple terms, was as follows:

Receipts from ticket sales (including tour)	$ 1,911,837.29
Other income	117,776.10
	$ 2,029,613.39
Expenses, Reserves, etc.	2,618,141.66
Loss	$ 588,528.27[34]

That season represented the ultimate in the artistic efforts of the Chicago Civic Opera; from then on the company was hard pressed to maintain its standards of performance and production. The stock market had crashed less than a week before the opening of that glorious season, presaging hard times for musical institutions the world over and the final demise of the Chicago Civic. Enthusiasm for the new house was still at fever pitch; the deficit was within reasonable

32. Samuel Insull, *Report to the Guarantors, 1929-30.*
33. *Ibid.*
34. *Ibid.*

proportions; there was no thought of cutting the roster or reducing the fees of performers; and plans were laid for what was hoped would be the best season yet.

With the company's second season in its new home, it began to appear, however, that the succession of triumphs enjoyed throughout the previous decade would not be duplicated. The new season, launched on October 27, 1930, was even more varied and novelty-laden. More performances of conventional works were given than in the year before, but there was a record number of real flops (works which had only their extreme novelty to recommend them). Although the depression was already a year old, the Chicago Civic Opera Company was giving no outward signs of distress, and Insull was still riding high as the company embarked on a season which saw the presentation of thirty-one operas, of which a large percentage were new and expensive productions. Thus, the company continued to play the role of the cultural pace-setter in the midst of hard times and refused to fall back on a tight little repertoire of standard works.

Thoughtful opera-goers should have been able to guess that all was not well with their company, however, when twelve scheduled Sunday matinees were canceled. Since tickets for these performances had been sold on a subscription basis long before the cancellation was announced, ticket holders were allowed to exchange their tickets for other performances or for coupon books. (These books, sold at the beginning of each season, contained coupons that could be used to purchase tickets.) Subscribers not satisfied with either of the above alternatives availed themselves of their right to refunds.

The management announced that the inability to fill demands for seats at Saturday matinees in the Auditorium had been the original reason for scheduling Sunday matinees and that since the Saturday requests could be handled in the new theater (with more seats and fewer boxes), the

Sunday performances were no longer necessary or financially practical.[35]

Perhaps Chicago had recovered from its first feeling of awe over the new building, for by 1931 defenders of the Auditorium began to make themselves heard more and more. Many criticisms were leveled at the Wacker Drive theater, and editorials and letters to editors deplored its location and the unattractive wooden ramps around the building that led to its entrances. (Insull had foreseen that the level of Wacker Drive would be raised and that if the opera house was to be at street level in the future, it would have to be considerably above the street in 1929; today the entrances are level and those across the street are sunk in stairwells or have been raised to street level.) Public transportation was poor in Chicago at that time, and many suburban opera-goers resented having to make the long cross-town taxi trip, when in the past they had casually strolled down Michigan Avenue from the Illinois Central Station to the Auditorium.

At the end of the 1930-1931 season critics took note of the improvement that had occurred since opening night and looked forward to an even better season the next year. The company followed its Chicago appearances with a short tour, which included a two-week stay in Boston and several performances in Pittsburgh, Louisville, and Memphis.

The brevity of the tour indicates that the management had begun to economize. Documents pertaining to the financial affairs of the company for this year have not been located,[36] but *Music News* later estimated the deficit of the company at $1,079,473.06.[37] This staggering loss was almost as large as that run up by Mary Garden.

Much of the deficit, above and beyond the guaranty, was

35. *Music News,* Nov. 14, 1930.

36. Jesse D. Scheinman, auditor of the company, estimates that losses for 1930-1931 exceeded $650,000; letter to the author, March 29, 1960. This loss is considerably less than the figure generally accepted.

37. *Music News,* Feb. 9, 1934. The writer did not cite the source for this information.

assumed by Insull himself, although a few others, notably Harold F. McCormick, Charles G. Dawes, and Edward Swift, gave far more than they had pledged.[38]

By the end of this season, certain changes in the policies of the management reflected the effects of the depression. Insull was under heavy attack in the business world, and it is remarkable that he continued to devote so much time and effort to the opera company. In the spring of 1931, artists signing contracts for the coming season were asked to take as much as 20 per cent reductions in their fees, and this cut was extended to all other employees of the building and the company. Some artists who had two-year contracts running through the 1931-1932 season also agreed to take voluntary cuts out of loyalty to the company.[39]

On June 3, 1931, Insull announced that the distinguished retired American singer Herbert Witherspoon would be in charge of opera production in 1931-1932, although the position of artistic director, formerly held by Polacco, had been abolished. At this time Insull also announced the resignation of Clark A. Shaw, who had handled the business end of the company's tours.[40] Mary Garden made it known that she would not appear in 1931-1932, and though few believed she meant it, she kept her word.

The last season of the Chicago Civic Opera was the most conservative in its history. Gone were most of the off-beat novelties that had been one of the organization's outstanding trademarks. The repertoire was smaller than usual (twenty-seven operas), and the nonstandard works scheduled were those which could be given at minimum expense.

With the exception of Mary Garden, most of the great singers who had been associated with the past triumphs of the company were on hand for this twilight season. Claudia Muzio was heard for the last time by Chicagoans in *Aïda, Tosca, I Pagliacci, Cavalleria Rusticana,* and *La Traviata.*

38. Author's interview with Abner Stilwell.
39. *Music News,* Nov. 27, 1931.
40. *Ibid.,* June 12, 1931.

Rosa Raisa still possessed enough of her unrivaled power, brilliance, and tempestuous personality to leave opera-goers with indelible memories of her performances in *Cavalleria Rusticana* and *La Gioconda.* In one unforgettable evening Raisa appeared in *Cavalleria Rusticana* and Muzio followed in *I Pagliacci.*

Still in his prime, with many years at the Metropolitan (1932-1935, 1940-1941) and La Scala ahead of him, Tito Schipa, whose recordings will ever stand as monuments to students of singing, appeared in *La Traviata, Lucia di Lammermoor, Martha, Il Barbiere di Siviglia,* and *Mignon.*

The company's two world-famous baritones, Vanni-Marcoux and Formichi, also appeared that season. Vanni-Marcoux, one of the greatest singing actors of the twentieth century, presented his unforgettable portrait of Scarpia in *Tosca* for the last time in Chicago, and climaxed his long Chicago career with his first attempt at the title role in Moussorgsky's *Boris Godounoff,* which he sang in Italian. Although he was no longer in his prime as a singer, Vanni-Marcoux nevertheless was thought by some critics to have surpassed Chaliapin in the difficult role of the tortured Czar. Cesare Formichi's cannon-like voice soared over rapt audiences in *Aïda, La Gioconda, Rigoletto,* and *Il Trovatore.*

After ninety performances in Chicago the troupe left for Boston, where, after a few appearances before audiences that were smaller than usual, it disbanded, hoping to gather again in Chicago for the winter season of 1932-1933.[41]

An unofficial source sets the loss for this closing year at $872,702.29.[42] While this was less than the loss of 1930-1931, it was still almost $400,000 more than the guaranty fund. The board of trustees decided on January 25, 1932, that no new contracts for the next season would be entered into until the entire $500,000 guaranty had been raised or pledged. Heretofore, the guaranty had been pledged for five-year periods (1922-1927; 1927-1932), and pledge re-

41. *Ibid.,* Feb. 19, 1932.
42. *Ibid.,* Feb. 9, 1934.

Giorgio Polacco, "the co-ordinating musical force behind opera in Chicago . . . from 1910 to 1932."
Photo courtesy Chicago Tribune.

newals were now sought at a time when many of the old guarantors were in personal financial difficulties.

In February, 1932, Insull presented an ultimatum at a meeting of the Friends of Opera. He announced that he had raised $254,000 ($234,000 by another account) and asked the society to raise the remainder. If each of the 1,006 members gave $250, Insull said, all would be well. At this meeting the society gave him a check for $2,000, which was something, but hardly the required $250,000. In an effort to stimulate donations, Insull offered a season subscription to ground-floor seats at $39 to anyone who donated $100. This offer was good for seats normally costing $72.[43]

One of Chicago's two weekly music periodicals was confident that the money would be raised and expressed the conviction that Chicago would "certainly have opera next year."[44] High-pressure salesmanship was applied to all prospective donors by Mrs. Jacob Bauer and Mrs. Charles King Corsant, and by late March $309,050 had been accumulated toward the goal of $500,000. But the *Musical*

43. *Musical Leader,* Feb. 25, 1932; *Musical Courier,* Feb. 16, 1932.
44. *Musical Leader,* Feb. 25, 1932.

Leader's headlines read: on May 19, "Will Chicago Fail to Raise the Guaranty?" on May 26, "Save the Opera!" on June 9, "Grave Danger of Opera Dissolution," and on June 23, "Opera Season Abandoned." By the time the season was canceled, about $350,000 had been raised or pledged.[45] Everything had been tried; James C. Petrillo had even ordered all members of the American Federation of Musicians employed by the company to take a pay cut. Appeals for money had been made for the first time through the press in an attempt to reach people who had never been contacted in the palmy days of the 1920's. In spite of all these efforts the guaranty was never raised.

To place the financial plight of the Chicago Civic Opera in its world setting it should be noted that the spring of 1932 represented the nadir for many of the major musical institutions of the world. Along with the Metropolitan, Covent Garden and the Paris Opéra were in serious straits. The Teatro Colón of Buenos Aires announced that it would not open for a 1932 season, and even fabulous La Scala with its enormous government subsidy ran a deficit of $125,000, which was to result in a managerial shake-up of the world's leading opera house.[46]

As late as April, 1932, however, Pierre Key, editor of *Musical Digest* and a man who kept a sharp eye on musical doings in Chicago, had expressed the conviction that nothing would keep the Chicago Civic Opera from opening in November, because Samuel Insull would not fail, *could* not fail to raise the necessary money. But Samuel Insull did fail. By late 1931 Insull's vast empire of utility and holding companies was subjected to pressures from which it cracked wide open, despite his frantic and costly efforts to hold it together.[47]

45. *Ibid.*, June 16, 1932; *Musical Courier,* March 26, 1932.
46. *Musical Courier,* March 19 and 26; April 23, 1932.
47. The best account of the career of Samuel Insull is that by Forrest McDonald in the *Dictionary of American Biography.* Professor McDonald of Brown University is now preparing a book-length biography of Insull.

Insull resigned from the presidencies of all his corporations (including that of the Chicago Civic Opera Company) in June, 1932, though he admitted later that he had been ruined by April. He met his obligations and avoided personal bankruptcy by turning over to his creditors his entire estate (and his wife's property) and all his personal belongings, down to such articles as a collection of old prints depicting prize-fighting scenes.[48] In June he left for Europe, a tired, beaten man — a pale shadow of the dapper figure who had addressed the guarantors on so many gala evenings in the Auditorium and the Civic Opera House.

As a result of the anti-Insull crusade in Chicago and the general investigation of business practices following the great crash, Insull was brought back for trial in a federal court on the grounds that some of his negotiations were carried on through the mail.[49]

All investors in Insull securities clamored for his blood, but none with more vigor than several of the great artists who had appeared in Chicago. Rosa Raisa declared that she and her husband, the baritone Giacomo Rimini, had invested their entire fortune in Insull enterprises and lost it all. Whenever she had spoken to Insull about realizing some of the profits accruing through the growth of the stocks during the 1920's, he had always put her off, refusing to consider the matter. Giorgio Polacco and his wife, the soprano Edith Mason, claimed that Insull had ruined them; conductors Roberto Moranzoni, Emil Cooper, and Egon Pollak had been caught in the same predicament, along

48. The Civic Opera House was taken over by the Continental Bank of Chicago. The $10,000,000 subscribed privately was totally lost to the investors. The bank eventually sold the building to Kemper's Insurance for $250,000 and a ten-year lease on the auditorium. The mortgage was written down to $5,000,000 between Kemper's and Metropolitan Life, and the sum of $250,000 paid to the bank was used through the Chicago Music Foundation to help defray the costs of opera in Chicago during the years 1934-1944. Author's interview with Abner Stilwell; and "Blocks 51 and 52 of the original city of Chicago," Cook County Records.

49. For an interesting and detailed account of Insull's trial and acquittal see Francis X. Busch, *Guilty or Not Guilty* (Indianapolis and New York, 1952).

The Civic Opera House, left, was built by Samuel Insull to replace the Auditorium, below, as the home of opera in Chicago.
Photos courtesy Chicago Tribune.

with Cesare Formichi. The clever Vanni-Marcoux, however, had made a fortune by selling his Insull securities when they were at their zenith, while others, like Emma Redell, made a point of telling everybody that they had always resisted Insull's blandishments. In an earlier era Feodor Chaliapin had looked with a jaundiced eye on Insull's proposals and put his money into government bonds.[50]

As soon as Samuel Insull resigned as president of the Chicago Civic Opera it ceased to exist. Why did the removal of one man signal the end of a great cultural institution? How much of the blame for the company's failure must Samuel Insull bear? Financially, Insull *was* the company, and his personal collapse was the principal cause of the company's dissolution.

After Insull's fall, many contributors to the guaranty claimed that they had never given willingly to the company

50. "Insull's Artists," *Time Magazine,* Dec. 19, 1932.

but had been forced to pay tribute to Insull in the form of opera donations or suffer the consequences. In the words of his son, "We called in our customers and told them what we needed." A prominent Chicago banker and cohort of Insull's put it more succinctly, "He simply assessed us." Nothing illustrates Insull's fund-raising proclivities more vividly than a story told the writer by a witness to an extraordinary scene in which Insull raised $3,000,000 for a hospital wing in less than an hour. He called together a large group of bankers, heads of corporations, and others of great wealth and assessed each one so many thousands or hundreds of thousands of dollars. In the words of a Chicago businessman, "No one ever had that much power in Chicago." When Samuel Insull told Chicago businessmen to give, they gave.

That Insull managed the company's business well is generally agreed upon, except by those who believe the move to the new building to have been a mistake. When one considers that this move was based on Insull's desire to give the people of Chicago a modern opera house which would be self-supporting by the 1940's, one cannot but feel that he acted in the most far-sighted manner possible within the limits imposed by the fantastic optimism of the 1920's. The Auditorium was and is in a terrible state of repair, while Insull's building now houses the splendid Lyric Opera of Chicago.

Because Insull alienated many prominent socialites when he abandoned the Auditorium, there is a tendency to think that their hostility had something to do with the collapse of the company. Although this highly articulate and influential minority did contribute to the company's difficulties by swaying public opinion against Insull and his management of the opera, the company would no doubt have survived if Insull had not failed.[51]

51. The strength of the feeling on the issue was demonstrated when the Auditorium was reopened after Insull's collapse. See "Auditorium's Revenge," *Time Magazine,* Dec. 26, 1932.

Actually, the company failed in 1932 because the guaranty could not be raised. With Insull gone there was no single individual able to raise the necessary voluntary donations either through personal prestige or by threats of economic retaliation. The only possible source of support, beyond the few very rich men who would give voluntarily, lay in the people of Chicago as a whole.

Where, then, were the people of Chicago with their small contributions? It was the hundreds of thousands of small contributions that made the difference between continued operation or collapse for the Metropolitan in New York. But Chicagoans did not want to sacrifice for the Civic Opera Company, and the company could not make a nationwide appeal through radio as the Metropolitan did. In spite of the company's great past, its glorious tours, and its superb roster the people of Chicago did not care enough about opera in 1932 to make up the $150,000 that was needed to maintain one of the city's few beacons of cultural achievement with a worldwide reputation.

One cannot escape the conclusion that responsibility for an undertaking like the Chicago Civic Opera is too great to be borne by one man or one small group of men. The burden is one which must be spread as widely as possible in order to insure that the disappearance of one man or one group of men will not mean total collapse. In lieu of government subsidy, the people of Chicago or of any city who want a permanent opera company of international caliber will have to support it.

CLARENCE P. McCLELLAND

An Illinois Colonel's Visit To Jeff Davis in 1864

His Contribution To Lincoln's Re-election

Dr. Clarence P. McClelland, president emeritus of MacMurray College, Jacksonville, was a trustee of the Illinois State Historical Library for fifteen years. He was president of the Illinois State Historical Society, 1951-1952, and a director for several terms. This is the fifth article he has written for the Journal.

LOOKING BACK upon the period of our Civil War, we of the North are likely to have the impression that a united Federal Union, in spite of difficulties, moved steadily, consistently forward toward a single goal: the complete conquest of the South. But this was far from true. Even before the war began, the people of the North were deeply divided. This is clearly indicated by the results of the 1860 presidential election. While Lincoln carried Illinois, Indiana, Pennsylvania, and New York, and received their electoral votes, his margin was narrow indeed. In Illinois his opponents Douglas and Bell got 49 per cent of the popular vote; in Indiana 48 per cent; in Pennsylvania 47 per cent; in New York 46 per cent.[1] Once the war began, dissension increased and controversy became more bitter.

Of course, most Republicans felt committed to the war, although many of them thought it unnecessary and wrong. But when the Union forces were unable to put down the

1. Edward Chase Kirkland, *The Peacemakers of 1864* (New York, 1927), 4n.

rebellion in short order, not only criticism but open opposition to the war developed, among Democrats, as a matter of course, and also among many Republicans.

By 1863 people of the North were furiously debating several basic questions, one of which was whether the war ever should have been fought. There were some Democrats who answered "yes," but the great majority said "no." They believed that the South could not be beaten and favored a negotiated peace — almost at any price. A sizable number of Republicans also felt the war was a mistake and that the southern states should have been, and should now be, allowed to go their way. This sentiment was especially strong among the extreme abolitionists. They didn't belong in the Union, was the opinion of Horace Greeley, the emotionally unstable but brilliant editor of the *New York Tribune*.[2] Another question, even more important, was, "What are we fighting for, anyway?" The abolitionists answered, "For the emancipation of the slaves." But Lincoln would not say so. Even the Emancipation Proclamation, issued in January, 1863, was not enough, for Lincoln never made clear whether the proclamation was merely a war measure. Would emancipation be in force after the war? No answer came from the White House.

Then there were others, like Thaddeus Stevens and Ben Wade, who insisted that the supreme aim of the war was to bring the Southern people to their knees and punish them for their rebellion. These men formed a powerful group in Congress, who finally got their way in the carpetbagger period following the war.

Among the people, the so-called Copperheads were numerous and active, especially in the states of the Middle Border. These men wore in the lapels of their coats the head of the Goddess of Liberty, cut out of copper pennies. They were in large part members of secret societies — Knights of the Golden Circle, Order of American Knights,

2. See *ibid.*, 60, and Ida M. Tarbell, *The Life of Abraham Lincoln* (New York, 1924), III: 11.

and Sons of Liberty – which were sympathetic with the South and opposed to the war. They terrorized many communities, even going so far as to murder recruiting officers.[3]

Horace Greeley, who had been a strong supporter of Lincoln at the start, now in the difficult days of 1863, not only looked with complacency upon peace without victory but urged mediation of foreign powers. He went so far as to express his "willingness to submit all questions to the arbitration of Switzerland and to abide by her decision."[4] After the Battle of Chancellorsville in May, 1863, Greeley cried out, "My God! it is horrible – horrible; and to think of it, 130,000 magnificent soldiers so cut to pieces by less than 60,000 half-starved ragamuffins!"[5]

As the time for the national conventions drew near, Republican leaders doubted the wisdom of renominating Lincoln and also the possibility of his re-election. They felt the need for a stronger man.

About this time Supreme Court Justice David Davis wrote, "The politicians in and out of Congress, it is the current belief, would put Mr. Lincoln aside if they dared."[6] Lyman Trumbull, also Lincoln's friend, wrote, "You would be surprised, in talking with public men we meet here, to find how few, when you come to get at their real sentiment, are for Mr. Lincoln's re-election. There is a distrust and fear that he is too undecided and inefficient to put down the rebellion."[7] A reporter of the *Detroit Free Press* said, "Not a single Senator can be named as favorable to Lincoln's renomination for President."[8]

In May, 1863, a certain man, the colonel of the Seventy-third Illinois Regiment of Infantry, who had been reflecting

3. Benjamin P. Thomas, *Abraham Lincoln: A Biography* (New York, 1952), 376-77.

4. Kirkland, *Peacemakers,* 61.

5. In a conversation with James R. Gilmore, reported in Gilmore's *Personal Recollections of Abraham Lincoln and the Civil War* (Boston, 1898), 103.

6. Quoted in Thomas, *Abraham Lincoln,* 410-11.

7. *Ibid.,* 410.

8. *Ibid.,* 411.

on the awfulness of the war, became convinced that he as an individual could do something of importance to help bring the fighting to an end. Because he was an Illinoisan and because he ultimately accomplished something of value to the Union cause, the story of his part in turning the tide in favor of Lincoln is worth remembering.

His name was James Frazier Jaquess. He was born near Evansville, Indiana. His father, a well-to-do farmer, made it possible for him to attend Indiana Asbury, now De Pauw University, at Greencastle, Indiana, from which he was graduated with high honors in 1845. Intending to become a lawyer, he took a law course at Transylvania University and was admitted to the bar. He never practiced, however. Instead, he became a Methodist minister, was admitted to the Illinois Annual Conference and appointed pastor of the Methodist Church of Springfield, where he became acquainted with Lincoln. This was in 1847. In 1848 Jaquess was elected president of the newly established Illinois Conference Female Academy at Jacksonville, which became Illinois Female College, then Illinois Woman's College, and finally MacMurray College. He remained there as president until 1855. During this period he became a close friend of Richard Yates, later governor of Illinois, who lived directly across East State Street from the college.

In 1856 Jaquess became president of another new Methodist educational institution, Chaddock College, in Quincy, Illinois, where he served until 1861. In that year he entered military service, commissioned as a chaplain by Governor Yates. In April, 1862, he was an active participant in the bloody Battle of Shiloh, and there and then he became convinced that being a chaplain was not enough for him. He must bear arms. Somehow he got the idea that he could raise a regiment largely among the Methodists of Illinois. Although recruiting was suspended at the time, Governor Yates secured permission from Lincoln for Jaquess to raise the regiment; and working with his characteristic energy,

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Jaquess succeeded in his endeavor. The various companies came together at Camp Butler early in August, 1862, and were formed into the Seventy-third Regiment of Illinois Infantry Volunteers — the "Preachers' Regiment," it was called. This regiment saw much service, particularly in the Tennessee battles, but the story of its service cannot compare with the remarkable story of Colonel Jaquess's interview with Jefferson Davis in the summer of 1864 and its effect on Lincoln's presidential campaign later that year.[9]

That Jaquess and Lincoln were well acquainted is indicated by the following quotation from an address that Jaquess delivered to his comrades in arms at a reunion of his regiment in Springfield a number of years after the war:

> The mention of Mr. Lincoln's name recalls to my mind an occurance [*sic*] that perhaps I ought to mention. . . . I happen to know something on that subject [that is, Mr. Lincoln's religious sentiments] that very few persons know. My wife, who has been dead nearly two years, was the only witness of what I am going to state to you as having occured [*sic*]. . . . I was standing at the parsonage door one Sunday morning, a beautiful morning in May, when a little boy came up to me and said: "Mr. Lincoln sent me around to see if you was going to preach to-day." Now I had met Mr. Lincoln, but I never thought any more of Abe Lincoln than I did of anyone else. I said to the boy: "You go back and tell Mr. Lincoln that if he will come to church he will see whether I am going to preach or not." The little fellow stood working his fingers and finally said: "Mr. Lincoln told me that he would give me a quarter if I would find out whether you are going to preach." I did not want to rob the little fellow of his income, so I told him to tell Mr. Lincoln that I was going to try to preach. . . . The church happened to be filled that morning. It was a good sized church, but on that day all the seats were filled. I had chosen for my text the words: "Ye must be born again" and during the course of my sermon I laid particular stress on the word "must." Mr. Lincoln came in the church after the services had commenced, and there being no vacant seats, chairs were put in the altar in front of the pulpit and Mr. Lincoln and Governor

9. Biographical information about Jaquess is based on Mary Watters, *The First Hundred Years of MacMurray College* (Springfield, 1947), 42-44, 114-17, and *Dictionary of American Biography*.

French and wife sat in the altar during the entire services, Mr. Lincoln on my left and Governor French on my right, and I noticed that Mr. Lincoln appeared to be deeply interested in the sermon. A few days after that Sunday Mr. Lincoln called on me and informed me that he had been greatly impressed with my remarks on Sunday and that he had come to talk with me further on the matter. I invited him in, and my wife and I talked and prayed with him for hours. Now, I have seen many persons converted; I have seen hundreds brought to Christ, and if ever a person was converted, Abraham Lincoln was converted that night in my house. His wife was a Presbyterian, but from remarks he made to me he could not accept Calvinism. He never joined my church, but I will always believe that since that night Abraham Lincoln lived and died a Christian gentleman."[10]

Jaquess's wartime service for the President came about as a result of the desire of certain prominent Republican leaders to find another candidate for President. After much discussion they decided that Major General William S. Rosecrans, who was in command of the Department of the Cumberland, would be a good selection; and they sent James R. Gilmore, a journalist connected with the *New York Tribune,* to Murfreesboro, Tennessee, to sound the General out. Gilmore spent about three weeks in May, 1863, at the headquarters of the Department of the Cumberland and had a number of conversations with Rosecrans, who in the end flatly refused to consider the proposal that he become the Republican candidate in 1864, saying that his place was at the front. (Rosecrans was a Roman Catholic — a fact that may have influenced his decision not to run.)

During one of their conversations the General showed Gilmore an application for a furlough from one of his colonels, James F. Jaquess. He explained that the Colonel

10. *Minutes of Proceedings of the Eleventh Annual Reunion, Survivors, Seventy-Third Regiment, Illinois Infantry Volunteers . . . 1897,* pp. 30-31. On May 28, 1863, Lincoln wrote General Rosecrans, "I have but a slight personal acquaintance with Col. Jaquess, though I know him very well by character." Roy P. Basler, ed., Marion Dolores Pratt and Lloyd A. Dunlap, asst. eds., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1953), VI: 236.

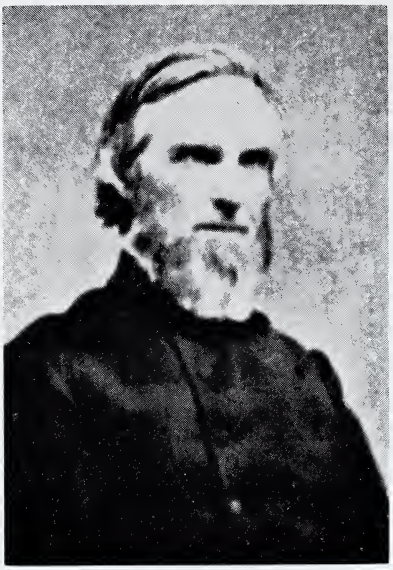
was a prominent Methodist and, although a clergyman, one of his best and bravest colonels.

In his application Jaquess said that he had talked with many Methodists, some of them prominent citizens, in Southern territory occupied by the Union Army and had become convinced that there was a widespread feeling in the South that the war was morally wrong, that it was unchristian for Methodists and other followers of Christ, who were also American citizens, to be killing each other, and that somehow the war should be stopped. Furthermore, he said, he felt sure that he could get through the lines to Richmond and possibly gain an interview with Jefferson Davis. At least he was willing to try, even though the attempt might be dangerous.

General Rosecrans was so impressed by Jaquess's request that he wrote Lincoln about it, sending his letter to Washington by Gilmore, who gave it to the President with a full explanation. Since he knew Jaquess and had confidence in him, the President decided to allow him to make the trip but impressed upon him that he was on his own and must make no promises. Jaquess got through the lines to Petersburg, Virginia, and remained there for three weeks, making many contacts with prominent unofficial men. He found all of them sick of the war (which they despaired of winning) and willing to give up slavery. Jaquess returned safely to Baltimore, sent a written report to Lincoln on July 22, 1863, and returned to his regiment. It developed later that Lincoln never received the report.[11]

Toward the end of that year things looked better, militarily, for the Union cause. The battles of Gettysburg, Chickamauga, Lookout Mountain, and Missionary Ridge had boosted morale in the North, although at Gettysburg, Lee's army had been neither captured nor broken up. By the spring of 1864, however, the outlook was dark again. The war still dragged on. Although Grant was making

11. The foregoing account is from Gilmore's *Personal Recollections*, 100-166. See also *Collected Works*, VI: 225, 236, 329.



James Frazier Jaquess — a contemporary said of his appearance, "Few men carry more character in their faces . . . . with classic forehead, large blue eyes . . . hair and neatly trimmed beard both bearing 'the silver livery of advised age,' firm, conscientious and dauntless."

some headway in his march toward Richmond, his losses were heavy. "Butcher" was a name commonly given him. "There is intense anxiety in relation to the Army of the Potomac," Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles wrote in his diary on June 2. "The immense slaughter of our brave men chills and sickens us all. The hospitals are crowded with the thousands of mutilated and dying heroes who have poured out their blood for the Union cause."[12] During the month ending June 12, Grant's losses were some 60,000 compared with Lee's 25,000 to 30,000.[13] After that month of carnage in the battles of the Wilderness and Spotsylvania, Grant was no nearer Richmond than McClellan had been in 1862, and the Republican convention was only a week away.

Lincoln nevertheless received the party's nomination on June 8. The strong minority of Republicans opposed to him had held a separate convention in Cleveland, in advance of the regular convention, and nominated John Charles Frémont. The Democratic nominee, chosen on August 31,

12. *Diary of Gideon Welles* (Boston and New York, 1911), II: 44.
13. Richard B. Morris, ed., *Encyclopedia of American History* (New York, 1953), 243.

was General George B. McClellan. The Democrats adopted a plank in their platform calling for immediate cessation of hostilities and the restoration of peace.

Everywhere the clamor for peace was increasing. Serious doubts that Lincoln could be re-elected were still entertained by the leaders of his party, who in midsummer actually started a movement to force Lincoln to withdraw as a candidate. Among those who favored this action were Horace Greeley; Schuyler Colfax, speaker of the House; David Dudley Field, brother of Stephen T. Field, whom Lincoln had recently appointed to the Supreme Court; and the editors of the *New York Evening Post* and the *Cincinnati Gazette*. Chase, Sumner, Wade, and Ben Butler were also sympathetic to Lincoln's withdrawal.[14]

As late in the campaign as August 22, Henry J. Raymond, editor of the *New York Times* and chairman of the Republican National Committee, wrote to Lincoln,

> I am in active correspondence with your staunchest friends in every state and from them all I hear but one report. The tide is setting strongly against us. Hon. E. B. Washburne writes that "were an election to be held now in Illinois we should be beaten." Mr. Cameron writes that Pennsylvania is against us. Gov. Morton writes that nothing but the most strenuous efforts can carry Indiana. . . . And so of the rest.[15]

Orville H. Browning, an intimate friend of Lincoln's, told Senator Edgar Cowan of Pennsylvania that he had long doubted that Lincoln could succeed as President. "Still, I thought he might get through, as many a boy has got through college, without disgrace, and without knowledge; but I fear he is a failure."[16]

Lincoln also believed that he would probably be defeated, and on August 23 he wrote the following memorandum:

> This morning, as for some days past, it seems exceedingly probable that this Administration will not be re-elected. Then it will

14. Thomas, *Abraham Lincoln,* 441-42.
15. *Collected Works,* VII: 517-18.
16. Thomas, *Abraham Lincoln,* 443.

be my duty to so co-operate with the President elect, as to save the Union between the election and the inauguration; as he will have secured his election on such ground that he can not possibly save it afterwards.[17]

Lincoln signed the paper and sealed it. At a Cabinet meeting the same day he asked each member of the Cabinet to sign on the back of the folded sheet, without telling them what it contained, and put it away in his desk.

Earlier in the summer Lincoln had approved a plan that he hoped would prepare the way for opening peace negotiations with Jefferson Davis. In November, 1863, Gilmore had learned from Jaquess that the latter's mission to the South had been successful. Jaquess explained that he had obtained valuable information he had passed on to the President, and he could not understand why the President had not communicated with him. Gilmore was unable to get to Washington until the following April, but he then had an interview with Lincoln. He told the President what Jaquess had done and asked why he had not answered Jaquess's letter. Lincoln replied that he had never received the letter. "What a pity it is," he said, "they didn't give me that letter." "He's got something worth hearing."[18] Gilmore suggested that it wasn't too late and that Jaquess might go again. Without a word Lincoln turned about in his chair and wrote on a card, "To whom it may concern: The bearer, Colonel James F. Jaquess, 73d Illinois, has leave of absence until further orders."[19] Jaquess finally got the message during the Battle of Kenesaw Mountain. The upshot of the matter was that Jaquess went east to confer with Gilmore, who served as intermediary between Jaquess and the President. On July 6 Lincoln gave permission for both Jaquess and Gilmore to go to Richmond, if they could get through the Confederate lines on their own risk.[20] There

17. *Collected Works,* VII: 514.
18. Gilmore, *Personal Recollections,* 235.
19. *Ibid.* See also *Collected Works,* VII: 429.
20. Gilmore, *Personal Recollections,* 246-47.

they were to try to arrange an appointment with Jefferson Davis for the purpose of discussing the prospect of ending the war and securing from Davis a statement of the peace terms he would accept.

The journey to Richmond seemed very dangerous to Gilmore, although Jaquess appeared unconcerned about that aspect of the mission. How they finally secured the interview with Davis, Gilmore details in his book *Personal Recollections of Abraham Lincoln and the Civil War* and in two long articles in the September and December, 1864, issues of the *Atlantic Monthly*.[21] Gilmore's style of writing is discursive but interesting. Immediately after the interview, which lasted several hours, he made careful notes on which he based his story. His account agrees substantially with one published later by T. M. Eddy in *The Patriotism of Illinois*.[22] Dr. Eddy's account, which is shorter, was reprinted from a newspaper report of an interview with Jaquess and presumably had been read and approved by the Colonel.

The conference was held on July 17 in the Confederate State Department at Richmond. Present were Jefferson Davis, Judah P. Benjamin, the Secretary of State, Jaquess, and Gilmore. The following version of the conference is Dr. Eddy's:

> Mr. Benjamin's first and most persistent effort was to secure an admission that the embassy was *official,* and after laboring thus in vain for thirty minutes, he then attempted to brow-beat the Colonel by employing the term "spy" and allusions to the ordinary fate of such. These tactics failing, Colonel Jaquess had an opportunity to open a long, serious and exceedingly plain conversation with Mr. Davis, carefully selecting such points as in themselves gave least room for controversy. . . . [He said,] "Mr. President, I came on my own responsibility to prepare the way, and I hope that we, as Christian gentlemen, may succeed in discussing the

21. *Ibid.,* 248-90, and "Our Visit to Richmond" and "Our Last Day in Dixie," *The Atlantic Monthly,* XIV (Sept., Dec., 1864): 372-83, 715-26.

22. T. M. Eddy, *The Patriotism of Illinois* . . . (Chicago, 1865-1866), I: 417-20.

question fully, freely and frankly. I have long believed that our troubles were necessary to teach a threefold lesson:

"1. That the North might believe that the terms 'secession,' 'separation,' and 'independence,' when employed by the Southerners, *meant something*. . . .

"2. That the South should learn that one Southerner can *not* whip five Yankees — and

"3. That foreign nations might learn that the *United* States can never be defeated or insulted with impunity'. . . .

[Jaquess continued,] "We in the North have but one sentiment; viz., that of a vigorous prosecution of the war, and that no man could be elected President upon any other platform. . . . We have a 'peace party,' but you cannot afford to trust it, for our masses are against you; and, Mr. Davis, you mistake the spirit of our people. . . . in case of the sudden termination of the war, millions of Northern money would flow south to relieve your destitute and suffering. Indeed, we would sustain our President should he in such a case issue his proclamation of universal amnesty". . . . [Davis then proceeded with a long dissertation on "State Rights" etc., alluding to the Declaration of American Independence and its initial principle, that the right to govern depends upon the consent of the governed, and added,] "If we of the South talk of peace and continued union, we will thereby confess that we have blundered in beginning this war". . . .

The next effort of our worthy Colonel was to change the drift of the conversation and to obtain the rebel *ultimatum*. . . . "We are told [Jaquess told Davis] that were an armistice for ninety days agreed upon, [y]our people could not be induced to resume hostilities." "Oh," said Mr. D., "I am in favor of an armistice if you will admit our independence — for we are bound to have separation or annihilation!"

"Then, Mr. Davis, *you will obtain annihilation,* for our people are determined you shall not establish the doctrine of secession.

"Would you come back into the Union as a confederacy if we would give constitutional guarantees of your claims in the matter of slavery, etc.?". . . .

Mr. Davis assented, and reiterated his alternation of "separation or annihilation,". . . .

"Then followed a talk for twenty minutes about ancestry, etc., in which both parties forgot that they were enemies — at the conclusion of which, Colonel J., for the third time, arose, saying, "When may I come again?" "When you come to tell me that the

North is willing to let us govern ourselves in our own way!" The Colonel extended his hand, which was warmly grasped by both of the President's — and thus closed the remarkable interview.[23]

Horace Greeley, in Volume II of his *American Conflict* quotes Davis's version of the interview as follows:

"I desire peace as much as you do; I deplore bloodshed as much as you do; but I feel that not one drop of the blood shed in this War is on *my* hands — I can look up to my God and say this. I tried all in my power to avert this War. I saw it coming, and for twelve years I worked night and day to prevent it; but I could not. The North was mad and blind; it would not let us govern ourselves; and so the War came: and now it must go on till the last man of this generation falls in his tracks, and his children seize his musket and fight our battle, *unless you acknowledge our right to self-government. We are not fighting for Slavery. We are fighting for* INDEPENDENCE*;* and *that or extermination we* WILL *have. . . .*"

Thus [continues Greeley], it was not only incontestably settled but proclaimed, through the volunteered agency of two citizens, that the War must go on until the Confederacy should be recognized as an independent power, or till it should be utterly, finally overthrown. The knowledge of this fact was worth more than a victory to the National cause. For, though the Confederate chiefs had ever held but one language on this point — had at no time given any one reason to believe that they might be reconciled to the Union — it was habitually assumed by the Opposition in the loyal States that they were fighting not against the Union, but against Abolition; and that they might easily be placated and won to loyalty, were but the Democratic party restored to power.[24]

The Jaquess mission demonstrated the futility of the aims of those, mostly northern Democrats, who wanted peace without victory. The report of the mission, widely circulated, practically paralyzed the activities of these well-meaning, influential, but misguided men. At the same time it strengthened the Union cause by convincing hun-

23. *Ibid.* Dr. Eddy's quotation markings have been corrected.

24. Horace Greeley, *The American Conflict: A History of the Great Rebellion in the United States of America, 1860-'65 . . .* (Hartford, Conn., 1865-1867), II: 666.

dreds of thousands of citizens of the hopelessness of ending the war in any other way than by force of arms.

Jefferson Davis's uncompromising position was given wide publicity in the election campaign. By order of the President, Colonel Jaquess was given an extended leave of absence from the army in order to make speeches in Lincoln's behalf from Maine to Michigan.[25] The capture of Atlanta by Sherman's forces in the first week of September lifted the spirits of Union men. Lincoln's election prospects improved. Frémont withdrew as a candidate late in the month, and about the same time McClellan repudiated the peace plank in his party's platform. As a result of these developments Lincoln was triumphantly re-elected in November.[26]

25. *A History of the Seventy-Third Regiment of Illinois Infantry Volunteers . . . ,* pub. by the Regimental Reunion Association of Survivors of the 73d Illinois Infantry Volunteers ([Springfield, Ill.], 1890), 555.

26. Again as in 1860 Lincoln made not a single campaign speech. He felt that it was beneath the dignity of the President to speak in his own behalf. Lincoln received some 400,000 more votes than McClellan out of a total vote of four million, and won 90.99 per cent of the electoral votes -- Joseph Nathan Kane, *Facts about the Presidents* (New York, 1959), 106. Lincoln received 77.5 per cent of the soldier vote, which was counted for the first time in this election — *ibid.,* 115.

VIRGIL J. VOGEL

Indian Place Names in Illinois

This is the first of four parts of Virgil J. Vogel's compilation of Indian place names in Illinois, to which he has devoted more than five years of research. He teaches history at Bowen High School, Chicago, and has written articles and reviews for Mid-America, Illinois History, Midwest Folk-Lore, Bulletin of the Missouri Historical Society, *and* Names *magazine.*

He was named Susquehannah, he was named Mississippi,
Every river and State in the Indian Tongue,
Every park, every town that is still to be sung:—
Yosemite, Cheyenne, Niagara, Chicago!
—Vachel Lindsay, "Doctor Mohawk"

Introduction

PLACE NAMES are a key to the past. Names commonly regarded as casually as rootless numerals are in fact historical records, loaded with meaning, or, as one writer has it, "living fossils." Names often denote the earliest settlers of a region, or their places of origin. They commemorate historic events; at other times they are wrapped in the mists of legend and folklore. The Illinois map glows with picturesque names that are survivals of the romance and tragedy of the state's history.

It is obvious that the American Indians hold high rank among those who gave names, or had their names given, to our waterways, villages, towns, cities, counties, and parks. The full story of Indian influence on American civilization remains unwritten, yet even those who are unacquainted with our aboriginal heritage have some knowledge of the Indian influence on our geographical nomenclature. Some of these names survive in their original form, while others have been corrupted or translated into English, French, or other European languages.

For one who seeks out the true origin and meaning of these names, however, history has been unkind. Egyptologists have perhaps had better success in deciphering hieroglyphics that have endured for five millennia than have those seeking to trace American Indian

names first recorded only two or three centuries ago. Some of the reasons for these difficulties are briefly described below:

1) Often the original form of the name has been lost. The early explorers, who sometimes had difficulty in writing and spelling their own language correctly, had even more difficulty when confronted with the strange sounds of the unwritten Indian speech, which they tried to transfer into the sound symbols of their own language. The resulting variety in spelling, even in the accounts of one individual, is astounding.

Tribal names are likewise a source of confusion. Tribes were often called different names by themselves, by their enemies, and by various Europeans. *The Handbook of American Indians* lists 131 different recorded names, including spelling variations, by which the Iroquois, for example, have been known. The student of Indian place names is therefore obliged to find the earliest recorded form of a name, compare it with later forms, and through this study of verbal evolution try to arrive at the nearest approximation of what the aboriginal form must have been.

2) There is no "Indian language." The American Indians had, and still have, a bewildering array of languages and dialects; more than fifty basic languages have been found north of the Rio Grande. Often we cannot be sure from which language some of our corrupted Indian names arose. For this reason linguistic methods alone often fail to produce the right answers, and historical accounts, for all their shortcomings, cannot safely be disregarded.

3) Legend, folklore, and poetic fancy have worked their way into place name literature. Some of these imaginative concoctions, often flattering to local pride, have gained wide currency. Legends and folk tales have a certain literary interest, and for that reason place name legends are reproduced here, but the reader is cautioned against accepting them as anything else than what they are.

4) Much place name literature has been written by uninformed people who have done insufficient research and have grasped at the first explanation they could find, or invent, for each name. Later writers have quoted earlier ones, each repetition in print making the error more sacrosanct.

5) Many errors originate from ignorance of Indian customs in regard to nomenclature. Primitive Indians did not name places for individuals. Neither did they have names for large areas or districts, except insofar as a name described the inhabitants of a region, as, for example, "land of the Onondagas." Indian names are invariably descriptive. Most frequently, they refer to topography or such fea-

tures of the environment as plants and animals. Some refer to historic events, while a few are locative, *i.e., Outagamie,* "on the other shore."

Some Indian place names in Illinois were transferred from other states by early white settlers and applied to places where they are etymologically inappropriate. In instances where a name is obviously native to the locality, however, it is important to determine whether the significance attached to the name makes sense, or is appropriate to that place.

This compilation of Indian place names is condensed from a much longer manuscript, based in turn on a still more extensive collection of notes. Readers who would like more information than it is possible to give here are invited to write the author for further details.

The general criteria for selection and a guide for using the place name list are discussed below:

Procedure and Method: The entry following each name gives, if possible, the historical reason for the adoption of the name; second, the origin of the name both geographically and linguistically, with as much historical background as space permits; and, third, the probable meaning.

Though place names taken directly from Indian languages are in the majority among the three hundred names considered, the list also includes names that are European translations of Indian names; European names of individual Indians; names associated with Indian history, legend, or customs; some linguistic composites; and a few others of uncertain origin (which are labeled as such), though these are kept to a minimum. Extinct and pseudo-Indian names are not included. These standards of selection, it is believed, give a fair measure of the aboriginal influence on our historic toponymy, which might otherwise be concealed.

Spelling and Pronunciation: Since Indians did not write, there is no right or wrong way to spell an Indian word. The situation, as Grant Foreman pointed out, exposes the writer to charges of carelessness no matter which spelling he uses. The forms adopted by Frederick W. Hodge in his *Handbook of American Indians* are followed here, except that place names are given as they actually appear on the map, and names discussed in the text are spelled as they appear in the sources being quoted. Hodge's general policy was to eliminate all unnecessary letters, and that policy has generally been followed for all names not found in Hodge.

Phonetic symbols have, for several reasons, been avoided except

when used in the sources quoted (and not always then). In the first place, determining the proper phonetic representation in names from some twenty different language stocks would be a virtually impossible task. In the second place, even the language experts do not employ uniform phonetic systems. For non-specialists, therefore, Henry Rowe Schoolcraft's simple rules of pronunciation provide a guide that can be followed with a minimum of difficulty:

> The rules of utterance of these tribes . . . . are very simple, and determine the orthography, so far, at least, as relates to distinctions for the long and short vowels. If, in writing Indian, the syllables are separated by hyphens, there need be no uncertainty respecting their sounds. . . . A vowel preceded by a consonant, is always long, a vowel followed by a consonant is always short. A vowel between two consonants, is short. A vowel standing by itself is always full or long. A few examples of well known words will denote this.
>
> Wis con′ sin Chi ca′ go Wa′ bash
> Pe o′ ri a Ti′ con de ro′ ga O nei′ da
>
> Write the words by whatever system of orthography you will, French, English, or German, and the vowel sounds will vindicate this distinction.[1]

Maps and Name Sources: No single map of Illinois includes all the place names listed below. It is possible for a town or village to have three different names simultaneously: a corporate name, a post office name, and a railroad station name. Further, a place may exist only as a post office, or only as a railroad point, while some incorporated places have neither railroad nor post office. The names of smaller creeks and topographical features are taken mainly from the topographic maps of the United States Geological Survey.

The designation city, town, or village, as used here, refers not to size but only to the type of corporate charter the place has.[2] All unincorporated places have been arbitrarily designated as "villages." Most settlements in Illinois are cities or villages; in fact, there are

1. Henry R. Schoolcraft, *The American Indians, Their History, Condition and Prospects* . . . (Buffalo, 1851), 145. Ten of the examples given by Schoolcraft were omitted in the list above.

The author would like to express his appreciation to the staffs of a dozen libraries and historical societies for their assistance in locating sources, particularly the Bureau of American Ethnology, Chicago Historical Society, Illinois State Historical Library, Newberry Library, and State Historical Society of Wisconsin, as well as to many other correspondents who are mentioned in later notes. Thanks are also due Miss Elaine Trojan for typing the manuscript in final form.

2. Published biennially in the *Illinois Blue Book* and annually in *Counties and Incorporated Municipalities of Illinois,* both issued by the Secretary of State.

only twenty-four "towns" in the state.[3] A "town" in Illinois is a municipal corporation, not to be confused with a New England-type "township," which Illinois also has.

Part I

ALGONQUIN (*village and township, McHenry Co.; Algonquin Woods, Forest Preserve District of Cook Co.; Algonquin Road, State Rt. 62*)

The village was named by Samuel Edwards, an early settler, for a ship on which he served,[4] and the township and road were named for the village. The Forest Preserve tract, traversed by this road, acquired its name therefrom.

Algonquin was originally the name of a small Indian tribe in Canada, and was later applied to the entire linguistic family now known as the Algonquian.[5] Champlain's map of 1632 shows the "Algommequins" in the area of Lake Simcoe, Ontario; Marquette spoke of the *allegonquin* language, while Father Pierre Marest used the spelling *Algonquin,* in 1712.[6]

According to Schoolcraft, the Ojibways called the tribe *Odishkuaguma,* "people at the end of the waters."[7] He thought that this name meant "people of the other or opposite shore," since they lived along the St. Lawrence River opposite the Iroquois, who claimed the southern shore.[8] According to some, the phrase was "mistaken"

3. Illinois has one "village" of over 61,000 population (Oak Park) and another with no inhabitants (Torino). It has a "city" of 188 persons (Nason) and Chicago, with nearly four million. Its towns range in size from Topeka, with only 77 persons, to Normal, with more than 13,000. There are also unincorporated places with populations ranging from nothing (railroad junctions) to thousands (Cook County subdivisions). Under a state law passed in 1957 county boards are permitted to dissolve municipalities with fewer than fifty residents, but this has seldom been done.

4. William D. Barge and Norman W. Caldwell, "Illinois Place Names," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society,* XXIX (Oct., 1936): 191.

5. While some experts are now using the term "Algonkian" to describe this group, we shall adhere throughout to the form "Algonquian," as used by James Mooney and Cyrus Thomas in Frederick W. Hodge, ed., *Handbook of American Indians . . .* (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 30, Washington, 1907-1910), I: 38, to distinguish it from a term used by geologists. The tribe, as distinguished from the linguistic family, is properly Algonquin or Algonkin.

6. R. G. Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* (Cleveland, 1900), LIX: 127, LXVI: 107.

7. Schoolcraft, *The American Indians,* 254.

8. Schoolcraft, *Information Respecting the History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States . . .* (Philadelphia, 1852-1857), II: 358.

for a name and applied to all those who were distinct from the Iroquois.[9] J. N. B. Hewitt believed that the name was derived from the Micmac *algoomaking,* signifying "the place of spearing fish."[10]

AMBOY (*city and township, Lee Co.*)

Amboy is so named because some early settlers of that place came from Perth Amboy, New Jersey.[11] The eastern city was reportedly named for the Earl of Perth and *ompage,* a Delaware Indian word meaning "standing or upright."[12] John Heckewelder, an eighteenth-century Moravian missionary, derived Amboy from *em-bó-li,* meaning "round, hollow"; and as *embolink* (with the place suffix added) it signified a place resembling a bowl or bottle, belonging properly to a bay or pond.[13] E. M. Ruttenber, however, denied that there is an Indian word such as "emboli," though granting that this may have been their pronunciation of Amboy. He asserted that the Indian deed of 1651 reads "from the Raritan Point, called *Ompoge*" and that "Amboy" is a fair representation of this.[14]

ANNAWAN (*town and township, Henry Co.*)

This name was probably brought from the East by early settlers. Annawan was a sachem of the Wampanoag tribe of Massachusetts, the chief captain and counselor of "King" Philip. He attempted to carry on the war after Philip's death in 1676 but was trapped by Captain Benjamin Church and beheaded by authorities at Plymouth.[15]

The most plausible explanation of the meaning of this name is in Trumbull's *Natick Dictionary: "anoonnuwaen,* a commander."[16]

APPANOOSE (*village and township, Hancock Co.*)

This name is taken from that of a Fox chief who was well known

9. Russell Errett, "Indian Geographical Names," *Magazine of Western History,* II (May, 1885): 52.

10. Hodge, ed., *Handbook of American Indians,* I: 38-39; cited hereafter as Hodge.

11. Anthony J. Becker, *The Biography of a Country Town: U.S.A.* (Amboy?, Ill., 1954), 102-3.

12. Federal Writers' Project, "New Jersey Place Names" (mimeo., n.p., n.d.), 29.

13. J. G. E. Heckwelder, "Names Which the Lenni Lennape or Delaware Indians Gave to . . . Localities . . . ," Appendix to *A Narrative of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Delaware and Mohegan Indians* . . . (Cleveland, 1907), 560.

14. E. M. Ruttenber, "Footprints of the Red Men: Indian Geographical Names in the Valley of Hudson's River . . ." in *Proceedings of the New York State Historical Association,* VI (1906): 102.

15. Thomas Church, *The History of Philip's War* (Boston, 1829), 124-46. The name therein is spelled *Annawon.*

16. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 25 (Washington, 1903), 10.

to the pioneers of early Fort Madison, Iowa, just across the Mississippi River. Appanoose is described as a quiet man who was friendly with the whites. After the Black Hawk War his band lived for several years in a village at the site of the present city of Ottumwa, Iowa.[17]

Appanoose was with a delegation of thirty-five Sauk, Fox, and Sioux leaders who visited Washington in the fall of 1837 to seek a settlement of a land dispute between the tribes.[18] His name appears as "Appenioce, or the grand child" on the Treaty of Prairie du Chien, July 15, 1830; "Ap-pi-nuis" in the Treaty of Dubuque, September 27, 1836, and "Ap-a-noose" in another treaty signed next day, which lists him as a Sauk. In a land cession treaty of October 21, 1837, also listing him as a Sauk, his name and its meaning are given as "Appan-oze-o-ke-mar, The Hereditary Chief, (or He who was a Chief when a Child,)." In the Treaty of October 11, 1842, at the Sauk and Fox agency in Iowa, the name appears as "Ap-pe-noose."[19]

Appanoose was among the Indians who followed Keokuk and Wapello and, along with those two, was given a farm at Agency, Wapello County, Iowa, where he lived until his death in 1845.[20] Appanoose County, Iowa, is also named for him.

According to Edward Davenport, chief of the Iowa Foxes at Tama, the name simply means "child" — the equivalent of New England Algonquian "papoose."[21]

APTAKISIC (*village, Lake Co.*) See also HALF DAY

This village is named for a Potawatomi chief who lived in various localities west and north of Chicago. He had a reputation as an

17. Newton Bateman, Paul Selby, and J. Seymour Currey, eds., *Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois and History of Hancock County* (Chicago, 1921), II: 1051-52; A. R. Fulton, *The Red Men of Iowa* . . . (Des Moines, 1882), 257-59; Jacob Van der Zee, "The Opening of the Des Moines Valley to Settlement," *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics,* XIV (Oct., 1916): 494.

18. Samuel G. Drake, *Biography and History of the Indians of North America* . . . (Boston, 1851), 676.

19. Charles J. Kappler, ed., *Indian Affairs. Laws and Treaties* (Senate Documents, Vol. 39, 58 Cong., 2 Sess., Washington, 1904), II: 308, 473, 475, 496, 548; cited hereafter as Kappler.

20. Western Historical Co., pub., *The History of Appanoose County, Iowa* . . . (Chicago, 1878), 347.

21. Albert Gatschet gives *apanú* as Fox for "baby," Fox Notebook (MS, Bureau of American Ethnology, 1904), 23. The *ce* ending therefore appears to be a diminutive suffix. Cf.: "*Apenos*[a]: 'dear child,' or 'little child' is the true interpretation of the name according to Dr. Jones." Thomas L. McKenney and James Hall, *The Indian Tribes of North America* . . . (Edinburgh, 1934), II: 106, n. 1. See also the biographical sketch of Appanoose therein, 105-6.

orator, and his name appears in five treaties between 1827 and 1846.[22]

His name means "Half Day," alternately rendered as "sun at meridian" or "center of the sky."[23] The name was reportedly given him because he performed in a half day some task or journey normally requiring a full day.[24]

ASHKUM (*village and township, Iroquois Co.*)

Ashkum is the name of a Potawatomi chief who was head man of a village in Miami County, Indiana.[25] Hiram Beckwith erroneously believed that this name was "derived from some eastern Indian tribe."[26] Ashkum's name appears in no less than eleven treaties between 1821 and 1837,[27] as well as in church records.[28]

The late Indiana historian Jacob P. Dunn declared that the name is variously translated as " 'to continue,' 'more and more,' 'more of the same kind' — the idea being the same in each case."[29] In the closely related Ottawa language, according to Andrew J. Blackbird, Ash-kom also meant "more and more."[30] Gailland's dictionary gives

22. "Op-ta-gu-shick, or Half Day, was the orator of the tribe." John L. Wilson to Lyman Draper, Nov. 27, 1881, in Draper's "Tecumseh Manuscripts" (State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison), Vol. IX, Doc. 81. For text of talk by Aptakisic at annuity gathering of Oct. 25, 1834, see Thomas J. V. Owen's letter to Indian Office, Dec. 2, 1834, in National Archives Microcopy No. M-234, Roll 132. For the treaties see Kappler, II: 284, 354, 404, 559.

23. Elijah M. Haines, *The American Indian* . . . (Chicago, 1888), 709; Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes,* IV: 377. The Rev. Maurice Gailland's "English-Potawatomi Dictionary" (MS, Bureau of American Ethnology, Cat. No. 1761, n.d.) gives *apitu* for "half," and *kijik* for "day"; it also gives *kises* (sing.) and *kisok* (pl.) for "sun" (pp. 71, 139, 358).

24. Judge Henry W. Blodgett, "Recollections Concerning Ap-ta-ke-sic (Half Day)," Jan. 23, 1893 (MS, Chicago Historical Society). This manuscript, only nine pages long, written by an early settler of Du Page and Lake counties, is probably the most valuable source of information concerning Aptakisic.

25. Hodge, I: 101.

26. H. W. Beckwith, *History of Iroquois County* . . . (Chicago, 1880), Pt. 2, p. 323.

27. Kappler, II: 201, 275, 296, 355, 369, 372, 375, 430, 463, 472, 488. In seven treaties his name is spelled *Ashkum;* in the others it is *Aysh-kom, Ashkom, Ash-ke-wee, Ashkam,* and *Ayshcam.*

28. One of Ashkum's sons and two of his daughters were baptized by Father Benjamin Marie Petit. Irving McKee, ed., *The Trail of Death: Letters of Benjamin Marie Petit* (*Indiana Historical Society Publications,* Vol. XIV, No. 1, Indianapolis, 1941), 22, 137, 138.

29. Jacob P. Dunn, *True Indian Stories, with Glossary of Indiana Indian Names* (Indianapolis, 1908), 254.

30. Blackbird, *History of the Ottawa and Chippewa Indians of Michigan: A Grammar of Their Language* . . . (Ypsilanti, Mich., 1887), 125.

three forms for "more and more," of which one, *ēchkúm* (pronounced Aysh-kum) approximates this name.[31]

AURORA (*city, Kane Co.; North Aurora, village, Kane Co.*)

Although it is the Latin name of the Roman goddess of dawn, this word as given to our Fox valley city has been called "a philological substitute for the name of the friendly Indian Chief Waubonsie, meaning 'morning light.'"[32] (See WAUBANSEE and WAUPONSEE.) A plausible claim has also been made that the city was named by early settlers for their former home at Aurora, New York.[33] Even if this should be so, the name would still be of Indian origin, for the New York place name is a translation from the Iroquois *Deawendote,* "constant dawn."[34]

Waubansee Creek and the site of chief Waubansee's home are just south of the city. The chief, a Potawatomi, was given five sections of land in this vicinity by the Treaty of Prairie du Chien in 1829.[35] The place was then known as Grand Bois or Big Woods.

BIG FOOT (*village, McHenry Co.*)

This place is on the Wisconsin state line, and is named for Big Foot, chief of a Potawatomi village on the shore of Lake Geneva (Wisconsin) in the early nineteenth century. Big Foot sympathized with the Winnebago uprising of 1827 and imprisoned Shabbona (given as "Shabonee" by Hodge) when the latter, accompanied by Sauganash (Billy Caldwell), came to his village on a peace mission.[36]

The chief received his name, according to legend, because of the large tracks left in the snow by his snowshoes as he pursued a deer along the shore of the lake.[37] Big Foot State Park (Wisconsin), on

31. "English-Potawatomi Dictionary," 211. In Gailland's phonetic system, this *e* is pronounced as in the French *été,* which would make the name sound about like *Aysh-cam,* as it is spelled in the Treaty of 1821 (Kappler, II: 201).

32. Karl B. Lohmann, *Cities and Towns of Illinois: A Handbook of Community Facts* (Urbana, 1951), 88. Cf.: "Daybreak - *wápin,*" Gailland, "English-Potawatomi Dictionary," 71.

33. Barge and Caldwell, "Illinois Place Names," 196: "named by James McCarly [McCarty], one of the original owners of the site, from the city in New York."

34. Lewis H. Morgan, *League of the Ho-de-no-sau-nee, or Iroquois* (New Haven, Conn., 1954), II: 241.

35. Kappler, II: 298.

36. Gurdon S. Hubbard's "Narrative" in *Addresses Delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Chicago Historical Society, November 19, 1868 . . .* (Fergus Historical Series, No. 10, Chicago, 1877), 41-46.

37. Dorothy M. Brown, *Wisconsin Indian Place-Name Legends* (n.p., 1948), 11.

Black Hawk, the Sauk brave whose name has been given to many places in northern Illinois.

Lake Geneva, is also named for him, and the lake itself was once called Big Foot Lake, according to Mrs. John H. Kinzie who visited that place and described the chief in 1831.[38] Big Foot's name appears in three treaties, in 1828, 1829, and 1833, under the various forms "Maun-gee-zik," "Maw-geh-set," and "Mang-e-sett."[39]

BLACK HAWK (*Black Hawk Island, Rock River, at Rockford; Black Hawk Park, Chicago, Cook Co.; Black Hawk Park, Rockford, Winnebago Co.; Black Hawk State Park, Rock Island, Rock Island Co.; Black Hawk Township, Rock Island Co.; Black Hawk Trail, State Rt. 2, Rockford to Dixon; Black Hawk, village* [*P.O.*], *Carroll Co.; Black Hawk Woods, Forest Preserve District of Cook Co.*)

These places are named for the Sauk brave Black Hawk (1767-1838), who in 1832 led a portion of his tribe back to Illinois, precipitating the Black Hawk War, a tragic march from the Mississippi Yellow Banks, by a circuitous route, to the mouth of the Bad Axe River, Wisconsin, where many of them were killed by U.S. troops in the massacre of August 1-2, 1832.[40]

Black Hawk's Indian name is given in his autobiography as Ma-ka-tai-me-she-kia-kiak, or Black Sparrow Hawk. In the only treaty he

38. Mrs. John A. Kinzie, *Wau-Bun: The Early Day in the Northwest* (Chicago, 1901), 249-50.

39. Kappler, II: 294, 299, 404. The Green Bay Treaty of Aug. 25, 1828, translates his name as "big foot."

40. The story of these events has been too often told to require repetition here. See Donald Jackson, ed., *Autobiography of Black Hawk* (Urbana, 1955) and John H. Hauberg, "The Black Hawk War, 1831-1832," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society,* XXXIX (1932): 91-134.

ever signed, at St. Louis, May 13, 1816, his name is written as "Mucketamachekaka, or Black Sparrow Hawk" (Kappler, II: 128).

BLACK PARTRIDGE (*Black Partridge Woods, Forest Preserve District of Cook Co.*) See also PARTRIDGE

This name recalls that of a friendly chief of the Illinois River Potawatomi, who on August 14, 1812, came to Fort Dearborn at Chicago to warn Captain Nathan Heald of impending danger, at the same time returning a medal he had previously received as a sign of friendship, with the explanation that his warriors could no longer be restrained.[41]

During the battle which occurred the next day, commonly called the Fort Dearborn Massacre, Black Partridge is credited with saving the life of Mrs. Margaret Helm.[42] A sculptured representation of this event, by Carl Rohl-Smith, was erected on the spot, on Eighteenth Street near the lake, in 1893 but was moved in 1931 to the Chicago Historical Society.

Black Partridge's village on the Illinois River opposite Peoria was destroyed in the fall of 1812 by troops commanded by Governor Ninian Edwards.[43] Partridge Creek and Partridge Township, in Woodford County, commemorate the chief's residence in that area.[44]

The chief's name appears as "Mucketepoke, or Black Partridge" in the Treaty of Portage des Sioux, in 1815, and as "Mucketeypokee, or Black Partridge" in the Treaty of St. Louis, August 24, 1816.[45]

BOGOTA (*village, Jasper Co.*)

This village is named for the capital of the Republic of Colombia. Once a Chibcha Indian center, the city founded there by Jiminez de Quesada in 1538 was called by him Santa Fe de Bogotá, in honor of the Chibcha chief, Bacatá, or Bogotá. The chief was known as

41. Milo M. Quaife, *Chicago and the Old Northwest, 1673-1835* . . . (Chicago, 1913), 220-21.

42. ". . . A young Indian raised his tomahawk at me. . . . I was dragged from his grasp by another and older Indian. The latter bore me struggling and resisting towards the lake. . . . I soon perceived, however, that the object of my captor was not to drown me. . . . I soon recognized, in spite of the paint with which he was disguised, *The Black Partridge,*" from Mrs. Helm's account in *Wau-Bun* (1901 ed.), 177-78. The account of her husband, Lt. Linai T. Helm, is in Quaife, *Chicago and the Old Northwest,* 415-21.

43. John Reynolds, *My Own Times* . . . (Chicago, 1879), Chap. XXIX.

44. C. Henry Smith, *Metamora* (Bluffton, O., 1947), 22.

45. Kappler, II: 111, 133. The name is given as *"Mac ke la puc ky"* in Clarence Edwin Carter, ed., *The Territorial Papers of the United States* (Washington, 1934-), XVII (*The Territory of Illinois, 1814-1818*): 227-29.

the great Usaque, or Chief Paramount, and his principal town, renamed for him by the Spanish, was called Muequeta.[46]

BOURBONNAIS (*village and township, Kankakee Co.*)

This name is taken from that of Washington Bourbonnais and François Bourbonnais, Jr., French-Potawatomi half-breeds, the first of whom, together with his mother, Catish Bourbonnais, received land grants in the vicinity by the Treaty of Tippecanoe, October 20, 1832. François Bourbonnais, Jr., received a grant on Fox River in 1829. The latter's signature, in his own hand, appears in the Council Bluffs Treaty of June 5, 1846. He was the father of Mawteno, for whom Manteno is named.[47]

CAHOKIA (*Cahokia Canal, Madison Co.; Cahokia Creek, Madison and St. Clair Cos.; Cahokia Mounds State Park, Madison Co.; Cahokia Slough, St. Clair Co.; Cahokia Township, Macoupin Co.; Cahokia, village and township, St. Clair Co.*)

The Cahokia were a tribe of the Illinois confederacy, occupying the region around the village of the same name until about 1820.[48]

The Cahokia mounds, in the American Bottom about six miles east of St. Louis, contain the largest prehistoric earthworks in the United States. While the mounds are named for the Cahokia Indians, they were built before the arrival of these Indians in the vicinity.[49]

Variations of the name include Cahos, Caokia, Caoquias, Caouaouce, Kahokias, Kaohia, and Kaos. No record of the meaning has been found.

CALDWELL (*Billy Caldwell Woods, Forest Preserve District of Cook Co., renamed Clayton F. Smith Woods, 1957; Billy Caldwell Golf Course, Forest Preserve District of Cook Co.*) See also SAUGANASH, INDIAN ROAD

46. R.B. Cunninghame Graham, *The Conquest of New Granada . . .* (Boston, 1922), 79.

47. Kappler, II: 298, 353; other references to the Bourbonnais family occur in treaties of 1833, 1846, and 1861: *ibid.*, 405, 559, 828; see also Ernest E. East, "The Inhabitants of Chicago, 1825-1831," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society,* XXXVII (June, 1944): 136, and survey notes of D. W. Beckwith.

48. Hodge, I: 185.

49. These mounds are said to belong to the Middle Mississippi culture, which flourished 1000-1500 A.D., according to Thorne Deuel (*American Indian Ways of Life: An Interpretation of the Archaeology of Illinois and Adjoining Areas* [Illinois State Museum, Story of Illinois Series, No. 9, Springfield, 1958], 34). George Rogers Clark reported that he was informed by Baptiste Ducoigne, the Illinois chief (see DU QUOIN) that these earthworks were "palaces," surrounded by fortifications, and that they were the work of "his forefathers." Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes,* IV: 135.

The Fort Dearborn Massacre monument now in the Chicago Historical Society Museum.

These tracts along the north branch of the Chicago River form part of the reservation granted by treaty in 1829 to their namesake, Billy Caldwell (or Sauganash, *i.e., "Englishman"*),[50] a mixed-blood Potawatomi chief who was born in Canada about 1780. His father, Captain William Caldwell, an Irishman, was an officer in the British service at Amherstburg and Detroit, and his mother was a Potawatomi.[51]

Caldwell had a long record of friendly service to the whites and in 1826 was appointed a justice of the peace at Chicago. He migrated west with his tribe in 1835 and is believed to have died in the vicinity of Council Bluffs, Iowa, September 28, 1841, at the age of sixty years.[52]

CALUMET (*Calumet City, Cook Co.; Calumet Lake, Cook Co.; Calumet Park, village, Cook Co.; Calumet Park, Chicago Park District; Calumet "region," embracing southeastern Cook Co. and northern Lake Co., Ind.; Calumet River, Cook Co.; Little Calumet River, Cook Co.; Grand Calumet River, Cook Co., Ill., and Lake Co., Ind.*)

The calumet was the ceremonial peace pipe of the central Algonquian tribes. The word has been traced to *chalumet,* meaning "a

50. Juliette Kinzie to Draper, June 20, 1866, in *Bulletin of Chicago Historical Society,* n.s., I (1934-1935): 108-9.

51. *Ibid.,* 113. For other biographical information see Lyman Draper, "Tecumseh Manuscripts," IX, Docs. 27, 65; Hodge, II: 408-9 (where the name is given Saganash); and *Dictionary of American Biography,* XVI: 376-77.

52. Cyrus Thomas in Hodge, II: 408. However, Shabbona was quoted as saying Caldwell died "in 1847 or 8 near the Wish-ne-bott-o-nee [Nishnabotna] River." William Hickling, in "Caldwell and Shabonee," Fergus Historical Series, No. 10, p. 34. This stream is in southwest Iowa and northwest Missouri.

shepherd's pipe" in the Norman-French form of literary French, and related to Provençal *caramel* and Latin *calamus,* signifying a reed.[53]

Baron de Lahontan wrote in 1703: "Calumet *in general signifies a Pipe, being a* Norman *Word, deriv'd from Chalumeau. The Savages do not understand this Word, for 'twas introduc'd* to Canada *by the* Normans. . . ."[54]

There is no evidence that the Indians ever gave the name Calumet, in their own language or in any other, to any river, lake, or locality in the Cook County area. The modern name Calumet seems to have evolved from, or been substituted for, an earlier Indian name for the complex of waters now designated by this name. Some of these names, taken from early accounts and maps, are Kinouickouy, Kennomick, Kannomick, Killimick, Killomick, Kellimock, Kinnamick, Calamick, Kalamick, Calumic, Callamink, Kennomekon, Calemic, Kiollimick, and Calumick.

Jacob P. Dunn, student of the Miami language, states that many of these and other forms were dialect variations of the same word, used by the various Algonquian tribes according to whether they possessed or lacked the sound of "l" in their languages. "In all cases," he asserted, the word meant "a long body of deep, still water."[55] However, other speculations, too numerous to mention here, have been made.[56]

CANOE (*Canoe Creek, Rock Island Co.; Canoe Creek Township, Rock Island Co.*)

The word canoe was applied at an early date to the dugouts and the bark- or skin-covered boats used by the North American Indians, but the word is not theirs.[57] "Canoe" comes from the Arawakan language of the Greater Antilles in the West Indies, according to the best sources. Wilfred Funk says that the sailors of Columbus borrowed the word from the Haitian *kanoa* or *canoa* and carried it back to Spain, whence it found its way to the North American continent.[58]

53. Hodge, I: 191.

54. Baron de Lahontan, *New Voyages to North-America* . . . (reprinted from the English edition of 1703, R. G. Thwaites, ed., Chicago, 1905), I: 402.

55. Dunn, "Indiana Geographical Nomenclature," *Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History,* VIII (June, 1912): 109.

56. See Federal Writers' Project, *The Calumet Region Historical Guide* . . . (Gary, 1939).

57. Boat or canoe: Natick, *mushoon* (Trumbull); Illinois, *miss8ri* (Boulanger); Potawatomi, *Tchiman* (Gailland); Miami, *missôlé* (Volney); Algonkin, *Chiman* (Lahontan); Fox, *tchimâñ* (Gatschet). See MISSOURI.

58. Wilfred Funk, *Word Origins and Their Romantic Stories* (New York, 1950), 346.

CAYUGA *(village, Livingston Co.)*

This unincorporated settlement is named for Lake Cayuga, one of the Finger Lakes of western New York, which gets its name in turn from the Cayuga tribe, one of the six nations of the Iroquois confederacy. Some of the earliest settlers in Livingston County came from New York state in 1855.[59]

There are a number of unlikely translations, which it is best to ignore here. William M. Beauchamp believed it signified "where they haul the boats out," *i.e.,* a portage, which was Morgan's translation of the Seneca name Gwä-u-geh.[60] The aboriginal name of Cayuga Lake, however, was rendered by Morgan as *Gwe-ú-gweh,* signifying "lake at the mucky land." The name of the Cayuga tribe was given by him as *Gué-u-gweh-o-no,* signifying "the people at the mucky land," the root of the word meaning literally "the mucky land." Morgan believed that the term referred to a marsh at the foot of Cayuga Lake, near which their first settlement was probably established.[61]

CHANNAHON *(village and township, Will Co.; Channahon State Park, Will Co.)*

According to a Will County history, "Channahon is an Indian word, signifying the 'meeting of the waters,' and alludes to the confluence of the Des Planes [*sic*] and Du Page Rivers, which occurs near the center of the township, and was bestowed on the town by Judge Peck, one of the early settlers of the country."[62]

The name probably originated in the language of the Delawares, in whose tongue *hanna* or *hanne* meant "river" (e.g., Susquehanna). A term similar to Channahon exists in Pennsylvania. Schokakana, Shohakin, old names for branches of the Delaware, were held by the poet Alfred B. Street to signify "meeting of the floods," but this view was dismissed by E. M. Ruttenber as "poetical fancy." Our Channahon might be a corruption of the Pennsylvania name that Ruttenber translated as "two wings."[63]

CHAUTAUQUA *(village, Jersey Co.; Lake Chautauqua, Mason Co.; Chautauqua Park, Des Plaines, Cook Co.)*

59. William LeBaron, Jr., & Co., pub., *The History of Livingston County, Illinois* . . . (Chicago, 1878).

60. William M. Beauchamp. *Aboriginal Place Names of New York* (New York State Museum, Bulletin No. 108, Albany, 1907), 34, citing A. Cusack; Morgan, *League of the Iroquois,* II: 129.

61. *Ibid.,* I: 49.

62. William LeBaron, Jr., & Co., pub., *The History of Will County, Illinois* . . . (Chicago, 1878), 591.

63. Ruttenber, "Indian Names in the Valley of Hudson's River," 228-29.

The only certainty about "Chautauqua" is that the word comes from the Senecas, the westernmost tribe of the Iroquois confederacy, and that the town and lake of Chautauqua, New York, gave rise to this widespread name associated with tent lectures and drama.

The Jesuit Father Pierre Jean de Bonnécamps called the New York place *Yjadakoin.* This rendering, according to Thwaites, as well as Chadakoin, Tjadakoin, and Yadakoin, are "all variants of the Iroquois name which has now become, through successive phonetic renderings by French and English tongues, Chautauqua."[64]

J. N. B. Hewitt, a part Seneca ethnologist, translated the word as " 'one has taken out fish there,' referring to L. Chautauqua"; and this definition was adopted by Albert Gatschet.[65] Lewis H. Morgan, however, relying on the information of a Seneca chief, claimed that Chautauqua, correctly rendered as *Chaä-dä'-quĕh,* signified "place where one was lost."[66]

CHEBANSE (*village and township, Iroquois Co.*)

Hiram Beckwith, the lawyer-historian, argued that Chebanse, like Ashkum, was of eastern, but otherwise unknown, origin.[67] There is, however, overwhelming evidence of local origin. William K. Ackerman, president of the Illinois Central Railroad, in a paper read before the Chicago Historical Society, February 20, 1883, declared that Chebanse was named by the railroad for "an Indian chief (Little Duck), of the tribe of the Pottawatomie nation, who joined in articles of treaty made at Chicago . . . August 29, 1821, by which certain lands were ceded to the United States."[68]

The name of this chief, spelled "Chee-banse" appears in the list of signers of the treaty as published.[69] There was also a Kickapoo chief called "Sheshepah, or Little Duck," but he was not a resident of the vicinity.[70] The term for duck is recognizably similar to this name in the Algonkin, Illinois, Chippewa, Sauk-Fox, and Ottawa languages. "Shee-shee-banze" (Little Duck) is the name of a legendary Ottawa hero mentioned by Mrs. John H. Kinzie.[71]

The sound "s" (rendered variously as *s, se, ce, ze*) at the end of a Potawatomi word makes it a diminutive. Chebanse, therefore, sig-

64. *Jesuit Relations,* LXIX: 159, 295n.
65. Hodge, I: 239; Beauchamp, *Aboriginal Place Names of New York,* 39.
66. Morgan, *League of the Iroquois,* II: 128.
67. Beckwith, *Iroquois County,* Pt. 2, p. 333.
68. Ackerman, *Early Illinois Railroads* . . . (Fergus Historical Series, No. 23, Chicago, 1884), 124.
69. Kappler, II: 201.
70. *Ibid.,* 107, 131.
71. *Wau-Bun* (1901 ed.), Ch. XXX.

Che-Che-Pinqua was the Indian name of Alexander Robinson, a Potawatomi chief.
Photo courtesy Chicago Historical Society

nifies "little duck," even though the first syllable has been dropped along the way.

CHE-CHE-PINQUA (*Che-Che-Pinqua Woods, Forest Preserve District of Cook Co.*)

This is an alternate name for ROBINSON'S WOODS (*q.v.*) applied inconsistently at times to various portions of the forest preserve extending along the Des Plaines River from Lawrence Avenue to Belmont Avenue and overlapping the La Framboise Reserve on some maps.

This area, together with some territory north of Lawrence Avenue, is the residue of a tract of two square miles granted to Alexander Robinson, or Che-Che-Pinqua, a Potawatomi chief, by the Treaty of Prairie du Chien on July 29, 1829.[72]

He lived on that reservation from 1836 or some year thereafter,[73] until his death on April 22, 1872, at an age variously estimated from 83 to 110.[74] He was thus the only important chief who did not join in the migration of his tribe. He is now buried on his old reservation

72. "To Alexander Robinson, for himself and children, two sections on the Riviere aux Pleins, above and adjoining the tract herein granted to Claude Laframboise." Kappler, II: 298.

73. The date 1836 is given by Louise Houghton in *Our Debt to the Red Man* . . . (Boston, 1918), 107; M. L. Dunlap claims that Robinson occupied his reservation in 1840, in "Chief Robinson of the Pottowatomies," *Chicago Illustrated Journal,* March, 1873, pp. 46-47.

74. The larger figure appeared on the original grave marker. When interviewed by Lyman Draper in 1866, Robinson gave his birth date as 1789. Draper Notebooks, 1866, S-21, p. 274 (MSS, State Historical Society of Wisconsin).

beside his wife, Catherine Chevalier, who died August 7, 1860. Two sons, reputedly born on the tract, and a daughter-in-law are also buried there. A granite marker at their graves records that the tract was granted to the chief "in gratitude for his aid to the family of John Kinzie and to Capt. and Mrs. Heald at the time of the Fort Dearborn Massacre." A house occupied by the chief's granddaughter just west of the burial ground burned to the ground on May 25, 1955.

According to his own account, as given to Lyman Draper, Robinson was born at Mackinac, Michigan, in 1789, the son of a Scottish trader named Alexander Robinson and an Ottawa Indian mother. Through his marriage to the daughter of a prominent half-breed of St. Joseph, Michigan,[75] he became one of an illustrious band of mixed-blood statesmen of the Potawatomi. Like the others of this group (which included Billy Caldwell, Claude La Framboise, François Bourbonnais, and François Chevalier) he was long a friend of the whites, even to the detriment of tribal interests.

Robinson's name, spelled a variety of ways, appears in four treaties and three related documents.[76] Che-Che-Pinqua has been translated as "Blinking Eyes" or "Squint Eye," a name so bestowed by the Indians because of a physical peculiarity.[77]

CHEMUNG *(village and township, McHenry Co.)*

William H. Stennett reported that the village was named by A. M. Seward for the town of Chemung, New York.[78] That town is in a county of the same name, on the Chemung River, a tributary of the Susquehanna, and at the site of a Seneca Indian village known by the same name, but the name apparently is not Seneca.[79] Most authorities agree that *Chemung* is, or comes from, a Delaware word meaning "big horn." According to Morgan, *Kanungwa,* "horn in the water," was the Delaware name for the Indian town, and *Ga-ha-to,* "log in the water," was the Seneca name.[80] Beauchamp, citing Spafford, wrote that Chemung meant big horn or great horn in the

75. On Sept. 28, 1826, he was married to Catherine Chevalier at Chicago, before Justice John Kinzie. Catherine was the daughter of François Chevalier, an important Potawatomi of St. Joseph, Mich., whose name appears in the Tippecanoe Treaty of Oct. 20, 1832, as "Shobonier" (*q.v.*). See East, "Inhabitants of Chicago, 1825-1831," 138 ff.

76. Kappler, II: 133, 298, 354, 403, 410, 413, 415.

77. Dwight Kelton, *Indian Names of Places near the Great Lakes* (Detroit, 1888), 20-21; East, "Inhabitants of Chicago, 1825-1831," 156.

78. [Stennett], *A History of the Origin of the Place Names Connected with the Chicago & North Western . . . Railways* (Chicago, 1908), 55.

79. Schoolcraft, however, believed it to be a Seneca term. *Indian Tribes,* IV: 384; V: 669.

80. *League of the Iroquois,* II: 211.

Delaware language. Schoolcraft and others support the tradition that on several occasions in colonial and later times large horns or tusks were discovered in the locality and that one was sent to England, where "an eminent scientist called it the tusk of an elephant or some similar animal."[81] Undoubtedly these were remains of the prehistoric mammoth.

CHENOA (*town, McLean Co.*)

It is claimed locally that this is an Indian word correctly rendered as "chenowa" and signifying "white dove."[82] The language or dialect is not indicated, but if the name is of local origin, it would most probably come from the Potawatomi or a related language such as Kickapoo. The Potawatomi for dove is given by Gailland as *mimi* (me-me), and white dove, *Wábishki-mimi.*[83] The local traditions, therefore, appear to be in error.

There is a chance, however, that the name was extracted from *Kat/chinowa/win,* one of several terms for "little" or "small" in Gailland's dictionary.[84]

It might be a Kentucky borrowing of Cherokee origin, or it might not even be Indian-connected. The name of the village of Chenoa, in Bell County, Kentucky, has been explained both ways.[85] If Cherokee, the word might come from *Cheowa,* variously spelled, which was the name of several Cherokee villages in Tennessee and the Carolinas, taken, according to James Mooney, from *Tsiyâ-hĭ,* "otter place."[86] The non-Indian explanation is that the Illinois town was named for a Mr. W. A. Chenoa, owner of a local coal company whose name was used as the post office name.[87] No such personal name is listed in the Chicago telephone directory.

CHICAGO (*city, Cook Co.; Chicago River, Cook Co.; Chicago Heights, city, Cook Co.; East Chicago Heights, village, Cook Co.; South Chicago Heights, village, Cook Co.; Chicago Ridge,*

81. Beauchamp, *Aboriginal Place Names of New York,* 42.

82. Wayne C. Townley, *Historic McLean* (*Transactions of the McLean County Historical Society,* VI, Bloomington, 1944), 18.

83. "English-Potawatomi Dictionary," 421, 88.

84. *Ibid.,* 189. The tripartite division of the word is the author's for sake of illustration.

85. Cherokee and possibly Choctaw origin have been suggested by Thomas P. Field, "Indian Place Names of Kentucky," *Names,* VII (Sept., 1959): 158, 164.

86. Cherokee glossary in *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology . . . 1897-98* (Washington, 1900), Pt. 1, p. 538.

87. Personal correspondence with Dr. Thomas P. Field, University of Kentucky, Nov. 7, 1959.

village, Cook Co.; North Chicago, city, Lake Co.; West Chicago, city, Du Page Co.)

Early the red men gave a name to a river,
the place of the skunk,
the river of the wild onion smell,
Shee-caw-go.

— Carl Sandburg, "The Windy City"

Thirty-nine different spellings and eleven different etymologies of Chicago have been found. Since this is one of the easiest Indian names to analyze, there is no explanation except carelessness for the proliferation of nonsense. The view of the late Milo Milton Quaife that Chicago means "something great"[88] has gained currency because of Quaife's reputation for scholarship, but there is overwhelmingly decisive evidence that Chicago means wild garlic, leek, or onion.[89] Henri Joutel, a survivor of La Salle's ill-starred expedition to Texas, upon reaching Chicago on September 25, 1687, wrote in his journal:

Nous continuasmes à marcher jusqu'au jeudi 25, que nous arrivasmes au lieu que l'on nomme Chicagou, qui, suivant ce que l'on en put apprendre, a pris ce nom de la quantité d'ail qui croist dans ce canton, dans les bois.[90]

[We continued walking until Thursday the 25th, when we arrived at a place which is named Chicagou, which, according to what we could learn, has taken this name from the quantity of garlic which grows in this district, in the woods.]

Apparent confirmation of Joutel's explanation of "Chicago" is found in Joseph Ignatius Le Boulanger's "French-Illinois [Indian] Dictionary" (MSS,[91] *ca.* 1720): *"l'Ail, de* [garlic] *8anssi88ia, si8a; chicac8o, abusive."*[92]

88. Milo Milton Quaife, *Checagou: From Indian Wigwam to Modern City, 1673-1835* (Chicago, 1933), 17-20 and *Lake Michigan* (Indianapolis, 1944), 61; Bessie L. Pierce, *A History of Chicago* (New York, 1937-1957), I: 404. Origination of the explanation of "great" or "strong" for Chicago's name has been attributed to Dr. William Barry, first secretary of the Chicago Historical Society; A. T. Andreas, *History of Cook County, Illinois* . . . (Chicago, 1884), 37.

89. Detailed studies of the name have been published elsewhere by the author; see "The Mystery of Chicago's Name," *Mid-America,* XL (July, 1958): 163-74; "Illinois' Onion Patch," *Illinois History,* XII (Nov., 1958): 38-41.

90. Pierre Margry, *Découvertes et Établissements des Français dans . . . L'Amérique Septentrionale, 1614-1754* (Paris, 1879-1888), III: 485. English translations of Joutel's journal exist, but they are incomplete or garbled.

91. The original manuscript of this valuable source is in the John Carter Brown Library, Providence, R. I. A complete photostatic copy is in the Newberry Library, Chicago.

92. The figure 8 which appears in some French maps and writings of

The same dictionary gives *chicac8o* as the Illinois name of the "*beste puante*" (stinking beast, skunk, page 149). The garlic or wild onion was the "stinking weed" or "skunk weed."[93] Perhaps from this similarity of terms arises the notion that Chicago means "skunk place."

Further verification of this meaning is provided by the 1701 account of Lamothe Cadillac: "The post at Chicago comes next. The word means Garlic River, because a very large quantity of garlic grows wild there, without cultivation. There is a village of the Miami there. . . ."[94] This statement probably also points to the Miami, the earliest known settlers at Chicago, as the name-givers. Their language, however, is so close to that of the Illinois that there would be no point in disputing which of these two peoples gave the name.

Some early forms of the name Chicago have suffixes such as *on, ong,* and *ogi.* These represent French efforts to convey the Indian terminal syllable signifying "place."

CHILLICOTHE (*city and township, Peoria Co.; North Chillicothe, village, Peoria Co.*)

Chillicothe stands on the site of a former Potawatomi village led by chief Gomo.[95] The name, however, was brought from Ohio and is of Shawnee origin. James Mooney claimed that Chillicothe (from *Chĭ-la-ká-tha*) was the name of one of the four principal tribal divisions of the Shawnee, formerly resident in Ohio, whose principal village always bore this name, though in various locations at different times.[96]

Although several attempts at translation have been made, Thomas Wildcat Alford, an Oklahoma Shawnee and great-grandson of Tecumseh, is quoted as saying that the name "has no particular meaning."[97]

the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries has apparently been used as a symbol for the phonemes *ou* as in Missouri, *ou* as in Ouabache (Wabash), *o* as in Peoria, *w* as in *Chawanon* (Shawnee), and several other terms. On Marquette's map it appears in twelve different tribal and place names; in Le Boulanger's dictionary it is used repeatedly in like manner.

93. In Peoria: *Cikakûngi, Cikakunge,* "the site or location of Chicago [which points] to the existence of a species of *leek,* from a radix *shikzhik,* to smell!" A. Gatschet, "Lexicon of the Peoria Language" (a card file in the Bureau of American Ethnology, Cat. No. 2481).

94. *The Western Country in the Seventeenth Century: The Memoirs of Lamothe Cadillac and Pierre Liette* (M. M. Quaife, ed., Chicago, 1947), 69.

95. Smith, *Metamora,* 26.

96. Hodge, I: 267-68.

97. William A. Galloway, *Old Chillicothe* . . . (Xenia, Ohio, 1934), 21.

CHIPPEWA (*Chippewa Park, Chicago Park District; Chippewa Woods, Forest Preserve District of Cook Co.*)

These are named for the Chippewa Indians who lived, and still live, in the northern lake country. Chippewa is a corruption of Ojibway or Otchipwe. The generally accepted definition is "to roast till puckered up," held to refer to the type of moccasins worn by these Indians.[98]

Keating's explanation, published in 1825, differs but slightly:

The term Chippewa, which is generally applied to this nation, is derived from that of O'chepe'wag, which they restrict to the Indians who reside near Fond du Lac,[99] it signifies plaited shoes, from the fashion among those Indians of puckering their mocassins. The whole nation are by themselves styled Neenawesik (Neenawe'sik), which signifies *natural language,* implying that they speak an original tongue, and that other nations have an acquired one.[100]

CISCO (*village, Piatt Co.*)

Cisco is the name of a lake in Gogebic County, Michigan, and is related to Siskowit or Siskiwit, the name of a lake in Wisconsin, and of a bay and lake at Isle Royale, Michigan, as well as of adjacent islands. All authorities agree that the name is that of a kind of fish, in an Algonquian dialect,[101] probably Ojibway.

COLUSA (*village, Hancock Co.*)

There are also a Colusa, California, and a Caloosa, Florida. Local inquiry fails to reveal how the name came to be given to the Illinois village.

The California place is named for the Korusi tribe of Indians, who have been called Colusa. The meaning of the name has not been determined.[102] The Florida name comes from the Calusa or Caloosa tribe of Indians, now extinct, concerning whom little is known.[103]

COON (*Coon Creek, in several counties; Coon Island, in both Illinois and Mississippi rivers in Calhoun Co., and Pistakee*

98. Hodge, I: 277.

99. French, "end of the lake," meaning, in this instance, the head of Lake Superior, at the site of present Duluth.

100. William H. Keating, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Source of St. Peter's River . . .* (London, 1825), II: 147.

101. A. F. Chamberlain, "Algonkian Words in American English . . .," *Journal of American Folk-Lore,* XV (1902): 243; Chrysostom Verwyst, "Geographical Names in Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Michigan, Having a Chippewa Origin," *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin,* XII (1892): 397.

102. Hodge, I: 727.

103. John R. Swanton, *The Indian Tribes of North America* (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 145, Washington, 1952), 125-28.

Lake in McHenry Co.; Coon Lake, in Jersey Co.; Coon Slough, in Pike Co.)

Coon is a colloquial form of raccoon, corrupted from the Eastern Algonquian name of the familiar nocturnal mammal *Procyon lotor*. See RACCOON.

COUGAR (*Cougar Creek, Cook Co.* [*tributary of Sag Canal*])

This picturesque stream, which cuts a rugged gorge through the Niagara limestone of this area, is named for the tawny, long-tailed wildcat, also called panther and puma, which once lived in Illinois.[104] The origin of the word cougar, like that of puma, is attributed to Brazilian Indians of the Tupi-Guarani linguistic stock.[105] It must have entered the English language via literature.

COUNCIL HILL (*village and township, Jo Daviess Co.*)

According to Ackerman, "there is a tradition that the Indians held councils here. Near the [I.C.R.R.] station is a large rock, from which Black Hawk is said to have addressed his braves for the last time."[106] Personal inquiry of the storekeeper in May, 1958, indicated that this tradition still prevails, though there is no historic evidence to support it. The Sauk did, however, make raids in this vicinity during the Black Hawk war of 1832, and some band may have camped here. The name Council Hill appears as early as 1836 on H. P. Tanner's *New Map of Illinois*.

CROW CREEK (*in Marshall Co.*)

"Crow Meadow River" is the designation given this stream on several early maps dating from 1790. It has also been called *Corbeau* (Fr., crow or raven) River, and Blackbird River. On May 7, 1813, Thomas Forsyth held a conference with Potawatomi Indians at "Crow Prairie."[107]

Nehemiah Matson, in 1874, published the supposed background of the name, based on traditional accounts gathered from the Kansas Potawatomi. Shortly after the Potawatomi penetrated the region (*ca.* 1750) "on the west side of the [Illinois] river near the mouth of Crow creek a village was founded by White Crow, who with his band came from the lake country, and a large mound, which is still

104. DeGannes memoir in T. C. Pease and R. C. Werner, eds., *The French Foundations, 1680-1693* (*Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library*, XXIII, Springfield, 1934), 318-19.

105. Walter William Skeat, *An Etymological Dictionary of the English Language* (Oxford, 1911), 138.

106. *Early Illinois Railroads*, 139.

107. *Territorial Papers of the U.S.*, XVI (*The Territory of Illinois, 1809-1814*): 324-25.

to be seen [was] raised over his grave. In the early settlement of the country a chief named Crow lived here, from whom Crow creek and Crow prairie took their names."[108] A Potawatomi who signed the second Treaty of Greenville, Ohio, July 22, 1814, is listed as "Mackoota, or Crow,"[109] but his place of residence is not given.

CUBA (*village and township, Lake Co.; Cuba, city, Fulton Co.*)

These places were named for the Caribbean island. The name is Arawakan and is derived from *Cubanacan,* a now extinct tribe which occupied that island at the time of its discovery. The original term has been said to mean the "center or middle."[110]

DAHINDA (*village, Knox Co.*)

Dahinda appears in Longfellow's *Song of Hiawatha* as the Ojibway name of the bullfrog:

> And the bull-frog, the Dahinda,
> Thrust his head into the moonlight,
> Fixed his yellow eyes upon him,
> Sobbed and sank beneath the surface;

John Tanner's rendering of the same term is *Dain-da,*[111] while J. H. Trumbull's is *Dain-dá-see,*[112] which should really signify a small bullfrog.

It is likely that this name was bestowed by someone who was impressed by the Hiawatha story. The only other Dahinda place name in North America is in Saskatchewan.

DAKOTA (*town and township, Stephenson Co.*)

The Dakota was the largest division of the widespread Sioux tribes, principally occupying the northern great plains. Perhaps the earliest recorded definition of Dakota is William Keating's (1825): "The term Dacota, by which the Sioux call themselves, signifies in their language the *united or allied,* because the whole nation consists of several allied tribes."[113] Keating further declared that the name Sioux was from the Chippewa *Naudowessi,* spelled *Nadiousioux* by the French, signifying strangers or enemies.

108. Nehemiah Matson, *French and Indians of Illinois River* (Princeton, Ill., 1874), 257.
109. Kappler, II: 107.
110. Beauchamp, *Aboriginal Place Names of New York,* 26.
111. John Tanner, *A Narrative of the Captivity and Adventures of John Tanner . . . during Thirty Years Residence among the Indians in the Interior of North America* (Minneapolis, 1956), 304.
112. *Transactions Connecticut Academy of Arts & Sciences,* Vol. II, Pt. I (1870), 180.
113. *Narrative,* I: 336-37.

DECORRA (*village, Henderson Co.*)

Like Decorah, Iowa, this place was named for one of a line of Winnebago chiefs of the same name, all descended from Sabrevoir de Carrie, a French officer who in 1729 won the favor of Hopoekaw, a Winnebago maiden styled "Glory of the Morning."[114]

Perhaps the best known of the Decorahs was Big Canoe or One-eyed Decorah, who helped deliver the Sauk leader Black Hawk to Indian agent Joseph M. Street at Fort Crawford, Wisconsin, August 27, 1832.[115] Also known to history are Waukon Decorah, who gave his name to both a county and city in Iowa, and Spoon Decorah, a nephew of Big Canoe.[116]

DES PLAINES (*Des Plaines River; Des Plaines [formerly Rand], city, Cook Co.; Plaines, village, Will Co.*)

This name has had a long and confusing evolution, including Au Plaine, Aux Plaines, Deplain, O'Plaine, Plane, Plein, etc.[117]

The evidence seems to indicate that it evolved from the French *eau pleine* (full of water), referring not to the river but to the sap-flowing maple trees along its banks. The Indians gave the name of the trees to the river. Keating's account declares:

It receives its name from a variety of maple, which by the Canadians is named *Plaine*. In Potawatomi the river is termed Sheshikmaoshike Sepe (which signifies *flumen arboris quae mingit*).[118] This appellation is derived from the great quantity of sap which flows from this tree in the spring.[119]

DU QUOIN (*city and township, Perry Co.; Old Du Quoin, village, Perry Co.*)

These are named for Jean Baptiste Ducoigne, a Kaskaskia chief of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, who was noted for his friendship for the whites. The name is believed to have been borrowed from De Couagne, the name of a wealthy mercantile family of Montreal, mentioned in the *Jesuit Relations* as early as 1743.[120] The chief befriended the Americans, and particularly George Rogers Clark's force, during the Revolution, by supplying the militia

114. Quaife, *Lake Michigan,* 317-18; Hodge, I: 384.

115. *Niles' Weekly Register,* Sept. 29, 1832 (XLIII: 78-79).

116. Charles Philip Hexom, *Indian History of Winneshiek County* (Decorah, Ia., 1913); see also R. G. Thwaites, "Narrative of Spoon Decorah," *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin,* XIII (1895): 448-62.

117. The most detailed account of the evolution of the name of this stream is Hermon Dunlap Smith's *The Des Plaines River, 1673-1940: A Brief Consideration of Its Names and History* (Lake Forest, Ill., 1940).

118. Latin, "tree from which water flows."

119. Keating, *Narrative,* I: 176.

120. Vol. LXIX, p. 253.

with venison and seeking the support of the Chickasaw for the American cause.[121]

Ducoigne is believed to have died shortly before October, 1832. By the Treaty of Castor Hill, Missouri, October 27, 1832, the remaining fragments of the once great Illinois confederacy ceded to the United States the last of their lands east of the Mississippi except for a single 350-acre tract reserved to "Ellen Decoigne, the daughter of their late Chief."[122]

ERIE (*village and township, Whiteside Co.; Erie Lake, Whiteside Co.; Mt. Erie, village and township, Wayne Co.; Erienna township, Grundy Co.*)

An early county history states that the Erie names in Whiteside County were given because a large proportion of the early settlers of Erie Township were from Erie County, New York, on Lake Erie.[123]

The name comes from the Erie Indians, a tribe of Iroquoian stock though not members of that confederacy, occupying the south shore of Lake Erie, who were virtually destroyed by the Iroquois in 1656.[124]

Erie is a shortened form of *Errieronons* or *Irri-ronon,* which signifies "cat people."[125] Whether the name arose from the tribal totem or from the plethora of wildcats in their territory is not known.

In the name of Erienna Township, Grundy County, a Latinized suffix has been added for euphony, making this a bilingual word.

FOX (*Fox Lake, Lake Co.; Fox Lake, village, Lake Co.; Fox River, of northern Illinois; Fox River Grove, village, McHenry Co.; Fox River Heights, village, Kane Co.; Fox, village, Kendall Co.; Lafox, village, Kane Co.*) See also PISTAKEE

These names are the progeny of the Fox River, which is named for the Fox Indian tribe,[126] a band of which is reputed to have perished at Maramech Hill (*q.v.*) in Kendall County, when assaulted by a superior force of French and Indians in 1730.[127] The stream is desig-

121. J. A. James, ed., *George Rogers Clark Papers, 1771-1781* (*Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library,* VIII, Springfield, 1912), 260-61, 555; Stanley Faye, "Illinois Indians on the Lower Mississippi, 1771-1782," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society,* XXXV (March, 1942): 57-72.

122. Kappler, II: 376; Hodge, I: 405, 662.

123. Charles Bent, *History of Whiteside County* . . . (Morrison, Ill., 1877), 147.

124. Hodge, I: 430-31.

125. Lahontan, *New Voyages,* I: 320; Pierre F. X. de Charlevoix, *History and General Description of New France* (John G. Shea, ed., New York, 1866-1872), II: 266.

126. Swanton, *Indian Tribes of North America,* 252.

127. John F. Steward, *Lost Maramech and Earliest Chicago* . . . Chi-

nated as the "Foxes River" on Lieutenant John Armstrong's map of 1790. In earlier times the river was called Pisticoui, Pishtaka, Pishtako, or Pistakee (*q.v.*), the Algonquian word for buffalo, a name preserved in Pistakee Lake.[128]

The Fox Indians, close allies of the Sauk, are also known as Renards (Fr., foxes), Outagamig (people of the other shore), and Mesquakie, their own name for themselves ("red earth" people). There is no evidence the Fox River in southern Illinois was named for this tribe.

GANEER (*township, Kankakee Co.*)

This township is named for the Potawatomi woman *Je-neir,* the wife of Moness, half-breed son of Pierre Moran. (See MOMENCE.) She was originally the holder of one section of land in the township, under terms of a treaty signed at Tippecanoe, Indiana, October 27, 1832, with Topenebee's band. Her name appears in that treaty as *Ge-neir.*[129] Clark Richards, who first surveyed and platted the township, entered the name as "Ganeer," and this spelling has survived.[130]

One source erroneously claims that Jeneir was the wife of Momence and the daughter of a chief.[131] Once more, local fancy has married two Indians whose names were found close together on the map. (See OSKALOOSA for another example.)

GENESSEE, GENESEO (*Genessee Township, Whiteside Co.; Geneseo, city and township, Henry Co.; Geneseo Creek, Henry Co.*)

The city and township of Geneseo, and the nearby creek, were so named because this district was settled in 1836 by colonists from Geneseo, New York.[132] Genessee is a spelling variation of Geneseo. The word is from the Seneca dialect of the Iroquoian language, according to Morgan, who added, "It is worthy of remark that the root of the word Genesee was the name of the valley and not of the river, the latter deriving its name from the former. Gen-nis'-he-yo signifies 'the beautiful valley,' a name most fitly bestowed."[133]

(*To be continued*)

cago, 1903). Claims have been made for at least three other sites as the location of this massacre.

128. Charlevoix, *Journal of a Voyage to North America* (Louise Phelps Kellogg, ed., Chicago, 1923), II: 184; Keating, *Narrative,* I: 179.

129. Kappler, II: 373.

130. Burt E. Burroughs, *Tales of an Old "Border Town" and along the Kankakee . . .* (Fowler, Ind., 1925), 43-45.

131. Federal Writers' Project, *Illinois Guide* (Chicago, 1939), 400.

132. Anson M. Hubbard, "A Colony Settlement, Geneseo, Illinois, 1836-1837," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society,* XXIX (Jan. 1937): 403-31.

133. Morgan, *League of the Iroquois,* II: 91-92.

Lincolniana Notes

Memorial Garden Begins Second Quarter Century

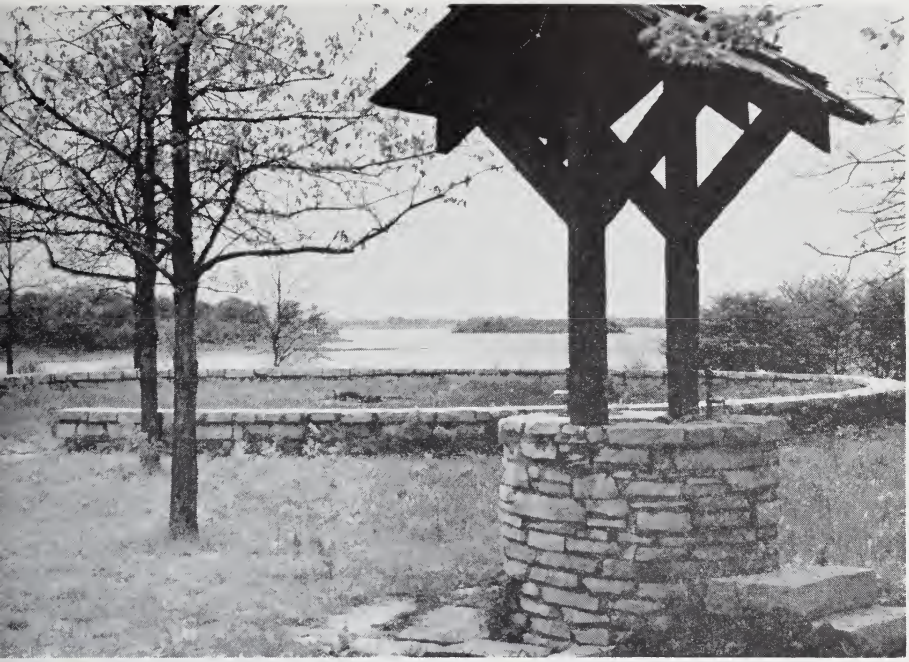
When Jens Jensen, the noted landscape architect, submitted his plans for the Abraham Lincoln Memorial Garden, he wrote: "This garden will, in fifty years, be the outstanding planting in the Middle West. In centuries to come our descendants will enjoy this garden."

That was in 1936, and now the plantings in that sixty woodland acres on the northeast shore of Lake Springfield (nine miles from the Old State Capitol) are beginning their second quarter of a century of growth.

In the twenty-five years since the first acorns were planted, many changes have taken place in an area that was then considered "marginal" land. At the dedication ceremonies on November 14, 1936, a group of Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts planted acorns from twenty-eight states. The ten varieties of oak trees that grew from them formed the nuclei of the Garden, which now contains more than fifty other kinds of trees. Lining the five miles of woodland trails are more than thirty kinds of shrubs, and growing beneath these are more than a dozen varieties of ferns; the meadows between the plantings are covered with more than eighty kinds of native flowers.

Back in 1934 when Lake Springfield was being built, Mrs. T. J. Knudson of Springfield, a member of the board of directors of the Garden Club of Illinois, presented the idea of a living memorial honoring Lincoln to that organization. The Springfield city council set aside the area and the support of other clubs was enlisted through the Garden Club of Illinois.

Then, in 1952 the present Abraham Lincoln Memorial Garden Foundation, Inc. was established to facilitate the operation of the project. The Foundation derives its support from several different sources. Nearly all of the 290 local garden clubs throughout the state and a number in other states have club memberships at $10 a year. Individuals may become life members at $100, active members at $2.00 yearly, contributing members at $5.00, or sus-



Council ring and drinking fountain overlooking Lake Springfield in the Abraham Lincoln Memorial Garden.

taining members at $25 — there are now more than fifty life members.

Memberships, however, are not the Foundation's main source of revenue. This is provided by proceeds from the annual tour of "Hazelwood," the estate of Mrs. Charles R. Walgreen just north of Dixon. The tenth annual tour will be held this year on May 5-6. Over the years, attendance has increased until more than four thousand visitors can be expected, at $1.00 each. On the tour they see the gardens, the home, the guest house, and the log cabin that was built 125 years ago for "Governor" Alexander Charters, the original title holder to the land. The cabin, which is the only log dwelling remaining in the area, has been restored and converted into a museum of pioneer Americana. The barn, which was built in 1838, is now a guest house. Mrs. Walgreen, an accomplished horticulturist, has developed the gardens into a garden club dream. Thus the tour attracts two groups that are enthusiastic in their interests — gardeners and historians.

Although the city of Springfield does the basic maintenance

and Boy and Girl Scouts and other groups assist with plantings, more than $60,000 has been spent on improvements to the Memorial Garden. These include water fountains, foot bridges, council rings, benches, parking facilities, entry gates, and a shelter house.

One of the four drinking fountains resembles the windlassed wells of Lincoln's day, with a circular stone base about three feet high and a shingled gable roof overhead.

There are eight council rings ranging in size from thirty to fifty feet in diameter. These rings are stone wall-seats about two feet high. In the center of each is a fire pit.

Along the trails are thirteen foot bridges, the largest of which is the eighty-foot-long Walgreen Bridge — given to the Garden as a birthday present for Mrs. Walgreen by her late husband. The approaches to the bridge (which is pictured on the front cover of this *Journal*) were graded a century ago for a railroad that was never built. Originally the bridge was intended to cross a gully; now it spans an inlet of Lake Springfield.

The twenty-five benches located along the trails and at strategic points overlooking the lake are a unique feature of the Garden. Made of chemically treated oak planks set in concrete, they are six feet long with seats three inches thick. Each has a Lincoln quotation carved in large letters on the back. The benches are gifts of state garden clubs and other organizations: seventeen from garden clubs (Mrs. Knudson hopes eventually to have all fifty states represented), five from auxiliaries of the Sons of Union Veterans, two from Ladies of the G.A.R., and one from the Chicago Out-Door Art League. The rustic shelter house (a large concrete slab with a roof over it) was a contribution of the Illinois Federation of Women's Clubs.

Looking to the near future the Foundation's directors are now planning to employ a full-time naturalist and to construct a building that will serve as his home and will include a lecture room and a library. These plans may seem ambitious, but in view of the Foundation's accomplishments, its sound organization, and the dedication of its governing board, almost anything seems possible.

Although plans for the building have not yet been accepted, the directors, for the past ten years, have been accumulating a reserve fund that by now exceeds $25,000, so their dual program cannot be far from realization. In the meantime visitors to the Lincoln

shrines in Springfield can have a guided tour of the Garden, the "only living memorial to Abraham Lincoln," during the spring and autumn seasons by making arrangements through Mrs. Knudson (address: "Gladacres," Springfield, Illinois).

Newly Discovered Lincoln Papers on Exhibit

Twenty-eight newly discovered Lincoln notes, letters, and papers plus an autographed carte-de-visite photograph have been on exhibit in the Horner-Lincoln Room of the Illinois State Historical Library since February 12. The collection was placed on deposit in the Library by the owners, Elsie O. and Philip D. Sang of River Forest. Mr. Sang is a director of the Illinois State Historical Society.

These Lincoln papers were discovered among the effects of Oscar A. Kershner, a semi-recluse who died in Greenville, Illinois, on March 21, 1961. Kershner was born on December 26, 1890, at Tamalco, a village in the southeast corner of Bond County. A story of his life in the *Greenville Advocate,* on August 21, 1961, said, "Mr. Kershner . . . after reaching maturity had the misfortune to lose his leg in an accident. Recovering, he went to Washington, D.C., where he was employed in government offices as a clerk and bookkeeper." During the fifty years or so that he was in Washington, Kershner compiled his collection of Lincolniana and other historical materials. About four years before his death he retired from his government job and returned to Bond County, where he lived at the Thomas Hotel in Greenville.

In addition to his Lincoln papers Kershner had letters by several other historical figures; among them, Robert E. Lee, Jefferson Davis, Rutherford B. Hayes, James Buchanan, and Herbert Hoover.

He also had a collection of approximately 1,500 photographs, most of them of people of the Civil War period and many of them autographed. In this group were autographed photographs of all the members of Lincoln's Cabinet and a series of seven pictures of Mrs. Lincoln, numbered and signed by Civil War photographer Mathew B. Brady.

The autographed carte-de-visite photograph of Lincoln is one of possibly twenty in existence and they are very highly prized by Lincoln collectors, according to James T. Hickey, curator of the

Historical Library's Lincoln Collection. There are two more unusual items of Lincolniana in this Kershner collection; one is a note to which Lincoln signed only his initials, and another is a letter (dated October 16, 1864) which he franked by signing his name where the stamp would usually go.

Most of the papers in the collection are pardons, endorsements, commissions, or brief notes of some other kind. The texts of three or four of them have been available before, Hickey stated, because they were written as telegrams or copies had been retained for the records. But it had not been known that the originals were still in existence.

One unusual feature of five of the notes is that they are written on small cards (as small as one by two inches), instead of on stationery. One of these cards (dated October 3, 1863) reads, "Sec. of War, please see & hear this young lady, or girl rather, Miss Skekell." Another (August 20, 1864) is also addressed to the Secretary of War and requests, "Please see the bearer & have his case fairly examined, whose loss in our service certainly entitles him to so much." The latest of the five cards (dated January 28, 1865) reads, "Will Gen. Hitchcock please see & hear fully this lady. This is rather a special request."

Five of the papers contain longer messages written and signed by Lincoln. In the earliest of these, dated March 27, 1858, and addressed to Jackson Grimshaw, a Pittsfield, Illinois, attorney, Lincoln discusses a will which the two men were evidently helping to administer on a partnership basis.

The circumstances surrounding the next letter are not entirely known, but evidently someone had been spreading rumors about Civil War General Joseph Hooker. The latter had telegraphed the President, "You need not believe any more than you choose of what is published in the associated press dispatches concerning this army tomorrow. Was it from the newspapers that you received a report, or an idea, that I was in Washington last night?"

Lincoln's reply, the original copy of which was written to be sent as a telegram, is in the Kershner collection. Lincoln said, on June 28, 1863, "It did not come from the newspapers, nor did I believe it; but I wished to be entirely sure it was a falsehood."

The third letter, chronologically, in this group was addressed to Lincoln's postmaster general, Montgomery Blair, formerly mayor

of St. Louis, and concerned another Missourian. Dated July 29, 1863, it reads, "I am told our unfortunate friend, Henry Charles DeAhna, with his family, is destitute; and that he now wants a clerkship. Suppose we try to get one for him."

Another letter, dated October 18, 1863, was addressed to General George Meade: "Have you in custody for detention a man by the name of Jacob Schwarz, a Swiss? If so please send a short statement of his case. Neither his Co., Reg. or Corps is given me." Private Schwarz was from a Massachusetts regiment and was seeking commutation of a sentence. As far as the records show, Lincoln later returned Schwarz's papers to the judge advocate general without a recommendation.

The fifth letter in the Kershner collection concerns the drafting of soldiers in a Pennsylvania county. Lincoln wrote, on November 12, 1864, to the provost marshal general, "I shall approve whatever you may do about draft in Clearfield County, Pa. and about which Hon. Mr. Schofield and Hon. Mr. Patton talked with you today." Schofield was possibly General John M. Schofield, although Lincoln usually referred to military men by their rank. Patton was John Patton who had been a congressman from that Pennsylvania district in 1861-1863.

Observances of Lincoln's 153rd Birthday

Each year more organizations have Abraham Lincoln's Birthday programs, and each year the Illinois State Historical Library is called upon to supply speakers, information, and materials for these observances. In February, 1962, there were two notable additions to the many programs that have already become Springfield traditions. Both took place on Sunday, February 11: one was the dedication of a new Lincoln Trail for the Boy Scouts of America, and the other was a simultaneous open house at three Lincoln shrines — the Lincoln Home, the Old State Capitol (Sangamon County Courthouse), and Edwards Place.

Dedication of the Lincoln Trail, which more than three thousand Scouts use each year for the twenty-one-mile hike from New Salem to Springfield, took place at 1:30 P.M. at Camp Lincoln, on the northwest edge of Springfield, when Governor Otto Kerner turned a spadeful of earth for the planting of the first marker on the new

route. Among the other speakers at the ceremonies was State Historian Clyde C. Walton, and in the audience were Boy Scouts from Springfield, Chicago, Peoria, Decatur, Quincy, and Alton.

The establishment of the new Lincoln Trail was initiated by Governor Kerner, and it is based on detailed research by James T. Hickey, curator of the Lincoln Collection of the Historical Library. As a longtime official in the Boy Scout organization, the Governor was familiar with the present route, which he considered dangerous because most of it follows State Highways 97 and 125. He asked the Historical Library for the best information available about the route Lincoln actually used. That route, as mapped by Hickey, is to the east of the present trail and follows country roads, crosses fields, and runs along the Sangamon River at several points. It is expected to be ready for use in May.

During the past thirty-six years more than 40,000 Boy Scouts have hiked the twenty-one miles of the present trail as part of their qualifications to receive a Lincoln badge.

The open house programs Sunday afternoon at the Lincoln shrines were sponsored by the Junior League of Springfield and the Springfield Art Association. The Historical Library supplied historical exhibits for display at the Old Capitol. The principal feature of these was four oil paintings, by John Weimar, a German artist, of views of Springfield from the top of the statehouse in 1857. Each painting is twenty-eight by thirty-five inches in size and is mounted in a heavy gilt frame of the period.

The program at the Old Capitol was an hour-long panel discussion on the subject of the building itself. One of the four panelists was State Historian Walton, who talked on "The Future of the Sangamon County Courthouse," which is scheduled to become the home of the State Historical Society.

Visitors at the Lincoln Home were greeted by members of the Junior League in costumes of the 1860's and by State Representative G. William Horsley in the role of Lincoln. At Edwards Place — the home of Benjamin S. Edwards, son of Governor Ninian Edwards — visitors were received by another group of costumed Junior League members. J. Speed Reid of Springfield read a paper on his great-granduncle, Lincoln's friend Joshua Speed.

On Monday four members of the Historical Library staff — Walton, Hickey, Margaret A. Flint, assistant state historian, and

S. Ambrose Wetherbee, reference librarian — took part in an hour-long program on Springfield radio station WTAX. The panel answered Lincoln questions phoned in by listeners.

In addition to these programs Walton attended a number of other Lincoln observances both before and after the birth date. On the preceding Thursday he was in Chicago for the Lincoln College Founders' Day dinner, and he returned to Lincoln the next day for the Founders' Day program there. On Tuesday, February 13, he addressed the Tri-City Patriotic Association in Rock Island. The next morning he went to Chicago for the first meeting of the American Negro Emancipation Centennial Commission of Illinois, of which he is a member, and that evening he spoke before the Ward Hill Lamon Civil War Round Table meeting in Danville.

Hickey was also in demand as a Lincoln Birthday speaker and addressed the Atlanta (Illinois) Women's Club (Wednesday, February 7); the Mt. Pulaski Women's Club (Friday); the Lincoln P.E.O. group (Tuesday); the Springfield Junior League (Wednesday); and the Buffalo P.T.A. (Thursday). Besides the radio program he appeared on a television show on February 12.

Bernard Wax, field services supervisor for the Historical Library, had two speaking engagements on Lincoln's birthday. He addressed a luncheon meeting of the Stephenson (Springfield) Chapter of the Women's Relief Corps and the father and son banquet of the Peter Cartwright Methodist Church of Pleasant Plains.

Lincoln Book Center Opens in Tokyo

Japan now has a library devoted entirely to material about Abraham Lincoln. The Tokyo Lincoln Book Center was opened in November, 1961, under the direction of Masaharu Mochizuki in the Japan Publications Trading Company Building. Its twenty-two-page Japanese and English catalog has a six-page listing of seventy-eight titles under the heading "Books on Lincoln Published in Japan." Most of these are original works in Japanese, although a few are translations of American books. The latter include Benjamin P. Thomas, *Abraham Lincoln*; Jim Bishop, *The Day Lincoln Was Shot*; Sterling North, *Abe Lincoln: Log Cabin to White House*; and John Drinkwater, *Abraham Lincoln: A Play*.

The listing of "American Books on Lincoln" contains some two hundred titles and includes about twenty-five that were published before 1900 and several that were issued in 1961. Then there are books from other countries printed in a dozen different languages. Five pages list pamphlets, leaflets, and periodicals. These include the pamphlets published by the Illinois State Historical Society, the Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission, and the Illinois Division of Departmental Reports.

In his introduction to the catalog the director modestly states:

> This collection I am doing, first had its inception in the gathering of material for a complete biography of Lincoln, my life work, that I earnestly wanted to write. That beginning collection of material for such use was the motivating force.
>
> That fervent desire was heightened, I must say, by the Sesquicentennial Anniversary in 1959 of Lincoln's birth. I began to read books more than ever. While so doing, I realized that my meager ability could not at all cope with the task of writing a book on the great Lincoln. . . .
>
> Thence my plan became fixed: to make further efforts for the setting up of this Lincoln Book Center for use by the general public, deepen their respect for him, so that I might be able to see appearance of fuller and better biography of him.

Historical Notes

Prowling Monsters of the Greene County Desert

One of the early settlers in Greene County, Illinois, was Calvin Tunnell (1791-1867), a native of North Carolina, who grew up in Tennessee and emigrated to Madison County, Illinois, in 1817. Two years later he settled north of Macoupin Creek in Greene County, near the present town of Carrollton. Tunnell soon became prominent in Democratic politics and was elected to the Illinois General Assembly in 1834. He was also a Baptist minister, and, according to the following account which he wrote for his granddaughters, he was a skillful hunter as well. A copy of the letter was sent to the *Journal* by James D. Trabue, of Belleville, a great-great-grandson of Tunnell's.

Dear Granddaughters:

Having been requested to write out an account or a little history of an interesting incident of my early life, I now commence by premising that at the time of which I write, my family consisted of my wife and my two oldest sons, William A. and Daniel L.[1]

It was on the fourteenth day of February, 1819, about the time the sun was sinking down to rest behind the western horizon, that I, with my family, arrived at my little log cabin or shanty, half a mile south of where I now live. The cabin was built of small, round logs, making one room of fifteen by twelve feet. It had no door to close the entrance. My wife hung up a quilt to stop the aperature through which we made our ingress and egress, and to separate our little happy family from the prowling monsters of the desert which were roaming about the country.

At this time there were but few animals more abundant than the wolves; they were often seen in gangs of four or five and sometimes more. They seldom attacked people — though they did on some occasions: a gang attacked Low Jackson in Madison

1. Tunnell was married in 1811 to Jane Adair (1795-1858). They had fourteen children.

County, but he had his rifle and shot several of them before they would desist. . . .

I had not the time to do anything to make us more comfortable than we then were. I had to go back to Madison County, forty miles after another load and to attend to some other business, before the ground would thaw and make the prairies impassible; we had no roads at that time. I was gone nearly a week. While I was gone, my wife got up one morning very early, while the morning twilight was yet lingering on the vision. When she stepped out of doors, she discovered a very large black wolf sitting on his haunches in the yard. She immediately stepped back into the shanty and took my rifle from its place and went to the door to shoot him, but to her chagrene and mortification, by some unaccountable means the best of double triggers had got out of fix, so they would not throw the hammer. When she found she could not shoot him, she commenced hollowing and making a display as though she intended to attack him, but he for some time kept his position and sat barking a little at her, but she kept moving slowly towards him hollowing and clapping her hands when he finally galloped off as gracefully as if he felt himself at home. He would occasionally stop, turn and look back as if he had a mind to return but soon disappeared in the forest. On my return I found my family somewhat displeased with that kind of neighbors but seemed to rejoice that no Indians had come to the house during my absence.

They had burned off everything that was not impervious to fire — not a spear of grass was left for our stock to feed on. We learned there was a little green grass about the margin of the lakes, where the fire could not reach it in the Illinois bottom. James Caldwell, who lived half a mile west of me, and myself concluded to drive our cattle thither.[2] We agreed upon a morning not very distant to drive them early.

. . . . When the morning for our departure arrived we were

2. Tunnell says that en route to the lakes he went through "south rich woods" and past the site of Taylor's sawmill. According to John Mason Peck's *Gazetteer of Illinois* . . . (Jacksonville, 1834), 274, 319, three tracts of timber in Greene County were known as Richwoods. One of these was

scarcely able to distinguish objects through the dimness of the morning twilight — my wife had breakfast early. When we had finished our repast, I stepped out to make arrangements for starting. . . . I mounted my black horse, which I called "Flint" thinking that name most appropriate on account of his inflexible spirit, his indomitable courage, and his almost unexampled powers of endurance. I also took my rifle, which I called "Old Brimstone" as a tribute to her faithfulness and powers to do execution. I had recently had a new stock put to her which was sugar-maple and although plain, was neat and tasteful — she also had one of the best locks I ever saw, which was new. She was three feet eight inches in the barrel and of large calebree carrying about forty balls to the pound; she never missed fire and always threw her balls in the right direction; indeed she was true to the center as Judge Douglass was to the principles of free government. In those days my sight was unerring, and my aim was deadly. I laid her across the saddle behind me to have her out of the way, a slight pressure in the seat would preserve her iquinemity. Being thus equipped my wife took a little colt and went before, tolling such of the cattle as would follow her while I drove up the rear until we got them in company with Mr. Caldwell's cattle, when he and I drove them on through what is called the "south rich woods," which was all burned off smooth and was so loose and mellow that even the small kinds of animals in passing over it would leave the impress of their fee on the virgin soil, which had never been pressed by the feet of the white man. Nothing of interest occured until we had passed down the bluff into a deep hollow, we came to a beautiful spring where we stopped a few moments and slacked our thirst. This spring was in a narrow valley through which the little streamlet upon which Taylor afterwards built his saw mill was coursing its

north of Apple Creek; the second lay between Carrollton and Bluffdale; and the third, south of Macoupin Creek, was in present Richwood Township of Jersey County.

Early county atlases show lakes in the Illinois bottom below the bluffs near all three tracts of timber. Taylor's sawmill has not been located, but since Tunnell and Caldwell made the trip in one day, it is likely that they went to the lakes then near the site of Bluffdale in present Bluffdale Township, Greene County.

winding way and purling along its tortuous channel over the little shoals and pebbles to the Illinois bottom, where it empties itself and finds repose in the inertia of a small lake. . . . When we had passed the spring a few hundred yards, we came to a grove of sugar maple, intersperced with ash and a few other kinds of timber; the lofty sugar maple here studed the grove, standing as straight as so many candles and were so thick together with other timber that there was no room for underbrush. . . . Mr. Caldwell proposed to me to let the cattle rest an hour while we would look about the forest and find a bee tree. I had not yet learned the art of finding bees, though I had found a few trees.

We hitched our horses and he went to the hills south of the branch, while I took a southeasterly course along the hill sides and over the deep hollows. When I had hunted round and formed almost a circle and was coming back towards the cattle and when I ascended a hill, the altitude of which was perhaps forty or fifty feet, having gained the summit, I found a panorama of almost the entire circle I had made. I was walking slowly along as bee hunters generally do.

On turning my eyes downward and to the left, I, for the first time, discovered a panther of the largest size — he was then lying ten or twelve feet from me, placing his feet under him and seemingly feeling the ground and was just ready to spring onto me. Three or four feet more would bring me onto a direct line with him. I suppose he was waiting for me to arrive at that point before he would attack me. When I first saw him, he was looking me in the eye. His vast proportions revealed to me a mass of nerve and muscle to which I had been a stranger; he had evidently been watching me with a great deal of interest and I had not come within his reach, he was able at one short leap to pounce upon me and his ponderous weight and impulsive muscle, together with the force of such a leap was sufficient to crush me into the earth in a moment. I would have been no more in his paws than a mouse would be in the paws of a cat. His great yellow eyes with their lurid glare were fastened upon me and were scanning me through and through with their piercing darts as if he intended to look me down,

and as soon as he could see me quail under the keenness of his eye, would pounce upon me and make me an easy prey. I saw that the "impending crisis" had come and the irrepressible conflict was about to commence.

There I stood in the open sunlight solitary and alone; no human being in less than 6 or 7 miles except Mr. Caldwell, who perhaps was not in hearing of my rifle. There seemed to be no living thing to witness the approaching contest or to make known the result. . . . I took care to keep my eye on his, thinking he would cower under the penetration of it, but there was no cowering there. . . . I saw the necessity of giving him a sure shot for if I gave him a random shot he would be on me in an instant, and I was so near to him that there was no escape. . . . There was no qualling [quailing] on either side, we looked each other defiantly and full in the eye until I saw the fierceness of his countenance begin to kindle up and exhibit an anxiety and eagerness of an intensity which I know of no words with sufficient meaning to describe. His large yellow eyes before as keen as those of the eagle, now began to emit and send forth scintillations of fire. I laid my rifle to my face and took the most deliberate aim and as the muscles about his jaws and shoulders began alternately to contract and swell, and the chest began to swell and heave with concentrated power, I touched the trigger. Old Brimstone now broke the still and painful silence by sending forth a peal that caused the earth to tremble beneath my feet and then resounded through the still air, reverberating from hill to hill, then echoed back like thunder rolling through the vault of Heaven and bursting forth again upon the earth. At the moment I touched the trigger he leaped from the earth, but fell again in almost the same spot. I concluded that he was in the act of jumping when the gun fired and I had missed my aim and given him but a random shot after all and he would be on me as soon as he recovered a little from his wound. I now remembered that men in times of great emmergencies would sometimes load their guns without powder and that I must guard against so fatal mistake. I took no time to measure my powder in my charger. I turned up my horn and poured what I thought a common charge

into my rifle. I then sent down a naked ball, retaining the ramrod in my left hand to reload if necessary. I threw her across my left arm and pinned her. All this time (which was but a moment for I do not think that any man ever loaded a rifle in less time than I then did) he was making leap after leap but could not reach me. As I finished priming he made his last grand leap and he sunk down to rise no more. It was the great death struggle, the last mighty effort of an expiring monster. As yet, I had not moved out of my tracks. He now lay three steps from me in the last struggles of death which struggles became weaker and weaker for a few moments, when he breathed his last and lay prostrated at my feet. . . . His skin when taken off stretching nine and a half feet, from tip to tip. . . . I now took hold to feel the weight of him, I could not raise him from the ground. When I had viewed him in all the minutia of his form and extraordinary powers so well organized, I began to realize the danger I had so narrowly escaped. I now felt very thankful when I reflected that that guardian Angel, who had so often stood by me in the hour of trial and delivered me from the evils that surrounded me, had not yet forsaken me. My feelings overcame me and I was no more myself. I turned my eyes downward and saw my knees beginning to tremble a little and in an instant my whole system relaxed, my nerves became unstrung and I felt weak as a child. I now felt shame, because I could retain my manhood no longer, but after passing through this severe ordeal it deserted me and my nerve fled at the very moment when I saw the danger was over and left me trembling like a leaf of the forest, when fluttering in the breeze and unable to decide even for myself whether, after all, I was really a brave man or a coward.

I went back to the cattle. Mr. Caldwell arrived soon after. We then drove the cattle on to the little lake into which the little stream aforesaid empties itself where we found plenty of green grass for the cattle. We then turned homeward. When coming nearly to the grove where we saw a few old looking trees standing in a dense and almost impenetrable thicket on the west side of the grove. We hitched our horses and made our way in as best we

could. I soon found a very nice bee tree. We then went home — it was night. After supper I told my family all about the day's hunt and showed them the skin of the panther.

My wife then told me she had also been out hunting that day and had found a bee tree. I inquired how she managed to make her hunt so successful. Some of the logs of which our shanty was built were hickory. She said the bees came in great abundance to suck the sap that exuded from the ends of them. . She watched them until she got their course. She noticed they went past several trees which stood in a row. She got the youngest boy, who was 2½ years old, to sleep and left the other, who was 4½ to mind him. While the bees were sucking the sap, she sprinkled a little sulphur on them, and immediately started on the course, keeping a row of trees in range before her. She soon went a quarter of a mile when she found them in a state of great excitement pouring out of the tree as if they had a mind to swarm; the sulphur had distracted them. I cut the tree for her; we got three gallons of honey, which was worth a dollar per gallon, and ten pounds of wax, which was worth 28 cents per pound.

CALVIN TUNNELL

Recent Acquisitions Of the Historical Library

As a result of a chance meeting in Labrador, ten letters of a Civil War general, August V. Kautz, of Brown County, Ohio, have been added to the Illinois State Historical Library's collections. Dr. Richard D. Mudd of Saginaw, Michigan, learned of the letters while visiting Labrador and wrote to the owner, Mrs. Mary E. Harlan of Fort Worth, Texas. Mrs. Harlan generously consented to present them to the Library at Dr. Mudd's suggestion. The letters were written to Mrs. Isabelle Savage of Philadelphia, a friend of the family's.

The earliest letter, dated April 20, 1864, deals with the General's experiences in Washington, D.C. Evidently, Kautz did not relish being an armchair general since he states, "I did not like it much in Washington, and my labors there were so much interfered with that I was in fact working for nothing." Twelve days later, while camped near Portsmouth, Virginia, he said that he expected soon to be "careening over the Southern Confederacy to the great consternation of the rebels." But like most military leaders he complained of the lack of men assigned to him, of their low morale, and of the inefficiency of his superiors. He was particularly bitter toward General Edward Ord, who had relieved him of his cavalry command and assigned him a division of Negro troops as punishment for a series of military reverses.

Despite his unhappiness with some of his other superiors Kautz stated in a letter of May 1, 1864, that he had "great faith in Grant's success. He has outlived so many reverses and accomplished such great victories that he will have a great prestige to aid him. Besides he has the faculty of accumulating superior numbers and of using them. A great deal consists in making the troops believe the enemy is outnumbered. It makes them feel certain of success and they all fight for the lion's share of the victory."

Regarding General George McClellan and the national election of 1864, Kautz felt that, while the General had a great many personal friends in the army, he had very few political supporters. He wrote, "I do not think the army will give him even a respectable vote. The Chicago platform does not suit the soldiers, they do not like to be told that they have been fighting four years for nothing, that in all that time they have accomplished nothing."

Kautz was not militant in his anti-Southern views. Toward the close of the fighting (November

21, 1864) he felt that "any terms that would restore the Union should be offered." However, "if the South . . . should still insist on disunion, I think it would shorten the war and be better for all if the war could be prosecuted with the utmost rigor. . . . If a mitigating and lenient policy is pursued the war may continue for years."

In the latter part of March, 1865, Kautz was at City Point, Virginia, while the Lincoln family was visiting that camp. He mentioned seeing "Mr. & Mrs. Lincoln and Bobby Lincoln and Tad," and stated that Lincoln was "so very ugly, particularly when he *smiles*. His jokes however are good. Mrs. Lincoln is better looking and I have no doubt is a much abused lady, by her sex, who are no doubt jealous that they cannot live in the White House too."

Two months later Kautz was appointed a member of the military commission which tried the conspirators charged with Lincoln's assassination. His unhappiness with this task is indicated in the last of the letters, written May 16, 1865, "I of course cannot help myself but I would rather anything else [than the position on the military commission] and it is particularly annoying under the circumstances. I am very sure I should enjoy a visit to Ohio at this time very much more than this tedious and notorious duty. . . . It is a great nuisance to me, it seems to me very unusual precautions are taken."

Kautz had a long and distinguished army career. After enlisting in the First Ohio Infantry during the Mexican War, he entered West Point in 1848 and served in the army until January, 1892, when he retired with the rank of major general. He was the author of *The Company Clerk* (1863), *Customs of Service for Non-Commissioned Officers* (1864), *Customs of Service for Officers of the Army* (1866), and "The Operations South of the James River" in *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War.*

BERNARD WAX

Book Reviews

CONVERSATIONS WITH LINCOLN
Compiled and edited by Charles M. Segal, with an Introduction by David Donald. (G. P. Putnam's Sons: New York, 1961. Pp. 448. $6.75.)

One is usually mildly surprised when he hears of a Lincoln book on a new theme, but Charles M. Segal has labored conscientiously and industriously and produced one.

Perhaps the nearest we can come to knowing another person is through his personal letters, his diary (if he kept one), and his everyday conversation. This volume is an anthology of conversations, interviews, and discussions Lincoln had with various people: business, religious, and political leaders, Cabinet members, office-seekers, old friends, generals, a soldier trying to rejoin his unit at the front, a wounded rebel prisoner, visitors from foreign countries, and anyone else who felt he should see the President.

There being no tape recorders to register all sayings at the moment of their utterance, Segal has had to weigh carefully the value of his sources. Some of these were comments in letters and diaries written down soon after the event. Some were stories by newspaper correspondents ("theoretically the best-trained observers we have") whose reports, Segal feels, may be considered basically reliable but which, we must remember, have been subject to omissions and other editing before being printed. Other sources used were reminiscences written some years after the events took place. Some of the material has not previously appeared in book form.

The accounts are arranged chronologically, beginning with the official notification to Lincoln of his nomination in 1860 and ending with Mary Lincoln's brief but poignant description of a conversation with her husband on the afternoon of Good Friday, April 14, 1865. The editor contributes an introduction to each account and a preface to each chapter to place the conversations (and the conversationalists) in their historical setting. In the commentary one error was noted: the listing among the military events of 1861 of the Battle of Seven Pines, which occurred one year later; but this in no way affects the purpose or impact of the book.

Indeed one feels after reading this volume that he better knows and understands Lincoln — and the circumstances which, but for his skillful handling of them,

might have crushed him. One sees him in his jocular moods and in those rare moments of anger; sees his compassion for the little people caught in the web of adverse circumstance, his knack of making them feel at ease in his presence. And one feels the terrible pressures put upon him by important people who felt they had the only true solution to the problems of secession and slavery: businessmen who were anxious to placate the South because war would hurt their profits, church leaders who insisted early upon immediate emancipation, conservative Republicans who charged him with favoring the Radicals, who in turn accused him of being too conservative.

One is amazed, as he reads, at Lincoln's sense of timing — his ability to stand firm against pressure and patiently wait until the time was ripe to act — until public opinion had caught up with him. And while he confessed that events controlled him, he never lost an opportunity to use them to achieve his primary goal, restoration of the Union. Judge Joseph T. Mills said of him in 1864, "The President appeared to be not the pleasant joker I had expected to see, but a man of deep convictions & unutterable yearning for the Success of the Union cause. His voice was pleasant — his manner earnest & cordial. As I heard a vindication of his policy from his own lips, I could not but feel that his mind grew in Stature like his body, & that I stood in the presence of the great guiding intellect of the age."

As these selections well reveal, Lincoln could be firm and he could be tender — a man, as Sandburg so aptly described him, who was "both steel and velvet." We are indebted to Charles Segal for his long and arduous (but I am sure satisfying) research.

E. R. Underwood
Forest Park

LINCOLN'S MANAGER, DAVID DAVIS
By Willard L. King. (Harvard University Press: Cambridge, Mass., 1960. Pp. xiii, 383. $6.75.)

After Willard King had finished his book *Lincoln's Manager, David Davis,* and the Davis family had made its decision to deposit the great collection of Davis papers in the Illinois State Historical Society, it was this reviewer's privilege to go to the Davis Mansion in Bloomington, Illinois, to arrange for the transfer of the papers. As I sorted and poked through the letters and documents, I could not help but marvel at the time Willard King, with the help of his wife, had spent unfolding hundreds and hundreds of letters. If ever there was original research, here it was. The

Davis papers had been unavailable for years. In fact, many had never been opened since being tied up in neat bundles by the Judge or his son George Perrin. As now filed in the Historical Library, they fill twelve legal-size file drawers.

If Willard King had done no more than help make this tremendously important collection available, scholars would always have been in his debt. But he did not stop there, as his book attests. I did not have the opportunity to read *Lincoln's Manager* until I had completed putting the Davis collection in order — a task which necessitated reading many of the letters. In my opinion, no better use could have been made of this material than Willard King has made. He must have read nearly every letter and document in the collection. He knows Davis probably better than any man ever did — including Lincoln and his contemporaries.

He knows Davis's concern for his wife during all their married life; his work on the circuit, which occupied many years of his life; his independence in politics; the Republican Convention of 1860; his years on the Supreme Court; and his problems with Mrs. Lincoln and the Lincoln estate after the assassination. All this King has told in an exciting and valuable book.

James T. Hickey
Curator of the Lincoln Collection
Illinois State Historical Library

JANE ADDAMS OF HULL HOUSE, 1860-1935: A CENTENARY STUDY
By Margaret Tims. (The Macmillan Company: New York, 1961. Pp. 166. $4.25.)

ELLEN BROWNING SCRIPPS: JOURNALIST AND IDEALIST
By Albert Britt. (Printed for Scripps College at the Oxford University Press: Oxford, England, 1960. Pp. 134. $3.75.)

Illinois has had the good fortune to enjoy association with some great women but none more distinguished than the subjects of these excellent, warm, and rewarding short biographies of Jane Addams and Ellen Browning Scripps. Each was an outstanding woman not only of the United States but of the world.

Jane Addams stands out as close to being, if she is not, the most distinguished native of Illinois. She was born in Cedarville in 1860, and it was back to that Stephenson County village that they took her for burial some seventy-five years later. Between those dates spread a career that Margaret Tims reassesses with dis-

cernment as well as full appreciation of its international significance. To read it is to realize how fortunate the University of Illinois is to have Hull House on its new Chicago campus site, so the scene of Jane Addams's pioneering in social work, child guidance and care, labor welfare and legislation, adult education, and the formulation of informed public opinion can be preserved for all time as the living as well as historic shrine that it is.

Ellen Browning Scripps was not born in Illinois, but her early life was shaped in Rushville, county seat of Schuyler County; and it is a fascinating picture of the era and place that Albert Britt draws in his second chapter. Her birthplace was London and the year was 1836, when the sprawling city seemed more crowded than ever. By 1844 her father decided London was not for him and his shrinking income, so he followed the trail of earlier members of the family, in particular the Rev. John Scripps, to America and Rushville.

When Ellen Scripps died at the age of ninety-six at La Jolla, California, in 1932, she had long since entered the ranks of journalism, education, philanthropy — and distinguished herself in all. Scripps College in Claremont, California, which she had founded, bore her name. Of its mission she said, "The paramount obligation of a college is to develop in its students the ability to think clearly and independently and the ability to live confidently, courageously and hopefully."

The author, Dr. Albert Britt, was president of Knox College from 1925 to 1936 and is a former trustee of the Illinois State Historical Library. He wrote the book for Scripps College and in tribute to the life and works of its founder.

Both these books ought to be in every public and school library in the state of Illinois. For how can a school or community teach its young people to be first-rate citizens if they are not taught to admire and follow fine examples?

IRVING DILLIARD
Collinsville

A VIRGINIA YANKEE IN THE CIVIL WAR: THE DIARIES OF DAVID HUNTER STROTHER
Edited by Cecil D. Eby, Jr. (University of North Carolina Press: Chapel Hill, 1961. Pp. 294. $6.75.)

For the Civil War enthusiast whose particular interest is the Shenandoah Valley campaigns this book is "must" reading. Strother, as Porte Crayon, was one of the most popular writer-illustrators for *Harper's Monthly* before the war, and he kept these

diaries with the intention of resuming his literary career after the war ended. He did use the diaries for eleven articles published by *Harper's* from 1866 to 1868, but then the editors decided that the public was losing interest in the subject and discontinued the series, which still had thirteen articles to go. Strother's "Personal Recollections of the War" ended with the Battle of Antietam (September 17, 1862). Eby carries the story from February, 1862, to August, 1864, when Strother resigned from the army.

David Strother, a native of Martinsburg, Virginia (now West Virginia), had traveled up and down the Shenandoah Valley gathering material for his *Harper's* articles. This experience, plus his artistic ability made him valuable as a topographical expert for the staffs of Union forces in the area. In the spring of 1862 he went cautiously up the valley with General Nathaniel P. Banks and fled precipitately down again. Then he was with General John Pope at Cedar Mountain and Second Bull Run, and with General George B. McClellan at Antietam.

In December, 1862, Strother went to New Orleans with Banks and while there took part in the Bayou Teche campaign. But his knowledge of the Shenandoah Valley was of no use to him in the far south so he returned to Washington via Havana and New York early in May, 1863. There, amid the rumors and misinformation, he waited out the Gettysburg campaign. Then he went to West Virginia, where he served on the staff of General Benjamin F. Kelley during the winter of 1863-1864.

When General Franz Sigel succeeded Kelley, he took Strother back to the Valley and the New Market defeat. Sigel was replaced immediately by General David Hunter, a distant relative of Strother's. The latter became Hunter's chief of staff on the "Hunter Raid," which resulted in the occupation of Staunton and Lexington but was repulsed on the edge of Lynchburg after menacing that Confederate supply center. Hunter retreated to Charleston, West Virginia, and General Philip Sheridan was named commander of the Army of the Shenandoah. Strother resigned his commission at this time and spent the rest of the war in Baltimore with his family.

Like most diarists Strother wrote a mixture of what he did, what he saw and heard, and what he thought. But since he was an author-turned-soldier and not a soldier-author, whatever he had to say is said interestingly and, when possible, entertainingly.

Strother saw Lincoln several times during the war and usually wrote of him as an uncouth westerner. But after the Battle of Gettysburg he heard Lincoln speak

at the White House and reported, "The President made a speech, short and appropriate. . . . his manner impressed you with his honesty and sincerity. I felt warmed towards Old Abe and for the first time felt a sentiment of personal loyalty to a man who under so many disadvantages, through much vituperation, through weakness, indecision, blunders, and ignorance had yet sustained the war with unbending firmness and tenacity. He deserves well of his country and of history."

The editor says that to have published Strother's complete diaries would have required four volumes, but the present reviewer was entirely satisfied with what was published. The book has an adequate index and is illustrated by a dozen or so of Porte Crayon's drawings.

H.F.R.

A WISCONSIN BOY IN DIXIE: THE SELECTED LETTERS OF JAMES K. NEWTON

Edited by Stephen E. Ambrose. (University of Wisconsin Press: Madison, 1961. Pp. xviii, 188. $4.50.)

It is not an easy task to review any collection of letters in published form. The reviewer, under any circumstance, must always remember the simple fact that letters of the ordinary type are rarely written with the intent and purpose of publication at a later date. As a consequence they may tend to mirror the banal and unimportant as well as more important aspects of history. For this reason many collections of the Civil War period are next to valueless; others, for reason of the writer's perceptiveness, are priceless. The letters under discussion here fall into the latter category.

James K. Newton was, in a sense, a very unusual man. Unlike many of his fellows, he was knowledgeable, intuitive, and literate; like many of his fellows, he was cast into the role of soldier at only eighteen years of age. He was polished enough to write drumhead and firelight letters of fine literary style. It did not take long for this farm boy turned private to discover the grand design of the conflict in which he was engaged, something which many of the general officers leading the armies never did discover. One must admit, however, that there were times when even he was not quite sure. In a passage reminiscent of Stephen Crane, or Erich Remarque of a later time, he described the Battle of Shiloh in terms any soldier can understand. "There is no use in trying to describe the battle because I can not do it," he wrote. "All I know about it is that we drove the rebels and they drove us and

then we would drive them again." And when the battle was all over, he concluded that he was quite certain that most of the boys in his company knew what war was like, and now would be perfectly willing to go home.

A few years of the bivouac, hardtack, and Minié ball gave him the clear view, though. The war had its great goals, and the freedom of the American Negro was one of them. It was a rare thing for the Union soldier to see the chattel slave as a human being, but Newton did. He would never take a commission over Negro troops, he often wrote; but that did not mean that these soldiers were incapable of courage and bravery, or that other human beings in bondage ought not to be freed.

He had his own opinions of general officers, and Presidents as well. "The famous 'Red River Expedition' is over at last," he wrote, "and we are out of Banks' Department. I hope we may never go near it again." He saw Grant as being held in great affection by the army, and exceeded in this respect only by Lincoln. John Alexander Logan, he felt, was very ambitious, perhaps too much so; but John McArthur was able, and quietly respected by his troops. As for Lincoln, Newton did not equivocate. The 1864 political race was, to his mind, as important as any military battle. It might even be the most "effectual campaign in the war," he stated. Moreover, Lincoln's death, when it came, was a calamity. "We mourn him not only as a President but as a man," he wrote, "for we had learned to love him as one possessed of every manly principle."

The introduction to Newton's letters is, in the main, an excellent accompaniment to the main purpose of the book. Newton's life is traced but briefly through the war and his teaching career at Oberlin College to his death in 1892.

It all adds up to entertaining reading about the life and times of a Civil War soldier.

VICTOR HICKEN
Western Illinois University

LINCOLN, THE LAWYER
By John P. Frank. (University of Illinois Press: Urbana, 1961. Pp. x, 190. $4.75.)

This book marks a new low in the Lincoln literature — a field that has not lacked for trash. I find ninety-two factual errors in its 184 pages of text, and doubtless a real Lincoln scholar would find many more.

It is a studied effort at denigration of Lincoln. As a lawyer, according to the author, Lincoln

"gave almost none of his time to abstract thought about the law"; he "was no more a neat and orderly lawyer than he was a neat and orderly man"; "Lincoln and Herndon . . . had no real filing system other than a large bundle of papers tied together with Lincoln's note on it, 'If you can't find it anywhere else look in here' "; "there were perfectly astonishing major gaps in Lincoln's general legal understanding"; Lincoln "did not conceive it as part of his job to prepare for a witness in the manner which would now seem appropriate"; "he learned about the case himself in the course of the testimony, and not in the course of preparation"; "he did not have the talent, background, or inclination to ask novel questions about his cases"; he was guilty of the "worst kind of hack work"; he "fumbled with uncertainty"; "probably today's active appellate lawyer rarely spends as little time on his simplest case as Lincoln presumably spent on his hardest"; his assignments of error in the Supreme Court were "relatively rudimentary"; "he apparently had absolutely no interest in bar activities"; "all of his contemporaries found him an amusing conversationalist, but none is recorded as having thought him a brilliant one"; he "rarely argued by analogy" and "was not in the legal sense creative."

Only a person unacquainted with the Lincoln literature could make such statements. Far from giving no time to abstract thought about the law, Lincoln was always in a brown study about it. "He thought more than any man I have ever known," said Herndon. The literature is replete with records of his prolonged ponderings.

He was neither an untidy and disorderly man nor an un-neat and disorderly lawyer, as the author asserts. On the contrary, his years as a surveyor had made him meticulous and orderly to the *n*th degree. His letters, documents, and legal pleadings are extremely neat. His clothing, though ill-fitting, was always clean.

No one before has ever suggested that the well-known story of Lincoln keeping a batch of papers with the jocular legend on it, "If you can't find it any where else, look in here" indicated that such a miscellaneous file was the sole filing system of Lincoln and Herndon, as the author states. Lincoln was a very careful preserver of papers and kept them in an orderly way, as the Robert Todd Lincoln papers prove.

There are "perfectly astonishing major gaps" in the general legal understanding of every lawyer. For example, the author of this book declares that Lincoln was wrong in objecting to a witness's giving an opinion on an ultimate issue decisive of a case. Several hundred cases in Illinois

hold that Lincoln was right in this objection. The author has a perfectly astonishing major gap in his general legal understanding, since there are decisions in every state in the union and in Great Britain and its colonies to the same effect.

The author's statement that Lincoln learned about a case in the course of the testimony and not in the course of preparation is contrary to all of the records. In fact, Herndon said that he was a great lawyer only in a case where he had adequate time to prepare. And Herndon's worship of Lincoln's greatness as a lawyer is well known.

The author's criticism of Lincoln's work in the Supreme Court is most unfair. The best judges of Lincoln's ability as a lawyer were the other lawyers of his time. Lincoln was a lawyer's lawyer. From all over the state, other lawyers brought him cases to be argued in the Supreme Court. As a result he had more cases in that court than any other lawyer of his era except possibly Judge Lyman Trumbull. The author triumphantly points out that Lincoln lost a case in the Supreme Court where the decision against him was contrary to all other cases in other states. This happened, however, immediately after the Democrats in the legislature led by Stephen A. Douglas, over Lincoln's protest and the governor's veto, had packed the Supreme Court. The Democrats did not pack the court, as the author states, "for the purpose of altering a rule of law unsatisfactory to them." The court had decided a case against a Democratic officeholder and Douglas argued that the court might decide that unnaturalized aliens were not entitled to vote in Illinois. Most of these aliens voted Democratic.

How can anyone say that Lincoln had "absolutely no interest in bar activities"? There were no regular bar associations. Lincoln was the leader of the bar of the Eighth Circuit. He traveled with it and spent his evenings with it. With the consent of the lawyers involved he sometimes sat in the judge's place; he conducted bar examinations; once at least he gave an address to young lawyers; almost to a man, regardless of politics, the bar of the Eighth Circuit supported Lincoln for senator against Douglas.

That Lincoln "rarely argued by analogy" and was "not in the legal sense creative" is contrary to all of the evidence. It is an aphorism that true genius consists in seeing similarities in apparently diverse things. Lincoln had this genius to a remarkable degree. Judge Davis said, "His powers of comparison were large and he rarely failed in a legal argument to use that mode of reasoning." This quality was the core of Lincoln's success. The author not only misses it entirely but denies it.

"Lincoln did not think deeply about the Declaration of Independence," the author declares, "any more than a happy child would examine the institution of motherhood." The Great Debates completely refute this statement. "There is no evidence," the author asserts, "that Lincoln ever thought closely" about the legal aspects of emancipation. "It is fair to conclude," he continues, "that when Lincoln took the first step toward emancipation, he had not yet made up his mind just where he found the power to act." Lincoln's first draft of the Proclamation itself refutes this. The Prize cases were then before the Supreme Court. The war power to confiscate enemy property had been a principal subject of discussion for months. Lincoln's first draft based emancipation squarely on that power.

"It's almost incredible," the author declares, "to generations brought up under Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, F.D.R., or John F. Kennedy with their concepts of aggressive leadership in the presidential office, that the relations of a President with his Congress could have been as remote as were Lincoln's." The fact is that each of these Presidents has envied Lincoln's nonflamboyant but effective control of his Congresses. Working fourteen hours a day, without vacations, without a press department to publicize him, or a staff to handle his bills in Congress, he quietly secured everything he wanted there and never suffered a congressional defeat. As Allan Nevins has recently pointed out, "Contrary to a general view, he showed quite as much skilled leadership in co-operating with organization men as in direct addresses to Congress."

Willard L. King
Chicago

THE FIRST CATHOLIC CHURCH IN JOLIET, ILLINOIS
By the Rev. Norman G. Werling, O. Carm. (Carmelite Press: Chicago, 1960. Pp. xiii, 158.)

"The material . . . is far wider in scope than the title indicates," states the author (page xiii). Definitely so. Including the usual church chronicle of pastors, assistants, rectories, schools, convents, etc., he goes beyond and focuses these essential but not complete elements of church history onto their concrete, historical environment. By incorporating into his work the trials and troubles of the laity, he breaks away somewhat from the common "recordist" approach of the church historian and attempts a far more important developmental approach to his subject.

Naturally, we can expect the historian to cover adequately the

intended subject of his title. Father Werling does. He begins with the Jolliet-Marquette expedition (1673) and carries the story to the first Catholic Church in Will County, Illinois to 1844. He uses both a topical and chronological sequence of events. Twenty-eight illustrations, whose sources indicate the type of his research, eight appendices, and a carefully selected bibliography carry the work beyond local history.

Easily overlooked because of the title, the book — especially the chapters on the "Illinois and Michigan Canal," "Troubles on the Canal," the appendices, "The Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction Over Will County," and the fifty-six pages of the "Parish Records" (1838-1851) — will interest not only the church and local historian but the Irish-American historian and the budding midwestern genealogist and sociologist.

In controversial matters — for examples, the question of Marquette's priesthood (page 2) and Membre's report (page 5) — the author refuses involvement, though he is familiar with the questions and objectively cites various written works on both the subjects.

Moreover, in his short biographies, he gives more than an indication that the "circuit rider" may no longer be a monopoly of an individual denomination (pages 15, 21, 24, 27n, 35, *et al.*).

Father Werling enlivens his work with human interest details (pages 33, 36-37, 40, 41, 59). The few minor historical discrepancies (pages 6 and 8, for example) hardly detract from the over-all worth of this little volume. One regret this critic must state: namely, the fact that the author did not draw further conclusions from his excellent research.

LANDRY GENOSKY, O.F.M.
Quincy College

REGIMENTAL PUBLICATIONS AND PERSONAL NARRATIVES OF THE CIVIL WAR. VOLUME I, NORTHERN STATES; PART I, ILLINOIS

Compiled by C. E. Dornbusch. (New York Public Library: New York, 1961. Pp. 46. $2.50.)

This checklist is a much-needed revision and updating of a publication issued in 1913 by the War Department Library, Washington, D. C. (Subject Catalogue No. 6). The Illinois part will be followed (to complete Volume I) by six other parts which will cover the units of the seventeen Northern states and will include an index of the publications listed.

Each state's units are arranged

numerically under their arm of service — artillery, cavalry, and infantry. The mustering-in and mustering-out dates are given for each unit whether or not there are any known publications about it — the earlier listing omitted those having no known publications. Incidentally, several Illinois units served three and four years and have no publications record while some others have a listing of a dozen or so.

Most of these publications are regimental histories, reunion proceedings, diaries, letters, and broadsides of unit rosters. Unit newspapers printed in the field are not included.

H.F.R.

THE LIBERTY LINE: THE LEGEND OF THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD

By Larry Gara. (University of Kentucky Press: Lexington, 1961. Pp. ix, 201. $5.00.)

Larry Gara has undertaken what is perhaps one of the most difficult and unrewarding of all scholarly pursuits: the investigation of a myth. His findings, presented in this account of the underground railroad, will probably not win the popular acceptance they deserve, but the book should be required reading for every serious student of the slavery era.

"Although the underground railroad was a reality," the author states, "much of the material relating to it belongs in the realm of folklore rather than history." Basing his conclusions on the most meticulous study of contemporary records as well as on the best literature on the subject, the author asserts that "the relatively few slaves who did escape were primarily dependent on their own resources. The abolitionists play a less important part and the escaping slaves a more important one in the revised presentation. Evidence for a nationwide conspiratorial network of underground railroad lines is completely lacking; the nationally organized railroad with its disciplined conductors, controlling directors, and planned excursions into the South did not exist. The abolitionists had no centralized organization, either for spiriting away slaves or for any other of their activities. There was a semblance of organized underground railroad activity in certain localities, but not all the abolitionists participated in or even condoned such work. Free Negroes contributed much more to such enterprises than they have usually been given credit for, and fugitives who rode the underground line often did so after having already completed the

most difficult and dangerous phase of their journey alone and unaided.

"For the abolitionists, the use of the fugitive issue in their propaganda assumed a more important role than the actual assistance given to the fugitives. The road is significant in history, not for its practical effect on the operation of southern slavery, but for the part it played in the verbal battles which preceded the Civil War. Much that has previously been accepted as fact is in truth no more than a repetition of one variety or another of partisan polemic."

These findings are stated at the end of the first chapter, and in those that follow the author buttresses his case — conclusively, it seems to the reviewer. This kind of presentation may be standard for graduate theses, but it is disconcerting to the lay reader, for the book lacks unity and cohesion. There is no bibliography, but footnotes are copious and the last chapter consists principally of an evaluation of literature on America's legendary underground. This is an important Civil War book, and the reviewer hopes it will not be overlooked amid all the ballyhoo about battles and leaders.

E.W.

POLITICS AND THE CRISIS OF 1860

By William E. Baringer, Avery Craven, Don E. Fehrenbacher, Norman A. Graebner, and Robert W. Johannsen. Edited by Norman A. Graebner. (University of Illinois Press: Urbana, 1961. Pp. xii, 156. $3.00.)

This book is a collection of essays, by five well-known Civil War historians, which were delivered at the fourth annual Civil War Conference at Gettysburg College (November, 1960) commemorating the centennial of Lincoln's election to the Presidency.

Perhaps this review could be given in a brief summary by simply stating that there is nothing particularly new in what these five scholars propound, but it is said, or written, so well! For the reader seeking a well-organized, clear, and brief explanation of the approaching "irrepressible conflict" this volume will serve admirably.

In the first essay, Professor Graebner discusses slavery and reaches the conclusion that politicians both North and South were more interested in using the institution to whip up enthusiasm for their respective causes than in finding a solution for the problem. The reviewer wishes he had given a larger part to the Southern aristocrat's fear of losing his genteel way of life. Professor Fehrenbacher writes of the Re-

publican convention in Chicago and its choice of Lincoln as its candidate. He sees hard practical politics — Lincoln could carry the doubtful states that the more controversial Seward could not — as the reason the new party chose the Illinoisan. Professor Fehrenbacher is unwilling to give the Lincoln managers the usual credit for their friend's victory, and here he is in disagreement with another of the essayists. In his analysis of the election Professor Baringer quotes Thurlow Weed, Seward's manager at the Chicago convention, as saying that he had been "outmaneuvered and outbargained." Professor Baringer and this reviewer have more faith in Messrs. Davis, Judd, Lamon, and Swett than does Professor Fehrenbacher. It is amusing to note that Professor Baringer observes that once the campaign was underway Lincoln the politician said as little as possible and "began going to church occasionally."

Professor Johannsen describes the Democratic convention in Charleston and the inevitable split in that party over Douglas. He does a good job and gives Douglas, the stanch unionist, the credit he is sometimes denied.

The final essay is by the veteran Civil War scholar Avery Craven, and is an excellent summarization. While admitting that the South was protecting a social and economic institution and that the new Republican Party was bent on destroying that institution as well as representing the new industrial interests of the North, he reminds us all "that the historian might better stress the blindness, the blundering, and the helplessness of men on the eve of the American Civil War, and deal with it as a national tragedy, not as a romantic museum piece — as something to regret and to gain a lesson from, not as something to glorify."

LAVERN M. HAMAND
Eastern Illinois University

REBEL RELIGION: THE STORY OF CONFEDERATE CHAPLAINS

By Herman Norton. (Bethany Press: St. Louis, Mo., 1961. Pp. 144. $2.75.)

The centennial of the Civil War has resulted in an abundance of writings which explore and explain the various aspects of the conflict. The place of the chaplain in the Confederate Army is one aspect that has been relatively ignored, and Dr. Herman Norton has made a worthwhile effort to correct this omission.

The Confederate chaplain did not have a clearly defined position. There were continual disputes and changes as to his rank, pay, and duties. Some were ministers before the war, some were

not; some were paid by the government, some were supported by churches. There were the "fighting parsons," and there were those who preferred to help the Southern cause through more peaceful means. Although governmental support of chaplains was erratic, several prominent generals, including Robert E. Lee and T. J. Jackson, did their best to promote chaplaincy in their armies.

During the latter years of the Civil War, a "Great Revival" swept through the Southern troops, "saving" thousands of souls by baptism. Dr. Norton explains this revival as the result of the work of many dedicated chaplains and gives detailed stories of several who were particularly effective.

A brief description of chaplaincy from its earliest beginnings in American history up to the start of the Civil War comprises the prologue of *Rebel Religion*. The amount of background material is small but it is sufficient for creating a general context in which to place the Confederate chaplain.

This book is designed for the general reader, and documentation is kept to an absolute minimum. It does not fully cover the history of the Southern chaplain, but it does provide a substantial introduction to the subject. An unpublished, more detailed, and footnoted version of the work is deposited in the Joint University Libraries, Nashville, Tennessee.

MARGARET HARTON
Antioch College

THE MIDWEST: MYTH OR REALITY?
Edited by Thomas T. McAvoy. (University of Notre Dame Press: Notre Dame, Ind., 1961. Pp. viii, 96. $3.50.)

It is a truism that a symposium of public addresses seldom really succeeds as a book, being necessarily superficial and frequently uneven. In addition, what sounds well in the ears of the audience may, when exposed to the leisured scrutiny of the eye, reveal lapses in logic and syntax. This handsome little volume with the inviting title is no exception.

Delivered at Notre Dame in April, 1960, these seven lectures by seven midwesterners show understandable signs of strain in their arguments that the Midwest is not a myth but a reality. The least of their problems is that even the region's geographical limits are debatable, and that the term Midwest is itself merely relative. An infinitely more complicated question is that of the kind of culture that has developed in mid-America. An attempt, no matter how learned, to isolate what is unique in the Midwest's contradictory mélange of variety and

sameness leads to definitions so general or so heavily qualified as not to be very useful.

Still, the attempt is obviously worthwhile, and in this symposium it ranges into several fields:

"Has the Midwest Ceased to Protest?" Russel B. Nye, in a well-written and witty essay, suggests that midland political dissent has matured from ornery trouble-making into constructively useful protest.

"Is the Midwest Really Isolationist?" With Fourth of July flourishes, United States Senator Gale W. McGee says that it is (along with the rest of the nation), but that it cannot afford to remain so; and he proposes sending a kind of super-peace corps to Asia as a remedy.

"Is the Cause of the Midwestern Farmer Lost?" Nostalgically anecdotal, Donald R. Murphy, longtime editor of *Wallace's Farmer,* believes that the family farm, even the big and efficient one, has little cause to be optimistic about its future.

"Is Midwestern Industry Merely Tributary to the East?" Purdue economist Jay W. Wiley, in the most technical of the papers, shows that it was, but isn't now.

Assigned one of the more provable theses, John Flanagan surveys "The Reality of Midwestern Literature" from Peter Cartwright to Willa Cather and finds identifiably "midwestern" qualities of authorship.

And "What Is the Midwestern Mind?" Editor McAvoy, a brave man, tackles this impossible question gallantly, but the answer he repeatedly offers, that "the midwestern mind is the mind of those who intend to make the Midwest their home," is not, it seems to this reviewer, a particularly helpful one.

In "The Summing Up," John T. Frederick writes that "we have been unanimous in concluding that the concept 'The Middle West' is viable and meaningful." But he concedes that "we have also agreed that this Midwest is largely an unknown reality."

James B. Stronks
University of Illinois (Chicago)

THE TOADSTOOL MILLIONAIRES: A SOCIAL HISTORY OF PATENT MEDICINES IN AMERICA BEFORE FEDERAL REGULATION

By James Harvey Young. (Princeton University Press: Princeton, N. J., 1961. Pp. xii, 282. $6.00.)

In a brief review it is difficult to do justice to James Harvey Young's history of the patent medicine business. His researches have been prodigious, his scholarship is impeccable, his knowledge encyclopedic, and his writing superb. Even more impressive is

the skill with which he has related a limited, specialized subject to the whole of American social history.

The author says in the preface that his book is a "history of proprietary medicines in America, from the early 18th-century appearance of patented brands imported from the mother country to the early 20th-century enactment of national legislation intended, in part, to restrain abuses in the packaged medicine industry. Native nostrum production began during the cultural nationalism of the Revolutionary generation, expanded rapidly during the age of the common man, received a new impetus from the Civil War, and reached floodtide in the late 19th century. The critique of patent medicine quackery first became significant as part of the humanitarian crusade accompanying Jacksonian democracy. As medicine became more scientific, the anti-nostrum movement developed a sounder base. During the Progressive period, journalists and civil servants added their support to physicians and pharmacists and created an articulate public opinion in behalf of a regulatory law. The various stages in the development of patent medicine promotion and criticism form the chapters that follow. An effort is made to relate this particular theme to broader trends in health, education, journalism, marketing, and government."

This concise description of the book gives no clue to the delights that await within. Chapter 7, on patent medicine in the Civil War, is introduced by a verse that was printed on an 1861 patriotic envelope:

> To cure Secession and its ills,
> Take Dr. Scott's Cast Iron Pills;
> Well mixed with Powder of
> Saltpetre,
> Apply it to each "Fire Eater."
> With Union Bitters, mix it clever,
> And treason is warned off forever.

Then follows the statement that Abraham Lincoln had scarcely arrived in Washington to await his inauguration when an advertisement appeared on the front page of the *New York Herald,* asserting that the new President had raised his whiskers in three weeks by the use of Bellingham's unguent.

Chapter 12, on the medicine show, opens with a quotation from Victor Holmes, "And they like to pay a little for tonic and an evening's entertainment rather than pay a lot to a doctor who gives you no fun at all," followed by a typical medicine-show spiel: "Nothing in God's world is the matter with most of you but worms, worms, worms."

Professor Young's tale is as spell-binding as that of the medicine show man, and is good history as well.

E.W.

News and Comment

Spring Tour at Quincy on May 5 and 6

Folk singing, a candlelight reception, luncheon aboard a river steamer, and an all-day historical tour, are some of the features planned for the 1962 Spring Tour of the Illinois State Historical Society at Quincy on May 5 and 6.

Early arrivals will be guests Friday evening (May 4) at a candlelighted reception at the Governor John Wood Mansion, home of the Historical Society of Quincy and Adams County.

The all-day bus tour Saturday will include the historic sites of Adams County and the "Mark Twain Country" in and around Hannibal, Missouri. Stops will be made at the Mark Twain Museum, the Cave, the Becky Thatcher House, and the Tom and Huck statue. Luncheon will be served aboard the steamer *River Queen*.

Win Stracke, popular midwestern folk singer and Chicago radio and television entertainer, will be the speaker at the Saturday evening banquet at the Lincoln-Douglas Hotel. He will discuss the origins of folk singing, tell how folk songs came to the Middle West, and illustrate his talk by singing the songs. Audience participation may also be made a part of the songfest.

Sunday will be "Quincy History Day," with a farewell coffee hour at the Wood Mansion to close the day's program. George M. Irwin is president of the Quincy and Adams County Society, the host organization, and a vice-president of the State Society. Members of the State Society will receive a complete program in ample time to make their reservations for the two-day event.

Past President James A. James Dies

Dr. James Alton James, past president (1935-1940) of the Illinois State Historical Society, died on February 12, at the Wilson Hospital of the Presbyterian Home in Evanston, at the age of ninety-seven. At the time of his death he was professor emeritus of history and dean emeritus of the graduate school of Northwestern University.

Dr. James was born at Hazel Green, Wisconsin, on September 17, 1864. He was a graduate of the State Normal School at Platteville, Wisconsin, and the University of Wisconsin, and received his Ph.D. degree from Johns Hop-

kins University in 1893. Later he was honored with doctor of laws degrees by Cornell College, Mt. Vernon, Iowa (1910), and Northwestern (1936). Before going to Northwestern in 1897 Dr. James served as superintendent of schools at Darlington, Wisconsin (1888-1890), and was a professor of history at Cornell College (1893-1897). He was dean of Northwestern's graduate school from 1913 to 1931 and continued to serve as a professor of history until 1935. While on the Northwestern staff he spent the year 1904 at Johns Hopkins as a lecturer on French-American diplomatic history and during 1921 was a lecturer on American history at Charles University, Prague, Czechoslovakia.

Except for the period when he was president of the State Historical Society Dr. James served as a director from 1913 to 1951. He was a member of many other historical and teachers' organizations, an honorary member of the Chicago Historical Society, and one of the founders of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, of which he was president in 1913-1914.

Although George Rogers Clark seems to have been his favorite subject, Dr. James was the author of other histories, history textbooks, and numerous papers and magazine articles. His earliest books were *Government in State and Nation* (1901, with Albert Hart Sanford), *Our Government* (1903), and *American History* (1909). He edited the two-volume *George Rogers Clark Papers, 1771-1784* for the *Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library* (Vol. VIII, 1912, and Vol. XIX, 1926) and then wrote *The Life of George Rogers Clark* (1928). Later he was the author of *Oliver Pollock: The Life and Times of an Unknown Patriot* (1937) and *The First Scientific Exploration of Russian America and the Purchase of Alaska* (1942). In recent years he had been writing a history of Northwestern University.

In addition to his work in history and education Dr. James was an active and influential lay member of the Methodist Church and took part in civic affairs on city, state, and national levels. He was a delegate to a number of world church conferences and was influential in bringing the World Council of Churches Assembly to Evanston in 1954. He was a sponsor of the Japanese International Christian University, to which he gave his personal library in 1949.

Dr. James was the first chairman of the Illinois State Park Commission (1909-1917) and was principally responsible for the purchase of the land for, and the establishment of, Starved Rock State Park. During World War I he served as a member of the committee, under the adjutant

general, on the promotion of officers in the United States Army.

Dr. James was buried in Memorial Park Cemetery, Evanston. He is survived by two sons, Maurice Alton of San Diego, California, and Hubert Edgar of New York City.

Stevenson Gives Papers to Historical Society

Adlai E. Stevenson has given his papers for the period when he was governor of Illinois (1949-1953) to the Illinois State Historical Society. The gift includes his correspondence and other documents relating to his 1948 campaign for the governorship.

In a statement accompanying his letter notifying State Historian Clyde C. Walton of his decision Stevenson said: "Feeling that the preservation of papers affecting our past is important for the future . . . [and] because of my family's long residence in Illinois and close connection with public affairs in this state for well over a hundred years, I am grateful that the State Historical Library wants these papers and I hope that they will prove of some historical value and convenience to students."

Stevenson, who is currently United States Ambassador to the United Nations, thus becomes the tenth former governor of Illinois whose papers are in the Historical Library. The other nine are Governors Augustus C. French (1846-1853), Richard Yates, Sr. (1861-1865), Richard J. Oglesby (1865-1869, 1873, and 1885-1889), Shelby M. Cullom (1877-1883), Joseph W. Fifer (1889-1893), John P. Altgeld (1893-1897), Richard Yates, Jr. (1901-1905), Charles S. Deneen (1905-1913), and Henry Horner (1933-1940).

The Horner papers, under a provision of the Governor's will, cannot be opened until April 4, this year. After that time they will have to be classified, cataloged, and filed before they will be available to historians, Walton said.

New Lincoln-Springfield Color Film Available

"Appointment with Tomorrow" is the title of a new thirty-three-minute sound-and-color film (16 mm.) about the Lincoln shrines, Illinois state government, and the city of Springfield. It was produced by the Illinois Bell Telephone Company for school and other groups that intend to visit the state capital.

The "plot" involves a high school student (played by Ted Ritter, a senior at Lanphier High School, Springfield) and what he sees and what he learns on a trip to the city awarded to him as the

winner of a contest. He begins his visit with a history-government interview with Governor Otto Kerner. The Governor then sends him on a tour of New Salem, the Lincoln Home, the Tomb, and the Old State Capitol. He also watches the legislature in session and visits several of Springfield's larger industrial plants. Early in his tour Ted meets an "old-timer" (played by Jack O'Dell, a professional actor) who knows all the answers and helps him to understand what he is seeing.

The Illinois State Historical Library was one of many state and local agencies that assisted in making the film, which was done by a nine-member crew during eight weeks last summer. "Appointment with Tomorrow" may be obtained on loan, free of charge, by writing to Al Berg, Community Relations Manager, Illinois Bell Telephone Company, 625 South Sixth Street, Springfield, or by calling him at 527-1849.

Activities of Local Historical Societies

The Aurora Historical Society has set up a two-section trust fund to assure the continued operation and improvement of its three-story museum and carriage-house transportation museum. Income from the fixed-fund section of the trust may be used for operation of the museums, but the principal may not be touched. The improvement-fund section and the income from it may be used for permanent improvements to the property but not for day-to-day maintenance. In less than a year the trust has grown to nearly $10,000, with $6,000 in the fixed fund. Gifts to the fund came from a great variety of organizations, ranging from labor unions to church groups to civic clubs, with the largest contribution, $1,000, coming from the Aurora Pressed Glass Club.

The Greenville city park now has an authentic pioneer log cabin. The sixteen-by-sixteen foot structure was discovered several years ago as a part of a larger house workmen had begun to raze. The logs were numbered and reassembled on a stone foundation in the park. Restoration work on the house was done by Arville Holbrook, a director and charter member of the Bond County Historical Society. He built doors, installed a window and wood shingle roof, and chinked the spaces between the logs with cement. The sign on the cabin reads: "Log house built in Greenville about 1830. Moved to this location for preservation and restoration under the direction of the Bond County Historical Society with the cooperation of patriotic organizations and public spirited citizens."

The Bureau County Historical Society celebrated its fiftieth an-

niversary in November with an open house at its four-story museum, the former Clark-Norris home in Princeton. A three-tier cake was served in honor of the occasion, and guests were registered from numerous surrounding communities, including Peoria, Lacon, La Salle, Oglesby, and Bartonville.

Two high school juniors who, last May, received Student Historian of the Year awards for articles published in *Illinois History* magazine, were honored at the January meeting of the Champaign County Historical Society. They were Barbara Baldwin of Urbana High School and Donald Langhoff of Champaign High School. Olin Browder, Urbana attorney and civic leader, was the speaker at the meeting.

Plans to place historical markers at the highway entrances to Edwardsville have been initiated by the Land of Goshen Historical Society. The first of them will be installed on Troy Road and will call attention to the fact that the city was once the home of four of Illinois' governors: Edward Coles (1822-1826), Ninian Edwards (1826-1830), Thomas Ford (1842-1846), and Charles S. Deneen (1905-1913). Additional historical information will be given on the markers on the other roads when they are erected. Credit for originating the marker idea goes to Miss R. Louise Travous of Edwardsville.

Another project in which Miss Travous has been interested is the establishment of the Lusk Park Cemetery Association. The Edwardsville City Council passed an ordinance last autumn leasing the cemetery to the association for twenty years at $1.00 annually. The association, in turn, will provide for the upkeep of the park, which is the burial place of Madison County's founding fathers.

The Ogle County Historical Society has acquired the Ruby Nash home in Oregon and will convert it into a new local historical museum. C. Merle Haselton, Society president, says that the museum is expected to be ready for visitors in June.

The Pike County Historical Society has erected markers at half a dozen historic sites in Pittsfield and has plans for as many more when funds are available and the markers can be made. With one exception (the oldest house still standing on its original foundation) the first group of markers commemorates Abraham Lincoln's association with the town. Several mark homes where he was a guest; one is at the house where his secretary, John Nicolay, lived; and another is at the former residence of Oliver R. Barrett, famous collector of Lincolniana.

The Rockford Historical Society has been granted a state charter as a not-for-profit corporation. The three incorporators are all officials in the twenty-five-year-old Swedish Historical Society of Rockford: David W. Johnson, president; Herman G. Nelson, secretary; and Mrs. Blanche Alden, a director. Nelson is also a vice-president of the State Historical Society. In explaining the reasons for establishing the new Society, Johnson said, "In our work as the Swedish Historical Society we have found there is interest in and a need for a Rockford Historical Society to embrace every phase of the city's history and people."

Architecturally, Belleville, Illinois, is "a charming city and a very interesting one," according to William J. Murtagh, educational director of the National Trust for Historic Preservation, who spent several days there last autumn before addressing the November 18 meeting of the St. Clair County Historical Society. He told his audience of more than a hundred that Belleville abounds in "little buildings" that "give it its flavor and character. I want to urge you all to take a walk around your town and see it now in a new light. You have so much here that if you can preserve and restore even parts of it, it will be one of the most thrilling experiences of your life."

The Saline County Historical Society has recently been given a double log house and a large log barn, both in a preservable state of repair. The buildings, which were constructed in 1847, are located about seven miles south of Equality. They will be dismantled and moved to Harrisburg, where they will be reassembled on the Historical Society's grounds. The donor of the buildings was the Bransford Fuel Company of Nashville, Tennessee.

The main rooms of the house are about twenty feet square, and there is a large stone chimney between them with a fireplace in each of the rooms. An eight-foot-wide porch extends across the forty-six-foot front of the house. The original clapboard roof has been replaced several times with other materials but will be restored in the reconstruction. The distinguishing feature of the barn is a threshing floor about twenty-two by twenty-four feet in size with its boards well enough preserved to be moved to the new location.

When the buildings are restored, the furnishings, tools, and implements of a century ago will be installed and the Society will be able to display a fully equipped farmstead of the 1850's.

Journal
OF THE
ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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The *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* is published by the Illinois State Historical Library for distribution to members of the Illinois State Historical Society. Individual dues are $5 a year; sustaining membership, $10 minimum; student membership, $2.50; and life membership, $50. Business firms may support the Society as sustaining members ($10 a year) or as contributing members ($25 a year). Membership is open to all.

In addition to the *Journal,* which is published four times a year, members of the Society receive publications sponsored by the Society which are printed by authority of the State of Illinois. The latter include occasional books and pamphlets on Illinois history.

The Society's annual meeting is held in October. In May the Society visits some historic area. Both the meeting and the tour are open to all members and to the public.

Manuscripts for the *Journal* should be submitted to Clyde C. Walton, Illinois State Historical Library, Centennial Building, Springfield, Illinois. The editors do not assume any responsibility for the personal opinions expressed by the authors of articles published.

The Society's purpose is to collect and preserve data relating to the history of Illinois, to disseminate knowledge of the state and the story of its citizens, and to encourage historical research.

To preserve historical data in all possible completeness many types of material are needed. These include books about Illinois or Illinoisans, family histories, state and municipal publications, reports of Illinois institutions of all kinds, manuscripts, letters, diaries, newspapers, magazines, maps, prints and photographs. The Historical Library specializes in Lincolniana and materials related to the Civil War and has large holdings in these two categories.

Although the Historical Library purchases a few items, its funds are limited by appropriation. Therefore it must depend in large measure on the public-spirited generosity of the people of Illinois, including members of the State Historical Society.

Materials which pertain in any way to Illinois and its history will be gratefully received and carefully preserved. All gifts will be suitably acknowledged. Donors may be assured of the appreciation of future generations of Illinois citizens.

1862 - Officials of Illinois - 1962

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JOURNAL

OF THE

ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

QUINCY'S GOVERNOR WOOD MANSION (*See page 214*)

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Otto Kerner, GOVERNOR

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PARRY D. SORENSEN

Nauvoo Times and Seasons

Parry D. Sorensen is an associate professor of journalism at the University of Utah, where he also serves as Director of University Relations. He has worked on the editorial staffs of the Deseret News *(Salt Lake City), the* Washington *(D.C.)* Post, *and the* Los Angeles Examiner, *and as a special agent for the Federal Bureau of Investigation. He received his B.S. degree from the University of Utah and his M.S. from the Medill School of Journalism at Northwestern University, and has done work toward his doctorate at the University of Iowa.*

THE SIX-YEAR period between 1839 and 1845 was one of great changes for the Mormon people. This was the period when the scattered and persecuted members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints established a prospering city on the banks of the Mississippi. They called their city Nauvoo, and it had a population estimated at 12,000 to 20,000 when Chicago had less than 5,000. With a population of this size the civic-religious organization of the city made it a powerful political force. During this period, also, the controversial doctrine of polygamy was introduced. These two developments brought about the chain of events that led to the assassination of Joseph Smith, the Mormon leader and prophet, and to bitter squabbles over who was to succeed him. The period ended with more persecutions and finally with the great Mormon exodus to the Rocky Mountains.

During all these six years – six years and three months, to be exact – the church published, without interruption, a sixteen-page paper called the *Times and Seasons*, which

chronicled faithfully the rise and fall of Nauvoo, the City of the Saints. When the Mormons moved there, the town (known as Commerce until May, 1840) was little more than a swamp on the Mississippi. Located between two sharp bends in the river, the town jutted out so that it faced the river on three sides. Joseph Smith described it as follows:

> The place was literally a wilderness. The land was mostly covered with trees and bushes, and much of it so wet that it was with the utmost difficulty a footman could get through, and totally impossible for teams. Commerce was so unhealthful, very few could live there; but believing that it might become a healthy place by the blessing of heaven to the Saints, and no more eligible place presenting itself, I considered it wisdom to make an attempt to build up a city.[1]

While a handful of the faithful were struggling to get established in that wilderness, the *Times and Seasons* made its first appearance in November, 1839. Four months earlier, in July, the town's residents had received handbills announcing the new publication:

> PROSPECTUS
>
> The members being acquainted with the scattered conditions of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and realizing the anxiety which rests in the bosoms of all the Saints who are scattered abroad, to learn of the conditions and the welfare of the Church, have procured a printing press and materials and will publish a monthly periodical, at this place, containing all general information respecting the Church; as also a history of the unparalleled persecution, which we, as a people, received in Missouri by order of the Executive of that State — by which many innocent men and children were most inhumanly murdered — others dragged from the bosom of their families, without any process whatever, by an armed soldiery, and thrust into prison and irons, there remaining a long time without knowing the reasons why they were thus treated — women insulted — houses plundered and burned — and finally, to end the scene of persecution, expell [*sic*], as exiles, from the state, in the winter season, the whole society; in all, from ten to twelve thousand

1. B. H. Roberts, ed., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City, 2d ed., 1932-1951), III: 375.

souls! A statement of facts concerning the foregoing transactions, will not be uninteresting to all who wish to see the pure principles of Republicanism preserved unviolated.

The *Times and Seasons* will contain communications from the traveling Elders from time to time; its columns will also, frequently be enriched with letters from gentlemen traveling in Europe, which will greatly augment its interest.

It is not the intention of the Publishers to admit any thing into this paper which will be calculated to engender strife or turmoil, neither will they interfere with political matters, as it is not their wish to cultivate any principle which tends to put people at variance with one another, but rather those principles that are calculated to make men happy in this world, and secure unto them eternal life, in that which is to come.

TERMS: One Dollar per annum, payable, in all cases in advance. Any person procuring 10 subscriptions and forwarding us ten dollars current money, shall receive one volume gratis. All current Bank notes of any denomination will be received on subscriptions. Letters on business must be addressed to the Publishers POST PAID.

Robinson & Smith
Commerce, Hancock Co., Ill.
July, 1839[2]

The five-month delay between the appearance of the prospectus and publication of the first number was due to the illness of the proprietors, Ebenezer Robinson and Don Carlos Smith; both men had been stricken with malaria. Robinson was an experienced printer, who later branched out into other publishing activities for the church; and Smith, the youngest brother of the Mormon Prophet, had learned the printing trade on the *Elders' Journal,* published by the church in Kirtland, Ohio, and in Far West, Missouri.

2. *Times and Seasons,* Nov., 1839. A minimum of punctuation has been added here and the spelling corrected. The second word, "members," in the handbill was changed to "subscribers" in *Times and Seasons.* The Illinois State Historical Library has a file of *Times and Seasons* with a few of the early issues missing; complete files are in the historian's offices of both the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Salt Lake City and the Reorganized Church in Independence, Mo.

The *Times and Seasons* was printed on a press that literally came out of the ground. When troops surrounded Far West on November 2, 1838, and arrested more than thirty leaders of the church, including Don Carlos Smith and Robinson, the press and type (then being used to print the *Elders' Journal*) were buried in the dooryard of a member named Dawson. When Smith and Robinson were released from jail several months later, they dug the press out of the ground and carted it to Commerce.

Their first printing shop in Commerce was in the basement of a warehouse at the corner of Water and Bain (now Fifth) streets, two short blocks from the log cabin Joseph Smith occupied when he settled in the town. The basement had a dirt floor with a spring of running water in one corner of the room. (Only the bare outline of the building's foundation is visible today.)

The first number of the *Times and Seasons* contained a reprint of the prospectus and an apology for the tardy appearance of the paper. The remainder of the sixteen-page issue was devoted to extracts from Joseph Smith's private journal, in which he described the persecutions in Missouri and his confinement in the jail at Liberty, Missouri.

The paper's slogan, "Truth Will Prevail," appeared beneath the masthead on the first page.[3]

Throughout its first year of publication, the *Times and Seasons* was issued once a month, with sixteen pages (approximately 5¾ by 9¾ inches in size) per issue. A series, written by Hyrum Smith, the Prophet's brother, about the Missouri persecutions began in the second number and ran until October, 1840. The second number also carried an item about the purchase by the church of three tracts of land in Iowa, across the river from Nauvoo, or Commerce (as it was still known). One tract was in Keokuk; another at Nashville, six miles north; and the third at Montrose, directly across the river. The Montrose tract contained

3. It read "Truth Will Ptevail" in the first issue.

thirty thousand acres, stretching from the Mississippi River west to the Des Moines River. A column of death notices was also begun in the second issue. It contained a list of twenty-five people of various ages who had died during the previous month — grim evidence of the hardships the people were suffering.

Conforming to the editorial style of the day, wives were referred to as "consorts." Here is a typical death notice: "In this place, Nov. 6th, Rhoda, consort of Hezekiah Fisk, aged 64 years."[4] Another column, devoted to marriages, was headed not "Weddings" or "Marriages" but "Hymenials."

One other noteworthy item in the second issue was a poem, "The Slaughter on Shoal Creek, Caldwell County, Missouri," by Eliza R. Snow, a talented young woman who seemed able to write a poem appropriate to any occasion. She also wrote the words of many hymns sung at church affairs after the move to Utah. Hardly an issue of the *Times and Seasons* went to press during the next six years without something from Miss Snow's pen.

Another frequent contributor was Parley P. Pratt, one of the church's twelve apostles and probably the foremost early Mormon writer.[5] Like Miss Snow, he wrote the words of several hymns, but his main output was tracts and articles about the new religion. His writings still rank with the best in church literature, and his scholarly ability was a valuable asset to the youthful Joseph Smith, who lacked formal education. The first of Pratt's writings to be published in the *Times and Seasons* was a poem (in the February, 1840, issue) he had written while in the Liberty jail with his fellow church leaders. It was headed "Zion in Captivity. A Lamentation. By Parley P. Pratt, While Chained in Prison."

4. *Times and Seasons,* Dec., 1839.

5. While laboring as a missionary in Van Buren County, Arkansas, Pratt was killed on May 13, 1857, by a man who accused him of alienating his wife's affections. He is immortalized today by Parley's Canyon on Highways 30 and 40 near Salt Lake City.

A regular *Times and Seasons* feature that began in the second issue and ran for the next six years was reports of church conferences held throughout the country. The purpose of these conferences, which were conducted by the Mormon missionaries, was to boost the morale of church members and gain new converts. The reports sent to the *Times and Seasons* by the traveling elders were usually full of good news about the progress of their work, although occasionally they did mention such opposition as being run out of town or threatened with tar and feathers. The full minutes of each conference were generally published, including such details as who opened with prayer, what songs were sung, who preached the sermon and on what subject, who closed with prayer, and how many were baptized.

The exact nature of the financial structure of the *Times and Seasons* is not known, but it is believed that Robinson and Smith ran the paper on a "franchise" basis. That is, the press and type belonged to the church, and the two proprietors were allowed to operate the paper and print shop for what they could make out of it. That Joseph Smith held some kind of control is evidenced by the fact that he and the apostles took over operation of the paper in 1842.

Although the *Times and Seasons* had church backing, its editors did have financial difficulties, and in the fourth issue (February, 1840) they reprinted the following statement from the *New York Era*:

IMPORTANT TO EDITORS

The following is an extract from the instructions recently addressed to all the postmasters of the United States by the Postmaster General:

"Postmasters may enclose money in a letter to a publisher of a newspaper, to pay the subscription of a third person, and frank the letter, if written by himself."

This liberal regulation will be highly advantageous to the interest of the newspaper press, and therefore favorable to the general distribution of public information.—*N.Y. Era.*

Beginning in that issue a listing of the paper's agents was published. It included men in Illinois, Pennsylvania, New York, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, South Carolina, Tennessee, North Carolina, England, and Scotland, as well as "travelling agents" who had no permanent addresses. Almost all were church missionaries who were preaching in the states where they served as agents, and the list grew longer as the number of missionaries increased.

Apparently some of the brethren were not too prompt in remitting subscription money, however, for an appeal signed by the High Council was published in the same issue asking the agents to send the money as soon as they received it. Although the appeal was backed by the authority of the church, it did not produce the desired results, and the editors resorted to a more direct approach. In the May issue they wrote:

> We are under the painful necessity of refering [*sic*] *some* of our readers to an article appearing in the February number, from the High Council, expressing their disapprobation of all persons who have received monies on subscription for the *Times and Seasons,* and have not paid it over to the place where it was sent. We are compelled to state, at this time, that there are several who have used our money without authority, and who, moreover, do not manifest any particular anxiety to pay it to us after having the use of it for some time; this is therefore, to inform all such persons, that unless the money is forthcoming soon, we shall be under the necessity of publishing their names in the paper, and also of withholding the papers ordered by said persons. It is with great reluctance that we make this announcement, but our circumstances, and the nature of the business requires it; as it is impossible to sustain the press without means.

This threat must have had the desired effect, for no mention of the subject was made in subsequent issues.

Another bane of publishers in those days was the subscriber who did not pay postage on his letter, probably thinking that inasmuch as the letter contained subscription

money, the publisher would be only too happy to pay the postage. Finally, in July, 1840, the editors complained:

> Letters have been flooding the Post Office of late, directed to us with the postage unpaid; the principle part of which will of necessity, be remailed for Washington. All letters to us for the future, will not receive attention unless the Postage is PAID.
>
> Our subscription for one year is one dollar in advance: a letter comes requesting the paper for one year, containing $1; Postage 25 cents, in the course of three months the second letter makes its appearance, requesting the paper be directed to another Post Office: Postage 25 cents. After a short time a paper gets miscarried and one number is missing; the subscriber, anxious to keep the volume complete, sends the third letter requesting the lost no. Postage 25 cents. The fourth letter comes lumbering along in a few days requesting the paper be stopped at the office as he is about to move into the place: Postage 25 cents. The next letter that comes has a silver dollar, to pay for the paper for one year; excess of postage 75 cents. How do you think printers can live?

Political advertising made its first appearance in the *Times and Seasons* in August, 1840. Although the advertisements were in the form of announcements, it is likely that the candidates made adequate payment for space in the Mormon paper. The announcements read:

> For delegate to Congress from Iowa,
> AUGUSTUS C. DODGE.
> For Council from Lee county,
> EDWARD JOHNSON.[6]

A large number of Mormons were settling in Lee County, Iowa, across the river from Nauvoo. Among them was Brigham Young, of Montrose, who succeeded Joseph Smith as president and led the migration to the Rocky Mountains.

At various times during the first year of the *Times and Seasons,* Smith and Robinson announced their plans to publish a weekly newspaper for the community. The first of these announcements was made in the April issue. Two

6. Both men were elected.

weekly papers were later published for short periods: the *Wasp,* from April 16, 1842, to April 28, 1843, was succeeded by the *Nauvoo Neighbor,* May 3, 1843, to October 29, 1845. Neither lasted long, even though they were as "official" as the *Times and Seasons.*[7]

That paper began its second year of publication on November 1, 1840, with the first of its bimonthly issues. A change in editorship followed on January 1, 1841, when Robinson stepped out,[8] turning control over to Don Carlos Smith. Robert B. Thompson became associate editor. Although the paper maintained the same format and kind of content, it assumed a new liveliness under Smith and Thompson.

Dominating the news in the January 15, 1841, issue was the story of the Nauvoo charter which had been granted by the Illinois legislature December 16, 1840, to become effective the first Monday in February, 1841. This charter gave virtual autonomy to the city of Nauvoo, authorizing the establishment of its own courts, a separate militia, and a university, and granting the city all other powers not specifically prohibited by the federal and state constitutions. Alleged abuse of the charter led to much of the anti-Mormon feeling that soon began to appear in Illinois and culminated in the death of Joseph and his brother Hyrum in 1844.

On February 15, 1841, the *Times and Seasons* ran the full text of Mayor John C. Bennett's inaugural address. Now regarded by Mormons as a Benedict Arnold, Dr. Bennett (he was a medical doctor) rose to prominence shortly after

7. Franklin W. Scott, *Newspapers and Periodicals of Illinois, 1814-1879 (Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library,* VI, Springfield, 1910), 260; Winifred Gregory, ed., *American Newspapers, 1821-1936* (New York, 1937), 136. The *Neighbor* became the *Hancock Eagle* in 1845, and was still a Mormon paper, though it was edited by Dr. W. E. Matlack, a non-Mormon. On Matlack's death in 1846 the *Eagle* was sold and became the anti-Mormon *New Citizen.*

8. The advertisement "E. Robinson, Book and Fancy Job Printer" appeared thereafter on the back page. Robinson's office was at the corner of Water and Bain streets—presumably in the same building as the *Times and Seasons* office.

joining the church in 1840. He was instrumental in pushing the Nauvoo charter through the Illinois legislature and as a reward was elected the city's first mayor. Various reasons, including immoral conduct, are given for his disaffection a short time later. He toured the eastern part of the country making violently anti-Mormon speeches, which were mentioned in the *Times and Seasons*.

Black-bordered columns were used for the first time on August 16, 1841, to record the death, on August 7, of Editor Don Carlos Smith. Two weeks later the death of Robert B. Thompson, the new associate editor, was also announced in black-bordered columns. Ebenezer Robinson temporarily resumed the editorship and engaged Gustavus Hills as associate editor, but in a few months the paper had another new editor — the Prophet Joseph himself. In the March 1, 1842, issue he stated:

> This paper commences my editorial career. I alone stand responsible for it, and shall do for all papers having my signature henceforward. I am not responsible for the publication or arrangement of the former paper; the matter did not come under my supervision.

Although some historians say that Smith took the paper over because he was dissatisfied with the way it was being run, no apparent reason for his dissatisfaction can be found in the issues edited by Robinson. The latter was a printer, however, not an editor, and his editorial sins, if any, were ones of omission and not of commission.

To assist him in his new position as editor-in-chief, Joseph Smith chose two stalwarts from the Quorum of Twelve Apostles. They were John Taylor, a dark-eyed convert from Milnthorpe, in northern England, and Wilford Woodruff, a native of Connecticut. Both later served terms as president of the church, but Woodruff is probably better known because of his manifesto abolishing the practice of polygamy in the church.

Shortly after the change of editors, the office of *Times and Seasons* was moved to a newly constructed building at the

John Taylor, who succeeded Joseph Smith as editor of the Times and Seasons. *He was severely wounded by the mob that killed Joseph and Hyrum Smith.*

corner of present-day Kimball and Seventh streets. This building is standing today in remarkably good condition.

The real reason for Joseph Smith's assumption of the editorship in 1842 soon became obvious. In 1835, when church headquarters was still in Kirtland, Ohio, a young man named Michael H. Chandler came there with an exhibition of five Egyptian mummies, which, he said, had been bequeathed to him by an uncle who had dug them from an Egyptian tomb. Besides the mummies, Chandler had some papyrus rolls which caught the Prophet's attention. He studied one of the rolls, jotted down a few notes, and announced that the Book of Abraham had been discovered at last. To substantiate his announcement, he sent the scroll and his translation to an Egyptian language scholar in Philadelphia, and reported that the scholar had found the translation to be substantially correct. The church then purchased Chandler's mummies and rolls, and the Prophet proceeded to make a complete translation. When he took over the *Times and Seasons,* he had just finished the translation and wanted it published to all the world.

Accordingly, the new editor's first issue contained on its first page a facsimile of one set of hieroglyphics together with the translation. This was later reproduced in the *New York*

Herald by its enterprising editor, James Gordon Bennett, and picked up by other eastern newspapers; among them, the *Dollar Weekly Bostonian* and the *Boston Daily Ledger.* Other facsimiles and translations followed in subsequent issues of the *Times and Seasons,* and were later compiled in a church book called *The Pearl of Great Price.*

The Prophet started another "continued story" in the first issue under his editorship. He introduced it by stating:

> At the request of Mr. John Wentworth, editor and proprietor of the *Chicago Democrat,* I have written the following sketch of the rise, progress and persecution and faith of the Latter-day Saints of which I have the honor, under God, of being the founder.

(The "sketch" ran in installments, appearing in every issue of the *Times and Seasons* for the next four years, save one, and that was the issue which announced the death of Joseph and his brother Hyrum.)

Seven months in the editor's chair was enough for Joseph Smith, and on November 15, 1842, he announced his resignation: "I beg leave to inform the subscribers of the *Times and Seasons* that it is impossible for me to fulfil the arduous duties of the editorial department any longer."[9]

John Taylor succeeded Smith as editor, and Wilford Woodruff became assistant editor. These two men ran the paper for the next three and a half years. During some of that time they also published the Nauvoo *Wasp* and the *Nauvoo Neighbor,* but the *Times and Seasons* was the paper everyone relied upon.

Meanwhile, Nauvoo continued to grow and prosper. By 1844 it was a flourishing city, almost eighty per cent Mormon. But there were signs of unrest. People in surrounding communities were growing suspicious of the Mormons. By voting practically as a bloc in the 1842 elections, the

9. Shortly after his resignation as editor, the Prophet was arrested, tried, and acquitted on a charge of attempted assassination of former Governor L. W. Boggs of Missouri, who, on October 27, 1838, had ordered the state militia to exterminate the Mormons in Missouri. Proceedings of the trial took most of the space in the two July issues of 1843.

Mormons had displayed their vast political power, and it was feared that they would have even more in the 1844 elections, in which Illinois was a pivotal state. If the Mormons voted together, they could probably swing the state to either party. Aware of his political power, Joseph Smith began corresponding with some of the leading contenders for the presidential nominations. He received replies from John C. Calhoun and Henry Clay to his question about redress for the Mormons' Missouri persecutions, but he considered both replies evasive.[10] He did not receive answers from President Martin Van Buren or Lewis Cass, and there is no record of his writing to James K. Polk.

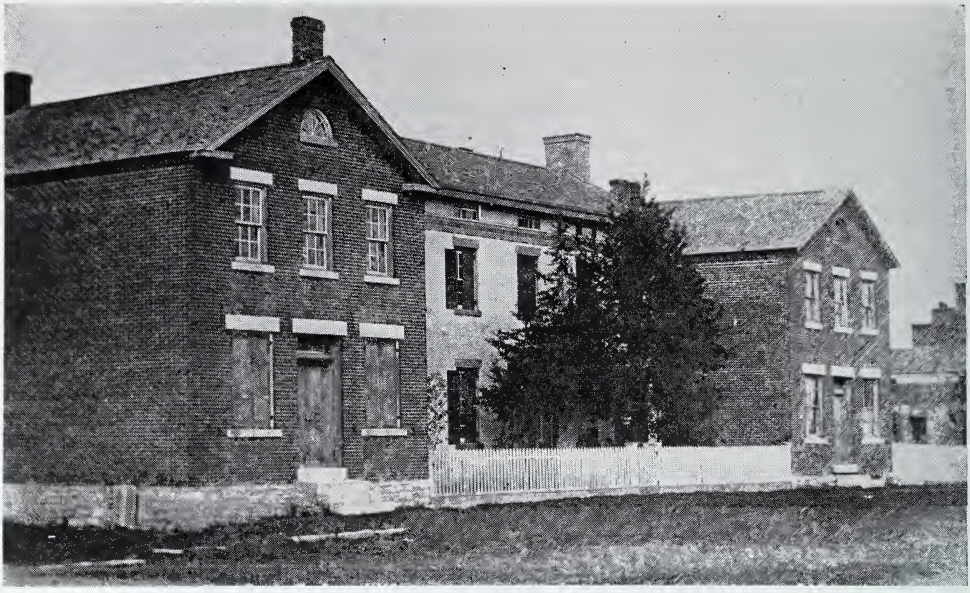
Dissatisfied with the responses of these men, Joseph Smith announced his own candidacy for the Presidency of the United States on a platform of "reform, Jeffersonian democracy, free trade and sailors rights."[11] Six pages of the May 15 *Times and Seasons* were devoted to his campaign platform. The June 1 issue announced that Smith's running mate for Vice-President would be Sidney Rigdon, then first counselor, or vice-president, of the church, who had been a Campbellite preacher in Pennsylvania before he became a Mormon in 1833.

But the presidential campaign soon became a secondary issue. Trouble had been brewing all spring among a group of dissident church members led by William Law, who had ranked in authority just below Smith and Rigdon. Law's supporters were accused of plotting against the Prophet's life and were excommunicated on April 18. Shortly thereafter, they obtained a press, brought it to Nauvoo, and on May 10 issued the prospectus for a paper to be called the

10. Smith's exchange of correspondence with Calhoun was published in the issue of Jan. 1, 1844; his exchange with Clay is in the June 1 issue.

11. The first announcement was made in an editorial in the Feb. 15, 1844, *Times and Seasons,* headed "Who Shall Be Our Next President?" and concluding with this paragraph: "Whatever, therefore be the opinions of other men our course is marked out and our motto henceforth will be GENERAL JOSEPH SMITH."

The quotation is from Resolution No. 5, adopted at the "State Convention" held in Nauvoo on May 17, 1844.



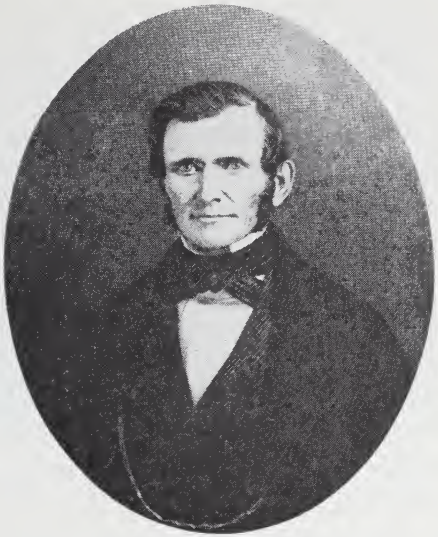
The Times and Seasons *office was moved in 1842 into the building at the left, which, at that time, was newly constructed.*

Nauvoo Expositor. Its slogan was "The truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth." The prospectus stated the new paper would advocate repeal of the Nauvoo charter, oppose union of church and state, and support free discussion. Sylvester Emmons, an attorney, was to be the editor.[12]

The first and only issue of the *Expositor* appeared on June 7, 1844. It was a vitriolic sheet, aimed almost exclusively at discrediting Joseph Smith. Seven men — William Law, his brother Wilson Law, Charles Ivins, Francis M. Higbee, Chauncey L. Higbee, Robert D. Foster, and Charles A. Foster — were listed as the publishers. Their preamble, in the June 7 issue, said in part:

> We all verily believe, and many of us know of a surety, that the religion of the Latter Day Saints, as originally taught by Joseph Smith, . . . is verily true . . . . [but] we are earnestly seeking to explode the vicious principles of Joseph Smith, and those who practice the same abominations and whoredoms. . . .
>
> Many of us have sought a reformation in the church, without a

12. On the excommunication see Roberts, *History of the Church,* VI: 341. The prospectus is in *ibid.,* 443-44, as well as in the *Expositor.*



Wilford Woodruff was assistant editor of the Times and Seasons *and later served as president of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.*

public exposition of the enormities of crimes practiced by its leaders, thinking that if they would hearken to counsel, and shew fruit meet for repentance, it would be acceptable with God, as though they were exposed to public gaze. . . but our petitions were treated with contempt.[13]

The paper told how young women converts who came to Nauvoo from far-off places were taken off alone by Smith, sworn to secrecy, and then seduced under the guise of being a "spiritual wife." Some of the apostles were also charged with the same practice.

In an article dealing with Smith's presidential candidacy, the paper stated that Smith "has two indictments against him right now, one for fornication and adultery, the other for perjury. Our readers can make their own comments."[14] There were three affidavits in the paper, signed by William Law, his wife, Jane Law, and Austin Cowles, in which they swore that they had seen revelations written by the Prophet concerning plurality of wives and the marrying of virgins.

In assailing the Nauvoo charter, the *Expositor* told the story of one Jeremiah Smith (no relation to the Prophet)

13. The author used an original copy in the Newberry Library. The only other extant copies are in the Illinois State Historical Library and the Latter-day Saints church archives, Salt Lake City.

14. *Ibid.*

who had fled to Nauvoo to escape a warrant from the District of Columbia, where he was wanted for embezzling $4,000. It recounted how the Prophet had denied to the United States Marshal any knowledge of the man's whereabouts until assured that Jeremiah could be brought before a magistrate in Nauvoo for a preliminary hearing of removal. Whereupon, said the *Expositor,* the man was promptly produced, taken before a friendly judge, and released on a writ of habeas corpus. The defiance of the United States District Court, the paper charged, made a mockery of the law.

A wave of protest and indignation swept through Nauvoo when the *Expositor* made its appearance. There was talk of mobbing the office. The city council, with the Prophet sitting as mayor, ordered the press destroyed. Their legal authority, they said, was Blackstone, who asserted that "scurrilous prints may be abated as a nuisance." (Later, it was pointed out to the city council that "prints" did not mean presses.) The council resolution of June 10 read:

> Resolved, by the City Council of the city of Nauvoo, that the printing-office from whence issues the *Nauvoo Expositor* is a public nuisance and also all of said *Nauvoo Expositors* which may be or exist in said establishment; and the Mayor is instructed to cause said printing establishment and papers to be removed without delay, in such manner as he may direct.
>
> W. Richards, Recorder. George W. Harris, President, *pro tem.*[15]

Smith ordered the city marshal to destroy the press, pi the type, and burn the papers, and directed the Nauvoo Legion to stand by to render any necessary assistance. The only resistance encountered was a locked door, which the marshal had to break down to carry out his orders.

The destruction of the press played right into the hands of Law and his henchmen, for they set fire to their own building and fled to Carthage, the county seat, with tales of being driven from their homes. They also charged the

15. Roberts, *History of the Church,* VI: 448.

TIMES AND SEASONS.

"Truth will prevail."

Vol. V. No. 12.] CITY OF NAUVOO, ILL. JULY, 1, 1844. [Whole No. 96.

wful assassination of JOSEPH AND HYRUM SMITH!—The pledged faith of the state of Illinois stained with innocent blood by a Mob!

On Monday the 24th inst., after Gov. Ford d sent word, that those eighteen persons dended on a warrant, among whom were Joh Smith and Hyrum Smith *should be protect*by the militia of the State, they in compawith some ten or twelve others, started for *by due course of law*;" but the Governor's troops, to the amount of one or two hundred, took them to the Court House, when the hearing was continued till Saturday the 29th, and they were remanded to jail. Several of our citizens had permits from the Governor to lodge with them, and visit them in jail. It now began to be rumored by several men, whose names will be forthcoming in time, *that*

The Times and Seasons *rules were turned in mourning over the "Awful assassination of Joseph and Hyrum Smith!" This picture is the same size as the original.*

church leaders with burning their building, as well as destroying the press.

Warrants were issued for the arrest of Joseph and Hyrum Smith. Governor Thomas Ford went from Springfield to Carthage to take personal command of the situation, and several units of the state militia were called to duty. On Governor Ford's personal assurance of full protection, the brothers submitted to arrest and were placed in the jail at Carthage. There they were killed by an armed mob.

John Taylor, editor and publisher of the *Times and Seasons,* who was visiting at the jail when Joseph and Hyrum were killed, received four bullet wounds, and possibly his life was saved by the fact that a fifth bullet was stopped by his watch in his left vest pocket.[16]

Although the *Expositor* ignited the flame that consumed the church in Nauvoo, the paper was mentioned only casually in the *Times and Seasons,* for the deaths of Joseph and Hyrum Smith completely overshadowed everything else. No issue appeared between June 1 and July 1, and it took the entire issue of July 1 to report the deaths and funerals. The column-rules were turned, making them heavy black lines on every page.

16. *Times and Seasons,* July 15, 1844.

As the Mormons began to recover from the shock of losing their leader, they were confronted with the problem of finding a new one. Principal claimants to the church presidency were Sidney Rigdon, vice-president (or, as he was properly known, first counselor), and Brigham Young, senior member of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles, and therefore president of the group. A vast majority of the members decided to sustain Young, and Rigdon left Nauvoo, taking a small group with him to Pittsburgh. Other small dissident groups went to Michigan, Wisconsin, Oklahoma, Iowa, and to other parts of Illinois. The *Times and Seasons* made scant mention of these groups but did devote parts of two issues to the "trial" at which Rigdon was accused of being disloyal and of spreading falsehoods.

The paper continued to publish for a year and a half after Smith's death, but it seemed to lose some of its zip. This was but a reflection of conditions in Nauvoo, where mounting pressures from the outside had forced the Mormons to make plans for leaving the city. There is surprisingly little information about these troubles in the *Times and Seasons*. Most of its articles were still of a religious nature. Apparently Editor Taylor felt it important to sustain the faith.

The *Times and Seasons* packed its type and presses and left Nauvoo after publishing its final issue on February 15, 1846. It had printed its own obituary in the February 1 number, and the final issue seemed almost anticlimactic. The only news about the forthcoming emigration was an article about a group of Mormons who were going from New York to San Francisco on the sailing ship *Brooklyn*.

Everything considered, Editor Taylor's final editorial on February 1, 1846, is surprisingly mild:

> All things are in preparation for a commencement of the great move of the Saints out of the United States; — (we had like to have said, beyond the power of Christianity,) but we will soften the expression, by merely saying, and *back to their "primitive possessions,"*

Nauvoo home of John Taylor, Times and Seasons editor

as in the enjoyment of Israel. It is reduced to a solemn reality, that the rights and property, as well as the lives and common religious belief of the church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, *cannot be protected* in the realms of the United States, and, of course, from one to two hundred thousand souls, must quit their freedom among freemen, and go where the land, the elements, and the worship of God *are free.*

About two thousand are ready and crossing the Mississippi to pioneer the way, and make arrangements for summer crops at some point between this and the "Pacific," where the biggest crowd of good people, will be the old settlers.

To see such a large body of men, women and children, compelled by the inefficiency of the law, and potency of mobocracy, to leave a great city in the month of February, for the sake of the enjoyment of *pure religion,* fills the soul with astonishment, and gives the world a sample of fidelity and faith, brilliant as the sun, and forcible as a tempest, and as enduring as eternity.

May God continue the spirit of fleeing from false freedom, and false dignity, till every Saint is removed to where he "can sit under his own vine and fig tree" without having any to molest or make afraid. *Let us go — Let us go.*

FRED GUSTORF

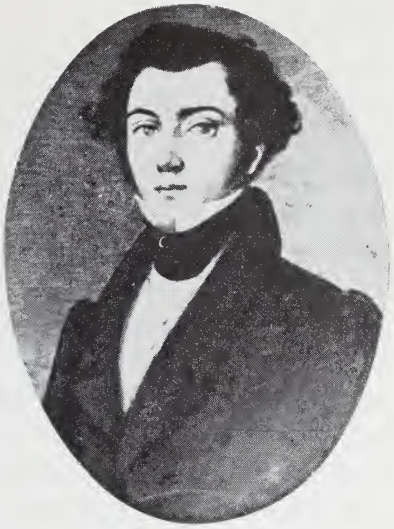
Frontier Perils Told By an Early Illinois Visitor

When the United States Army sent Colonel Fred Gustorf to Frankfurt am Main in 1955, he was unaware that his great-grandfather, who emigrated in 1819, had lived in that historic city for ten years. Like thousands of other Americans residing involuntarily in postwar Germany, he became interested in the history and customs of the German people, and upon his return to the United States the Colonel, assisted by Miss Gisela Kramm, began a study of his ancestor's documents, including an account of his trip from Philadelphia to the Illinois-Missouri frontier. Herewith is the first of two extracts pertaining to Illinois. The entire document is being published later this year by the University of Missouri Press. Colonel Gustorf, now retired, lives in San Francisco.

FREDERICK JULIUS GUSTORF, second son of a banker, was born in the year 1800 in Cassel, capital of the Napoleonic Kingdom of Westphalia.[1] The father failed in the banking business following the defeat of Napoleon at Leipzig and the abdication of the puppet king. It was his desire that Frederick Julius, then sixteen years of age, learn a trade in order to contribute to the support of the impoverished family, but the youth found the life of a tradesman repugnant, all his tastes being literary, and therefore in 1819 he sought more congenial employment in the United States of America. He tutored private students in German at Harvard and Yale and became acquainted with culturally prominent people in Boston and New Haven.[2] In 1822, before the clerk

1. In the early nineteenth century the cities of Kassel, Köln, Koblenz, and Karlsruhe were spelled with a "C".

2. The Harvard University catalog for the year 1820-1821 lists Frederick J. Gustorf as "private teacher in German." This meant that he was author-



Frederick Julius Gustorf, from a portrait by an unknown German artist. This copy was made in Peoria in 1865.

of the Mayor's Court of Philadelphia, the young German immigrant declared his intent to become an American citizen. Two years later, however, Gustorf made a sudden and unexplained return trip to Cassel, carrying a travel permit issued by a Boston notary.[3] It is presumed that he was summoned to a family conference precipitated by a crisis of political, financial, or filial nature. Evidently the "prodigal" promised his brothers that he would postpone, if not abandon, his plans for renouncing his German birthright, for in January, 1825, he applied to the senate of the free city of Frankfurt for permission to reside and teach English there.[4]

The Frankfurt interlude lasted exactly ten years, indicat-

ized to teach the German language to Harvard students, but all arrangements, including payment, were between him and the students concerned.

3. In his *German Culture in America, 1600-1900* (Madison, Wis., 1957), Henry A. Pochmann mentions Gustorf as the first unofficial German teacher at Harvard and says that Karl Follen joined the faculty in 1825 as the first regularly appointed instructor in the German language. Herein is a possible reason for the return to Europe in the summer of 1824. Samuel J. Prescott, Notary Public, Justice of the Peace and Quorum, signed the travel document.

4. Applicant submitted, in addition to the Prescott document, a letter from the president of Harvard, letters from the president and several faculty members of Yale, and a letter from the editor of the *North American Review*. The Frankfurt envoy from the court of the Elector of Hesse was his political sponsor.

ing that it may indeed have been in the nature of a probationary or "cooling-off" period voluntarily self-imposed in deference to the will of the family council. Aboard the American packet *Yazoo,* Gustorf made his second and final voyage to the United States, sailing from Le Havre, August 1, 1834. From New York he proceeded to Philadelphia, where he appeared again in the Mayor's Court and was naturalized on September 27.

Having read Gottfried Duden's *Report upon a Journey to the Western States of America,* published privately in Germany in 1829, the former subject of the Elector of Hesse resolved to inspect the German immigrant colonies in Illinois and Missouri, especially those areas described so enthusiastically by Duden. The most convenient and economical means of travel from Philadelphia to St. Louis was the canal and river boats via Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, and Louisville, but this route would not be open until late spring. Accordingly, the journey began on May 9, 1835, with an all-day ride on the newly completed railroad to Columbia on the Susquehanna River eighty miles to the west. His daily progress and observations were recorded in a "traveling journal," which, since it was written in German, may have been intended for submission to some European newspaper or periodical. The impressions of other German travelers in America, including Duden, Dr. Henry C. Gerke, and the distinguished young scholar Francis Lieber, had been widely read in Europe.[5] Ironically, Gustorf's journal remained untranslated and unread for 125 years. The document is historically significant because of the writer's extraordinary power of perception and the original manner in which he

5. In Philadelphia, Gustorf had met the popular English political writer Harriet Martineau, who was gathering material for her *Society in America* (1837) and her *Retrospect of Western Travel* (1838). The first two volumes of *Democracy in America* by Alexis de Tocqueville, who was Gustorf's age, were published in 1835. Another popular contemporary European commentator upon life in the United States was Mrs. Frances Trollope, whose *Domestic Manners of the Americans,* published in England in 1832, was widely read and highly praised for its literary merit.

reacted to everything that stimulated his curiosity. Its greatest value, however, is in the description by a disillusioned German romantic of the hardship and suffering experienced by the first German intellectuals who emigrated to Illinois and Missouri but were totally incapable of physical, emotional, or economic adjustment to frontier conditions.

After stopping in Cincinnati for more than six weeks, Gustorf resumed his travel down the Ohio River on the evening of July 8, 1835, aboard the *Indian,* a steamboat of shallow draft capable of navigating the Wabash River to Terre Haute, Indiana. The *Indian* reached the mouth of the Wabash on July 11 and began her trip upriver the next day. Progress of the traveler from this point until he reached the Mississippi River opposite St. Louis is recorded in the journal as follows:

July 13 Because of the so-called bars when, in summertime, the Wabash has only a few feet of water, we had to stop to unload the freight on a lighter which the boat has carried for that purpose. This took all day yesterday and last night, until, about five o'clock this morning, we could proceed. I was bothered badly all night by mosquitoes and other insects. This river, like the Ohio, has remarkable bends around which at low water, as right now, navigation is very difficult. Today we saw one of the most beautiful parts of the river, called Black's Cutoff. The river divides in two parts and forms an island two miles in length. The view at this spot is too beautiful to describe — one must see it with his own eyes.

July 14 We have traveled only forty-five miles up the Wabash. Someone has just tossed an anchor toward a point of land where the river makes a sharp bend.

July 15 Finally, near ten o'clock, we could proceed. It took us all day yesterday to pass a new bar near New Harmony. The farmers from the surrounding country had to help us. An engine broke down and someone had to go ashore a few miles to find a blacksmith who could repair the damage. After sundown we arrived at New Harmony, a small town of six hundred inhabitants, most of them Americans. Six years ago a man named Rapp[6] and his company of settlers turned over the location of the town to an English-

6. George Rapp, the German separatist, and his followers from Württem-

man named Owen. Rapp went to the town of Economy on the Ohio River. After his community property plan failed, Owen sold the land to an American and returned to England. The settlement has not grown since because the inhabitants who remained and clung to Owen's religious views are disliked by the Americans who call them atheists. This is supposed to be the main reason why the settlement, with its beautiful farms and well-kept acres, came to a standstill. The German church of Rapp's time can still be seen but instead of religious services, the people hold dances there. Here, as everywhere along the Wabash, one can see signs of the annual flood, and for this reason there is still a lot of Congress land. Only here and there, on the highest banks, one sees log cabins. The river, which today offered many of its beauties, also displayed signs of its capricious nature in the form of swift rapids and large tree trunks on the sandbars. Each year, because of the terrific current at flood stage, the river has new bends, islands, and channels.

July 18 Written in the home of Mr. Flower, founder of the colony and the town of Albion.[7] On July 15 at ten o'clock in the

berg had founded the community of Economy, Pa., but moved to Harmonie in 1814. When the property was sold to Robert Owen, they returned to Economy, leaving behind them on the twenty thousand acres of partially cleared land no less than one hundred eighty brick, frame, and log buildings, including shops, factories, community facilities, and housing for approximately seven hundred people. Robert Owen, English-born textile manufacturer who developed a social theory popularly known as Owenism, sought to understand and control the great forces that were influencing the early nineteenth-century English society by becoming first a social reformer and later an advocate of communitarian socialism. By 1817 he had acquired national stature in England as a social reformer, but his theories became controversial during the next seven years and for this reason, in 1824, he crossed the Atlantic for the purpose of inspecting the site of the communitarian village founded by Rapp on the Wabash River. Arthur Eugene Bestor in *Backwoods Utopias* (Philadelphia, 1950), 49n., says that Owen's interest in the Rappite property was solicited by Richard Flower, father of George Flower. The latter, with Morris Birkbeck, had founded the English communities of Albion and Wanborough on the Illinois side of the Wabash near Harmonie in 1817-1818. Owen bought the Rappite property intact in January, 1825, and renamed it New Harmony. The purchase price is believed to have been $125,000. By June of that year between eight and nine hundred persons had been admitted to the new colony. But Robert Owen soon lost interest in the project, and by September of the following year the Owenite experiment was in chaos. The community was dissolved in April, 1827, when the founder liquidated his interest in the property and departed.

7. The colony established by Flower and Birkbeck at Albion for English artisans was nonsectarian. Birkbeck founded the community of Wanborough after he and Flower had a disagreement. A former tenant farmer in England,

morning we arrived at Grayville, which, like many other little towns, cannot be found on the map of the United States. It is located at the mouth of the Bon-Pas Creek, a small stream which runs into the Wabash River. This town was founded five years ago by a gentleman named Gray, who has established a store in a settlement comprising two stores, six to eight small log cabins, and a blacksmith shop. From here I intended traveling to Albion but couldn't get a carriage of any kind to complete the journey. Nor was there an inn where I could stay at Grayville. If a farmer had not taken me in for money and good words, I would have had to spend the night in the open air. I remained with several other immigrants, all English, who had their wives and children with them, in this hut. Space was very limited and we stayed all in one room. On account of my glasses the farmer thought I was a doctor and gave me the preference of a bed in which I spent a sleepless night. At dawn I piled my belongings on a wagon drawn by four oxen belonging to a farmer who lived a few miles from Albion. My English traveling companions were going to work for him. Four miles from Albion I met a Kentuckian of German descent who took me in his carriage, pulled by two horses, to Albion for a dollar. At Albion I stayed in a tavern owned by an Englishwoman, Mrs. Wood. After lunch I went to see Mr. Flower, who greeted me most cordially and invited me to stay at his farm a few miles from town for the duration of my stay in Albion. I accepted his offer. Late at night I had an accident which could have ended very unhappily. I was riding in a small carriage, accompanied by a young Englishman who had settled in Peoria and was in Albion for a visit. We returned to town in order to fetch my suitcase. It was very dark, the road was bad through the woods. One of the horses became frightened and ran away. My driver fell out of the carriage and under the horses. I tried to grab the reins but fell sidewise into the mud. At this moment the horses, fortunately, became tangled in the bushes and came to a standstill. If this hadn't happened, my companion, who was holding on to the tongue of the vehicle, would have broken every bone in his body. Both of us escaped with only a few bruises. We unhitched the horses and walked them home, leaving the carriage to be recovered later by the laborers.

Sept. 4 In the tavern of the old Mrs. Wood in Albion. A long

he stimulated immigration from his native land by his *Notes on a Journey in America.* First published in 1817, the book went through eleven editions. *Letters from Illinois,* published a year later, was printed in seven editions and was translated into French and German.

intermission in my diary while I collected practical experience in farming. The American farming system is not as simple as it is described in German and other European publications. Over here the individual farmer does not have to work as hard as the peasant class in Europe, where the whole family has to help make a living. For these people farming as it is practiced in the western states would be paradise compared with farming in Europe. The occupation of farming is almost impossible for an immigrant in this country, especially one who is physically unfit for this kind of work and therefore dependent upon others for help. He would be foolhardy, because it would lead to nothing in the long run, as experience has demonstrated in many cases.

During the harvest season I worked for a farmer without pay. For this purpose I had made for myself several sets of working clothes out of rough linen, and mingled with laborers in the hayfields. In the beginning I worked only two hours daily, one hour in the morning and one in the afternoon. I did the easiest work: raking hay. Easy as the work was, the burning sun was intolerable. The thermometer rose to 100 and over. After an hour's work I was completely soaked with perspiration. I had to change my clothes several times daily.

Other kinds of work which I was able to do were turning the swath with a wooden fork, cocking it when it was dry, piling up the hay, loading it on the wagon, then unloading the wagon onto the haystacks. Stacking the hay with an iron fork is very tiring, and even if one works without a shirt and drinks water constantly, it is almost unbearable.[8] These jobs are nothing compared with mowing, plowing, thinning Indian corn, and grubbing; also cocking oats in stubby fields. It is almost impossible for someone who is not used to this kind of work from his youth to handle the scythe, the plow, and the axe to advantage. Americans know best how to swing the axe.

To thin corn you first have to pull out the weeds, which are one to five feet high, with your bare hands; then you have to pull up the stalks which are too close together so that only three stalks, or five at the most, remain together. After a steady rain, when the rich soil is soaking wet, this is hard work, particularly when you have to keep up with the other laborers. Grubbing means pulling out all plants, bushes, and small trees by the roots in order to clear the

8. This statement, together with the comments upon the difficulties of farming which follow, is significant in view of the fact that the writer was to become a prairie farmer himself after his marriage.

ground. For this work one uses a particular kind of axe, shaped like a scythe and fastened to a long stick. This brush prefers to grow over fences, and in a few years it looks like a small forest. There are many kinds of trees, including wild plum, nut, cherry, and apple. Nothing is safe from the grubbing axe, and often the most beautiful and healthy little trees have to be destroyed to protect the fences from decay and to expand the cultivated areas.

Also, it is very important to know how to handle animals like horses, cattle, pigs, and sheep, because without them a farm is unthinkable. To raise sheep requires special knowledge and years of experience; and even then there are many hazards for the sheep in the form of diseases, and the wolves which attack at night. I can remember that one night, when I was bothered by the heat and all kinds of bugs in my room, and all the hall doors were open, I was awakened by the terrifying howling of wolves and dogs. Five or six dogs were chasing through the house. A Negress came from the next cabin and woke up the owner with the words, "Master, the wolves must have got amongst the sheep, for they are all scampering about." All in the house jumped up, got their shotguns, and arrived at the pens to find the sheep unharmed.

But back to the main point! Whoever wants to become a farmer in the western states and is unable to do the hard work himself has to hire laborers with money and good words, which is always difficult and sometimes impossible. Among one hundred laborers you might find one whose work is satisfactory. A farmer who cannot do the heavy work himself must have at least one hired man at a cost of $120 to $170 per year. The main problem is at harvest time when help is hard to find. The average daily wage is a dollar to a dollar and a half per day plus board.[9] Since help is so hard to find, the American farmers help each other in building their log houses. Prices of farm products are low compared to the cost of farming.

A farmer's life is neither romantic nor idyllic — just hard work with small rewards. A person who has not tried it has no idea what problems are involved. The smallest farm is about forty acres. Many Americans have one hundred acres, some even a thousand. Most of the land on the forty-acre farms is already cleared, ready for cultivation. A forty-acre farm with improvements costs between $250 and $300. The so-called improvements consist of fences around the cleared land, a log cabin, and a shed or shelter for equip-

9. Eighty-five years later a great-grandson was to work, at age sixteen, on a Vermont dairy farm for a brief summer period at the rate of one dollar a day plus keep.

ment. The log cabin consists of a single room, in which the whole family lives, with a big hearth for cooking and heating. Food is very plain — nothing but coffee, tea, bacon, potatoes, and corn bread the year around. Luxury items are cooked apples or wild plums and whiskey mixed with water. Clothing is very poor, made out of homespun cotton materials. Boots: none, except in the coldest weather; otherwise, everyone goes barefoot.

Most of the settlers who came here in the year 1819 are Englishmen by the names of Flower, Birkbeck, Pickering, Bridges, Clark, and others. Most of them spent all their money to buy their farms. With only one exception, a man named Applegarth, all I hear are complaints. Formerly well-to-do, they now have much land and no buyers. Some people try to appear well off and well satisfied in order to make a good impression on the newcomers. An alert observer soon realizes their circumstances and feels sorry for them.

However, things are different with the people who came here from Europe and who lived over there in poverty. As soon as they arrive, father, mother, sons, and daughters can find work and within a year or so can buy Congress land with their savings. I have visited several farmers in this class, and all of them had plenty to eat and drink. A few of them are well-to-do, considering their former circumstances. At home they were dependent laborers. Here they are independent landowners, living better than most of the better class of settlers, who look upon them with envy. These former Europeans are the true democrats, exercising the greatest political influence.

Sept. 6 Yesterday, between four and five o'clock in the afternoon, we felt an earthquake. It was quite a sensation. I was sitting in the hall when a strange roaring was heard above us. It happened so fast, we thought something heavy on the upper floor had fallen. All the tenants came running, asking each other, "Did you hear that noise? Oh, God, it was an earthquake!" This was nothing new to a few of the tenants. I learned today that the quake was felt in the whole settlement, particularly strong in the fields. The weather yesterday was windy in the morning, cloudy, and later very sultry. After the earth movement the sky darkened, and about nine o'clock in the evening we had a thunderstorm with lightning and heavy rain. This morning it is likely to rain and quite cool.

Diseases of the West and the Nature of Pharmaceuticals.

The diseases that make their appearance each year after harvest time are very saddening and discouraging to the farmer. Fever and

ague (known in Europe as gall bladder fever) are the most common ailments. Most of the patients get their treatment from all kinds of medical bunglers. Few people escape fever and ague, but it is more prevalent among the working classes. Those whose bodies are not exposed to the heat of the sun in summer, who enjoy a varied diet, and who wash themselves frequently are not affected by these diseases. One can estimate the extent of disease in this country by visiting the log cabins, the doctors' offices, and the country stores. According to the people, this county is not as bad as the neighboring counties, since no one wants to admit the presence of disease. In one log cabin I visited, a woman was in bed, sighing and groaning. When I asked what was the matter with her, I was told she had ague. In another cabin father and children were stricken. In a third cabin the inhabitants were walking around like ghosts: faint, flabby, and enfeebled. What's the matter? I asked. The reply: a chill or a "shake."

In [Joel] Churchill's store, where the clerk also serves as pharmacist, they sell quinine, calomel, castor oil, laudanum, and camphor dissolved in alcohol to the sick in great quantities. The doctors (the local doctor is named [Archibald] Spring) are not as well trained as German physicians. They ride around the country visiting patients on horseback. Very often the patient will send an emissary to Doctor Spring to ask what can be done. When riding horseback the doctors carry medicine in a leather bag, which they throw over the saddle. With the aforementioned drugs the doctors cure all diseases. The doctor feels the pulse with a significant expression on his face, then opens his bag and shakes a certain amount of medicine on a little piece of paper. This procedure is repeated with every patient. These and other diseases, unknown to me heretofore, are prevalent along the Mississippi, Missouri, and Illinois rivers, and in the bottomland. Albion, which is sixteen miles from the great Wabash, is healthier than the western counties.

Sept. 10 Wanborough. This spot, two to three miles from Albion, was founded by Birkbeck after he and Flower had a disagreement. Like Albion, it is deteriorating. Here are eight or ten dilapidated huts, a mill, a workshop, and a pottery. The soil is supposed to be better here than around Albion, but at this time of year nearly all the residents were sick with the aforementioned diseases. All I saw was sad faces. Not far from here, on the western side of the Boltenhouse Prairie, was Birkbeck's country home, a plantation of four to five hundred acres that now lies deserted. During the lifetime of its founder this settlement is supposed to have

been magnificent; but now the land is covered with high weeds, part of the house is torn down, and the remainder is near collapse. The land, which by nature is very productive with a charming view of the prairie, belongs now to a merchant in New Orleans who has tried for two years to sell it for $1.25 per acre. It includes a beautiful orchard, where the most delicious apples and plums lie on the ground in heaps under the trees. I took a handkerchief-full home with me. They have no worth because of overabundance. Birkbeck himself drowned a few years ago in the Fox River when he tried to cross it on horseback. Since his death his sons and daughters have scattered, and those people who knew Birkbeck have only a faint memory of him.

Sept. 12 The prairies. Near Albion are several prairies known as Boltenhouse, Village, Long, and Burned prairies. On the Boltenhouse Prairie are only English farmers, the original settlers. Here are to be seen the most beautiful farms. The other prairies, particularly Village and Long, are owned by Americans from Kentucky and Tennessee. I prefer the Village Prairie, partly because of its charming and romantic location and also because its land is still being sold at the government price. A man named Wiggins in Cincinnati bought five to six hundred acres under tax title and is reselling it at 37½ cents per acre. The prairies in this state are charming — great stretches of flat land, covered with wild meadows which are hemmed by thin forests. The prairies are covered all summer long with flowers that change color every month — yellow, blue, then red. By wandering from one meadow to another, one encounters a series of surprises. Huge green surfaces of unbelievably high grass which waves in the wind like the sea against a wooded background, more beautiful than the English parks described by Piehler Moskau.

These prairies are from ten to one hundred miles across. Because of their size, one can travel over them by horse only. It is enchanting when you come to a little stream in the forest, where the horse can have a drink of water. Then you ride through the small wood and emerge on the other side on another wide expanse of prairie. In winter, when the trails are covered with snow, people get lost and cannot find shelter. I have heard of instances when travelers, lost in the snow on the prairies, have had to slit the bellies of their horses for the warmth of their bodies. In summer the prairie insects are so numerous that the horses often are stung to death by them. Therefore, one must travel during the night or the early morning hours. Flies settle by the thousands on the horses, and after a ride of

several hours the blood can be seen trickling down their sides. To get relief from these pests, a horse will break into a fast gallop.

Sept. 15 I had a wonderful opportunity, through the acquaintance of Doctor Spring, to visit settlers in all directions while he visited his patients. Today we took a ride of ten miles over the Village, Bon-Pas, Buck, and Mill prairies. On the latter we visited a farm where, in a small, miserable cabin, a family has lived for two years. Man and wife, ill for several weeks, lay in pitiful surroundings. The patients were on ragged beds, made by themselves. The walls behind the beds were covered with old linen to shut out the wind, which is very cold. There were no windows in the room, but light came through cracks in the walls and the roof. We left the door open so the doctor could see the tongues of his patients. At the fireplace, made with wood covered with clay, sat an old man, worn out by work and grief, delousing a small child. Opposite him was a young woman, the picture of indifference and aloofness, who, on being questioned by the doctor, said that she had forgotten altogether to give the prescribed quantities of quinine to the patients. Not far from the door, where Turkish wheat and castor beans were growing, stood six to eight short, hollow tree trunks which served as bee hives. What a contrast! The bees were buzzing and dancing around their simple home, while in the other structure human beings lay in suffering and misery. Had they been better off financially when their farm was started, these people would now be doing well because of their knowledge of the soil. Their indifference to personal comfort is hard to understand. Many families arrive from their former homes to start anew in poor circumstances.

This morning, while riding over the prairies, everything at a distance looked so colorful and attractive. But when you get a closer look, the picture is not so pretty. While passing through a wood, we saw an old tree which had been struck by lightning several years ago. Its shattered trunk and branches were scattered over the ground, offering an interesting subject for an artist to paint.

Sept. 21 For several days it has been raining. The wind, coming from the northwest, is very cold. How dull and monotonous life is when one cannot go outside. Only one miserable tavern in this spot, consisting of three houses and a few cabins. No pleasure or entertainment of any kind. Yet the people of the West are not without their pleasures or sprees, as they call them; but what cultivated European wants any part of this atmosphere? These sprees

take place at elections, general musters, court days, and the Fourth of July. Brandy and whiskey have to do their best. They start drinking until they are intoxicated completely. Then their pleasure is at its highest point. For instance, the semiannual court took place here. Judge, litigants, jury, and the people were gathered in the courthouse. After the gentlemen of the jury had been addressed pro and con, and the witnesses had been called through the window by the sheriff when their testimony was given, and when all disputes had been settled to the satisfaction of those concerned, everybody went to the tavern, where, toward evening, the scene was such as could be described only by the paint brush of a Hogarth. The principal characters in this charming social scene are the justice of the peace, who is a shoemaker by trade; a Scotsman known as Doctor; a captain who fought against Black Hawk in 1832 and who constantly referred to his military exploits; a schoolmaster who was never sober and who was described by the captain as one of his "faithful boys"; the local doctor, who with great dignity testified in court as a medical authority; several well-dressed county lawyers who discussed the advantages of America over the rest of the world; a major, a giant of a fellow, who is here to discuss testimony against military men who failed to show up at the last muster. The remaining people were peasants, craftsmen, and other poor-looking souls who got very little attention. After all the heads had been heated, they started singing, screaming, whistling, arguing, and finally fighting. I left the room and went home but it was impossible to get any rest because the noise continued far into the night.

Sept. 27 Traveled with Doctor Spring at nine o'clock in the morning to the Little Wabash River, ten miles from Albion. We took a southwest direction, crossed the Boltenhouse Prairie, then [passed] through a thick oak forest. The Little Wabash is just like all other American rivers — wild, dark, and lined with heavy forests. Here and there one encounters a creek whose water empties into the river. The settlements are poor, populated by Kentuckians who came here about a year ago and are living in company with the wolves. These people do not settle just anywhere. No! They must have a greater range for the hogs and plenty of wild game. These are the main reasons for the migration of the descendants of the famous Kentuckian, Daniel Boone. They prefer the wild jungles adjacent to the rivers, because here the herds of deer come to drink. Also, there are areas where the soil contains salt which attracts the animals. They lick the salt from the soil. These spots are known

as "licks." The advantages of the forests and the rivers are offset by the unhealthy vapors which rise from the ground and cause many diseases; in the western states particularly, the ague. We visited nine different log cabins, all unfinished, standing in the midst of the forest and fields of Indian corn. In one of these living quarters I saw a family of twelve living in a single room with four bedsteads. Two patients were in one of the beds. The people looked horrible, especially the children, on whom dirt and filth were like a crust.

These people appear less civilized than the American Indians. Isolated from society, they must of necessity speak a language of their own. When the doctor asked one woman how her mother was, she replied, "Oh, doctor, she is in a mighty wrack of misery." Another woman had "a heap of pain." Someone they don't know is addressed as "Stranger." An old, broken straw chair is pushed toward you with the admonition, "Stranger, sit down!" And you must sit down. A person in city clothes is referred to as "man." If I had been dressed in rags, I would have been called a gentleman. In front of the door to one of these cabins, someone was butchering a deer and several skins were drying. One deer skin sells for 37½ cents here. On the ground were a few recently caught buffalo fish, probably so called because the head is so large in proportion to the body. They are caught in traps and the meat is very tough. Here I must mention that game is not abundant everywhere at all times of the year. At times it is very scarce, and one must be satisfied with bacon and corn. It is also a mistake to think that hunting is an easy business over here. For the American, who from childhood has roamed the woods and prairies with a gun over his shoulder, taking practice shots at whatever crosses his path, it is very easy. The European immigrant may hunt for weeks without seeing any game. For example, I want to tell one story of the American backwoodsman who had invited me for lunch. He excused the delay in serving the meal, saying, "I expect my boy to shoot some meat first." But the boy was unlucky this time, and the whole family, including their guest, had to eat fried Turkish wheat.

Evening of October 8 I had in mind to depart from here tomorrow morning, and according to European custom, I wanted to say goodbye to all my English friends, but a very disgusting thing occurred and I was forced to take part in it. The same day, two Americans had a horrible fight: a colonel of the militia, who was drunk, and another man slightly more sober, who suffered a facial injury. The affair took place in the tavern and was witnessed by

the justice of the peace, the sheriff, and another public officer. These three arrested the colonel for disturbing the peace, and took him to the courthouse (the workshop of the justice of the peace, who was also the shoemaker). There they wanted to make a report of the incident. It so happened that as I passed the courthouse, the justice, himself three-quarters drunk, called to me through the window. He said, "Mr. Gustorf, I appoint you to guard this prisoner." At first I thought it was a joke, but then I realized that I was facing a crowd of drunken ruffians who meant business. The justice addressed me again, saying, "I am in earnest. According to our law, I have the right to appoint you a guard of the prisoner before the bar and make you answerable for his security." I replied, "I have to travel tomorrow morning and have many things to do. Please choose someone else as watchman." But no, he did not want to do that. The justice appeared to have a grudge against me because he recently invited me to have a drink with him in the tavern and I didn't accept his invitation. Willy-nilly, I had to give in, and I approached my prisoner, who sat on the bench with a big knife in his hand. He said to me, "If you come too near, I will run this knife into your guts." His victim lay on the floor, moaning and vomiting. The justice picked up the lawbook but either was unable to read or couldn't understand what it said. Another man explained the case to him. Then it was discovered that a sixth juryman was needed, so I was appointed. I was detained until ten o'clock in the evening when the guilty one, so drunk he couldn't defend himself, was fined five dollars and court costs.

Trip from Albion over the Grand Prairie to Vandalia

October 9 I started this trip at eight o'clock in the morning. My travel companion, an American inspector of the National Road, seven miles from Vandalia. Our wagon, a light Dearborn, was the best of the shabby vehicles available. Everything went fine until eleven o'clock in the morning, even though the road was bad, but as we approached the Little Wabash we came to a declivity at least thirty feet above the river. There was no bridge or other means of crossing the river. I was shocked because my companion wanted to drive down the steep slope without getting out of the vehicle. I cautioned him against it, but he said there was no danger. He no more than pronounced these words when the wagon, with the greatest vehemence, turned over, and the horses dragged it into the river. I escaped with a slight dislocation of the neck and arm, but the wagon was broken at the front end. With great difficulty we un-

hitched the horses and dragged them and the wagon out of the water. We couldn't have done it by ourselves, but we had help from the people of McSaunders' old mill. Mr. Waterman, my companion, like all Americans who never give up the ship, soon had the necessary tools and materials for repair of the wagon so we could continue our trip. The road got worse. No one in Europe can imagine the condition of these roads. In the prairies the roads are full of deep holes, and there are sloughs in which the horses sink up to their necks. In the woods are the creeks and poorly defined roads where one runs into stumps, which must be moved out of the way of the carriage. If one doesn't want to be in constant fear of breaking a leg or his neck, he should travel through this country on foot. Nevertheless, everybody travels by horse, including emigrants in their big covered wagons, with wives and children, bag and baggage, heading west.

Only Europeans of the peasant class could stand all the hardships of this life. Until seven or eight miles this side of Maysville [now part of Clay City], everything went pretty well, and if Mr. Waterman had followed my advice to drive more slowly, we would have been all right — but no! Hardheaded like all western Americans, he drove over stick and stone when all of a sudden, toward sunset, the wagon collapsed again, and we had to leave wagon and baggage at the entrance to the Grand Prairie. Now Waterman took his wife and child on the back of his horse, and I, who cannot ride without a saddle, led the other horse, and so we went about three miles to the next log cabin, where we spent the night. The hut which was supposed to be mine was uncompleted, and the cracks between the logs had not been filled with clay. The roof was open in many places. From where I lay on the floor I could see the cold moon. I couldn't stand the cold and dampness, so I went outside, gathered wood, and made a fire in the stove. I settled down on a broken chair. It was a night without a light, a table, or any books to read. It was unbearable, and each hour was an eternity. Finally the dawn came, and we returned to the wagon. We did a better job than the first time. The morning was cold and damp. When the work was completed after four hours, we breakfasted at the backwoods cabin and then resumed our journey, not at a speedy gallop this time, but very *slowly*. In Maysville we had a good dinner at Ridgeway['s]. We ate Welsh hens and prairie hens. Venison of the best kind can be bought here for one cent per pound.

Maysville is a small town of five or six log cabins, a tavern, and a

little white and green shed where Doctor Green has his shop. A sensation here was a long train of emigrants from Kentucky, who, with their big wagons filled with slaves, were en route to Missouri. Wives and children were traveling by wagon and on horseback. Toward evening we met them again on the edge of a forest. A big white tent had been erected, at the side of which stood the wagons, the horses unhitched. Nearby were big fires, surrounded by men, women, and children, most of them Negroes. This scene in the dark forest, on the edge of a prairie that is three to four hundred miles long and thirty to forty miles wide, was very impressive, combined with a distant prairie fire. These prairie fires can be seen at a distance of sixty miles. During the day the smoke hangs on the horizon for miles and at night they look like the lights in a theater. Sometimes these prairie fires are eighty to one hundred miles in width, driven by the wind. One fire turned toward us, but luckily it turned again at a distance of about three miles. The screaming of thousands of prairie chickens, partridges, and blackbirds, and their sudden take-off as a traveler approaches, is the only sound in this endless wilderness. To the northwest the prairie extends to the Kankakee River, not far from Lake Michigan. No mountains, no hills — nothing but wavy grass, with here and there a solitary cabin with its fence. Sometimes the only way to escape from a prairie fire is to unhitch the horses and ride them through a gap in the flames. Settlers on the prairies protect themselves by cutting the grass or by starting backfires in the path of the flames.

Sunday Oct. 11 Toward noon we arrived at Griffith['s] on the National Road, six miles from Vandalia, with a broken wagon and a lame horse. Here we spent the night.

October 12 Not far from Griffith['s] one enters the forest which extends on both sides of the National Road to the banks of the Kaskaskia and the high bluff on which is built Vandalia, now the capital of Illinois. The town, which has a population of eight hundred, according to Peck's *Gazetteer,* has not changed since it was founded fifteen years ago. If the legislative seat of government were to be moved farther to the north, as planned, the town would disintegrate. The houses, about one hundred in all, stand on a very broken soil, and since most of them are log cabins, the whole scene is dark and depressing. One can see about five or six big frame buildings containing stores. The Statehouse is a common brick building. A solitary bank, a wooden church with a small tower, and two or three state offices complete the community of Vandalia. The river is

shallow and not navigable. The only facility near the river is an old sawmill, and the river is spanned by two log bridges. Both sides of the river are swampy to the edge of the forest, making the climate very unhealthy in the summertime. One can see signs of ague and other diseases on the faces of the people. The city has little or no trade, and the stores get their supplies from St. Louis. The surrounding farms are poor because the soil is not fertile, and therefore Congress land is available. The best soil is on the Wakefield Prairie, which is very flat and surrounded by thick forests.

There are five or six Germans here, craftsmen, grocers, and whiskey buyers, all that remain of eighty-one Germans brought here from Hanover by Herr Ernst to found a colony, but like many others in such enterprises, he lost his life and $40,000.[10] I visited his widow, who, with her daughter, is still in mourning. A few days ago a young German from Hanover killed himself with a double-barreled gun. Desperation brought him to this end. I watched the building of the National Road, a gigantic task. Because of a shortage of labor and money, the work is proceeding very slowly. At times only four laborers worked on a stretch of one mile where at least forty should be employed. One section outside Vandalia cost $70,000. Since Jefferson's Presidency the work has been carried on with very little accomplished. "Wanted: 700 workmen on the Cumberland Road." This notice has been printed in the newspapers all summer long. A few Polish officers worked on this job for seventy cents per day.[11]

10. In 1819 Ferdinand Ernst, a native of the Kingdom of Hanover and "a gentleman of wealth and literary tastes," according to Randall Parrish in *Historic Illinois* (Chicago, 1905), 347, had brought a colony of about thirty German families to Vandalia, newly selected site of the state capital. The *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* [XXIV (Oct., 1931): 404] gives the date as 1820 and says that Ernst paid all expenses of the move. His "Travels in Illinois in 1819" was published in the Society's *Transactions* for the year 1903, pp. 150-65.

11. The influence of the Cumberland or National Road (part of the route of present-day U.S. 40) upon the development of the Ohio and Upper Mississippi valleys is beyond calculation. Work began in 1811 at Cumberland, Md., the eastern terminus, and by 1818 the United States mail was transported over it to Wheeling, Va., the route generally following what had been known as Braddock's Road. Congress appropriated funds in March, 1825, for extension of the turnpike to Zanesville, Ohio, along Zane's Trace, and later voted additional funds for further extension through Indiana and Illinois. It was completed to Vandalia after the federal government relinquished control. The 591 miles from Cumberland to Vandalia were built at a cost of approximately $7 million in federal funds. The last congressional appropriation was made in 1838 although a relatively small amount was voted in 1844 for a survey between Vandalia and Jefferson City, Mo.

October 13 The Vandalia Inn, where I spent the night, was airtight, and the bed was free of bugs. I paid one dollar for room and three meals. The town's aristocratic people (each western town has such) were employees of the National Road, who wore eagles on their threadbare clothes; two or three officials; a few lawyers; and a *big* judge named [John York] Sawyer. This individual is a funny, fat fellow. On my arrival yesterday, when I asked about him, I was informed that he is the biggest man in town. "Why, is he really so great?" I asked. "Yes, sir, he weighs three hundred pounds." In the beginning I was astonished at his size and importance because Americans check their weight, and I was really impressed with his size when I saw him in the company of other guests at the tavern. At eight o'clock in the morning I traveled by United States Mail to St. Louis. The day was fair and warm, like Europe in June, and I was very happy to have no traveling companions. My driver was a nice young fellow, very unusual in this country where roughness and brutality are common characteristics. At eleven o'clock we stopped at the post office in Mulberry Grove, a name which in Germany would suggest an earthly paradise, but I could find no similarity; but that's the way it is in this country — everything has grand appellations but in reality is nothing but wretchedness.

In the woods here I noticed the odd way they mark the roads and the county lines. Three notches cut in the trunk of a tree indicate the main road. To mark a county boundary, a section of bark is removed, and the beginning letters of the county name are carved in the wood beneath. This is an amusing way to travel these untrod roads.

Soon afterwards I arrived in Greenville on the Fork Prairie. The town already is deteriorating. As many small towns in this country see the light of day, others disappear. Since the National Road will bypass this little town, the inhabitants fear that it will be doomed. Toward four o'clock at the entrance to the post office at Looking Glass Prairie, so called because it is as smooth, polished, and even as a mirror.

One can travel for miles and the forest on the far horizon looks like the seacoast. Here and there stand solitary and lonesome farms in the open prairie without a single tree to provide shade. Now and then one sees a log house built against the side of a small, round hill for protection against wind and weather. Next is the Ridge Prairie, probably named for the frequent ridges. The constant chirping of crickets in the grass is heard all day and even more

at night. From the nearby woods comes a penetrating, disagreeable smell of decaying vegetation, which is a hazard to the health of human beings.

In the evening I sought shelter from Mr. Streat, a Yankee in the Marine Settlement. Here I asked about New Switzerland, which was founded by Dr. Köpfli.[12] My host pointed out a nearby German from Hamburg, who was not a member of the company but who gave me a saddening description of his own predicament and that of others. Since May he has worked on Ripley's farm. He himself, his wife, and children were stricken by fever, and no one gave them a helping hand because maidservants are not available here. He was so sick that he tried to sell the farm, but even at the low price of $400 there were no buyers.

At Edwardsville, on the edge of Ridge Prairie, a small town with colorfully painted frame houses and stores in abundance, we had breakfast in the stage house. The proprietor, whom I took for an Englishman because of his polite manners, told me he was from Charleston, South Carolina. He bought this stage house a few years ago. Like all planters in South Carolina, he was very dignified and obliging. Gerke and son lived for quite some time in his house.[13] The latter is married to an American woman who provided him with a sizeable fortune, and therefore he is very well off. Also, he has received an inheritance from his wife's relatives. When we drove by a vegetable garden, my driver, who was not the same one as yesterday, said, "I have a notion of having some turnips." So saying, he climbed over the fence and cut a good portion with his knife without the slightest feeling of guilt. He also picked pawpaws in the woods, which, he said, belonged to Uncle Sam, and as a citizen he had a right to do so. He was brave enough to offer me a few. It is an oval, yellow-green fruit, juicy and well-tasting, the inside being very similar to the color of apricots. The seeds are like big black beans. This edible fruit grows wild in the woods.

12. In *We Who Built America* (New York, 1940), 301, Carl Wittke identifies Dr. Kaspar Köpfli as one of the founders of a Swiss colony at Highland, Ill., originally known as Helvetia. Some of its members found employment as farmhands and others in the local brewery.

13. Dr. Henry C. Gerke, also from Cassel, emigrated to Madison County in 1824 and brought his family from Germany ten years later. His books on conditions in the Mississippi Valley, published in Hamburg, were widely read in Germany. He had two sons. William, the elder, settled in Marine Township in 1831. John, an artist, came with the family in 1834 and died in St. Louis in 1847.

Here in the West one frequently sees the great Washington on tavern signs. In the evening we stopped at Washington Hall. My driver gentleman said, "I have to seek shelter here and should, like western folks do, have a glass of brandy." He was surprised to hear me inquire about hotel prices in St. Louis, and because I didn't care for a glass of brandy, my driver thought I wasn't much of a gentleman. The hall of that great hero of olden times was an old, weatherbeaten frame house with broken windows, on the edge of a small but abundant prairie.

Nine miles from St. Louis we passed on the right a muddy lake and on the left a chain of small hills, the first I have seen in this state. Already one notices the nearness of the great river. We are on the so-called American Bottom. It is a plain of black soil with a few bald hills. One sees many poor huts, surrounded by cornfields. After a while one reaches Illinoistown, an insignificant spot on the Cahokia River, crossed by a wooden bridge. The sight of the Mississippi, the Father of all rivers, which is one mile wide at this point, is a great surprise after my long stay in Albion. Standing on the bank of that huge river, looking across at the fresh and youthful city of the Holy Louis, with its towers, white houses, and large steamboats, is a pleasure to the eye and an inspiration to the mind. We drove down to the steam ferry.

(*To be concluded in the Autumn issue*)

VIRGIL J. VOGEL

Indian Place Names in Illinois

This second installment of Virgil J. Vogel's article on Indian place names will be followed by two other parts. Full bibliographical information for the sources is given in the first citation only. Readers whose interest in Indian names is not satisfied by the information here are invited to write the author for further details.

Part II

GILA *(village, Jasper Co.)*

Gila seems to be borrowed from the name of an Arizona river, tributary of the Colorado. The name is a Spanish-spelled version of a Yuma Indian word, and to those Indians, who named the river, the word meant salty water.[134]

HALF DAY *(village, Lake Co.)*

This village, dating from 1836 and reportedly the oldest settlement in Lake County,[135] bears a name which is the English equivalent of Aptakisic (*q.v.*), a lesser Potawatomi chief whose aboriginal designation is also preserved in that of a nearby village. Though he often camped in the vicinity of Naperville, Du Page County, his band is said to have planted corn near this Lake County village.[136]

HAVANA *(city and township, Mason Co.; West Havana, village, Fulton Co.)*

These twin municipalities, which are opposite each other on the Illinois River, are named for the Cuban capital,[137] which bears the name of the Havana Indian tribe, of the Arawakan linguistic group,

134. Edwin Corle, *The Gila, River of the Southwest* (New York, 1951), 9; Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes,* II: 113, quoting Lieutenant Whipple, U.S.A.

135. John J. Halsey, *A History of Lake County Illinois* (Chicago, 1912), 595; Federal Writers' Project, *Illinois Guide,* 420.

136. *Ibid.,* 273; Henry W. Blodgett, *Autobiography* (Waukegan, 1906), 21-23, 37, and "Recollections Concerning Ap-ta-ke-sic (Half-Day)."

137. Henry Gannett, *The Origin of Certain Place Names in the United States* (U. S. Geological Survey, Bulletin 258, Washington, 1905), 152.

that formerly resided on the island;[138] Fulton County also has a Cuba (*q.v.*). Both names pre-date the Spanish-American War.

HIAWATHA (*Hiawatha Park, Chicago*)

This park, and also a Chicago street, are named for the hero of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's popular poem, *Song of Hiawatha* (1854). This epic of Indian life is based to a large degree on legends of the exploits of Manabozho, an Ojibway trickster or super-man, and other materials gathered by Henry R. Schoolcraft. The euphonious name chosen for the poem's leading figure, however, is taken from that of an Iroquois folk hero whose life scarcely resembles that of the mythical Ojibway.[139]

The historic Hiawatha (*ca.* 1570) was a Mohawk sachem, spokesman and collaborator of Dekanawida, or Daganoweda, reformer and peacemaker who united five jealous Indian nations in the League of the Ho-dé-no-sau-nee or Iroquois (*q.v.*). After his death he was, Morgan declares, elevated to a place in the Iroquois pantheon.

Morgan renders his name in Seneca dialect as *Hä-yo-went'-hä* and states that the name means "the man who combs," from the tradition that Hiawatha combed the snakes from the head of an Onondaga hero named *To-do-dä'-ho,* who, like Medusa, was covered with tangled serpents.[140] J. N. B. Hewitt, the Seneca ethnologist, claimed that the name signifies "he makes rivers."[141] To Henry R. Schoolcraft, the name denoted "a person of very great wisdom."[142]

HICKORY (Townships: *Hickory, in Coles and Schuyler Cos.; Hickory Hill, Wayne Co.; Hickory Point, Macon Co.; Young Hickory, Fulton Co.*

Villages: *Hickory Corners, Lake Co.; Hickory Grove, Carroll and Will Cos.; Hickory Hill, Marion Co.; Hickory Hills, Cook Co.; Hickory Ridge, Gallatin Co.; Hickoryville, Kane Co.*

Waterways and topographic features: *Hickory Chute, in Mississippi River, Pike Co.; Hickory Creek — (1) in Bureau and Henry Cos., (2) Fayette Co., (3) Will Co.; Little Hickory Creek, in Fayette Co.; Hickory Run, in Peoria Co.; Hickory Ridge, in Jackson Co.*)

138. Swanton *Indian Tribes of North America,* 610.

139. Albert Keiser, *The Indian in American Literature* (New York, 1933), Chap. XIV; Mentor L. Williams, ed., *Schoolcraft's Indian Legends . . .* (East Lansing, Mich., 1956), 294-300, 313-19.

140. Lewis H. Morgan, *League of the Iroquois,* I: 64, and *Ancient Society . . .* (Chicago, 1910), 129-30, 132.

141. Hodge, I: 546.

142. Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes,* III: 315.

The word hickory comes from the Powhatan Indians of Virginia. It was, apparently, not applied to the tree but to a food made from the nuts. According to John Smith, various nuts were dried, beaten to a powder, and mixed with water. The resulting product was "coloured as milke; which they cal *Pawcohiscora,* and keepe it for their use."[143] A. F. Chamberlain, authority on Algonquian words in English, declared, "From the cluster words *pawcohiccora,* etc., transferred by the whites from the food to the tree, has been derived *hickory.* The latter form was in use by 1682."[144]

It is likely that these place names were given because of hickory groves in the vicinity of the places named. We are told that Hickory Point Township in Macon County was "so named because of the hickory trees at the point where Stevens Creek left the timber for the prairie."[145]

HONONEGAH (*Hononegah Forest Preserve, Rockton, Winnebago Co.*)

This park is named in honor of an Indian woman who has been called "the Potawatomi Pocahontas."[146] Reputedly the daughter of a local chief at Grand Detour on Rock River, she became the wife of Stephen Mack, a native of Vermont who was licensed by Alexander Wolcott on September 20, 1823, to trade with the Indians at Grand Detour. Mack later became the first white settler at Rockton.[147]

Though several writers call Hononegah a Potawatomi, available records show no Potawatomi village on Rock River during the 1820's, when she was said to be living there.[148] Grand Detour was, however,

143. Lyon Gardiner Tyler, ed., *Narratives of Early Virginia, 1606-1625* (New York, 1907), 91.

144. Hodge, I: 547. For a debate over the etymology of this word between two students of Virginia Algonquian dialects, see William Wallace Tooker, "Some Powhatan Names," *American Anthropologist,* VI (n.s., 1904): 670 ff., and "Some More about Virginia Names," *ibid.,* 524 ff.; and William R. Gerard, "Some Virginia Indian Words," *ibid.,* VII (n.s., 1905): 222 ff.

145. Mabel E. Richmond, *Centennial History of Decatur and Macon County* (Decatur, 1930), 96.

146. Charles E. Brown, *Scenic and Historic Illinois* (Madison, Wis., 1928), 34. Unreliable.

147. National Archives Microcopy No. M-234, Roll 132; Milo Milton Quaife, *Chicago's Highways, Old and New: From Indian Trail to Motor Road* (Chicago, 1923), 92, 93, 241.

148. Alexander Wolcott, "Lists of Potawatomi chiefs, villages, and annuities paid at Chicago," July 15, 1826, and July 18, 1827 (MSS, Chicago Historical Society); "Lists of chiefs and sums paid at Riviere du Chemin," Aug. 21, 1828, Lawe Papers, Chicago Historical Society; "Indians residing in

reportedly the site of a Winnebago village headed by chief Jarro or Jarrot,[149] who was named for a French trader whose life he saved.[150] (His Indian name was *Hoo-wan-nee-kaw,* supposed to mean "little elk" in the Winnebago language.[151])

Shortly after locating at Grand Detour, Stephen Mack married Hononegah, his third wife, by the Indian custom. Incurring hostility from some of the braves, who plotted to kill him, Mack was forewarned by his wife, who had learned of the scheme, and the couple fled to the Winnebago village at Bird's Grove, where they received sanctuary.

Hononegah and Mack were legally married before a justice of the peace in 1840, though most of their eleven children were born earlier. Two of their infant daughters received $600 by the Chicago Treaty of September 26, 1833.[152] The mother died in 1847, followed by her husband three years later, whereupon all but one of their children joined friends of their mother in Wisconsin and Minnesota. The Mack family home in Rockton is now a museum.

William D. Barge quoted John Blackhawk, "an intelligent and well educated Winnebago," as saying that "Ho-no-ne-gah is a Winnebago word meaning 'dear little one,' and is the name given the first girl born in a Winnebago family."[153]

HURRICANE (*Hurricane Creek: one each in Clark, Cumberland, Fayette, Jefferson, Macoupin, and Montgomery Cos.; Hurricane Island, in Illinois River, Calhoun Co.; Hurricane Township, Fayette Co.; Hurricane, village, Greene Co.*)

The township in Fayette County is supposed to have received its name from a severe storm which passed along the borders of the creek now called Hurricane, early in the nineteenth century.[154]

The term hurricane, in early American parlance, was often applied

the Agency of Chicago," Chicago Historical Society, Reports and Minutes, I: 345 (May 8, 1857).

149. George Thomas Palmer, "Historic Landmarks along the Highways of Illinois," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society,* XXXIX (1932): 55.

150. William D. Barge, *Early Lee County* . . . (Chicago, 1918), 76-77.

151. John H. Kinzie, "Sketch of Hoo-wan-nee-kaw" (Copy of 1831 MS in Newberry Library).

152. The treaty schedule reads: "Rosa and Mary children of Hoo-mo-ni-gah wife of Stephen Mack — $600." Kappler, II: 405. Since this was a Potawatomi treaty, it raises a question about Hononegah's tribal affiliation.

153. Barge, *Early Lee County,* 29.

154. Newton Bateman and Paul Selby, eds., *Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois and History of Fayette County* (Chicago, 1910), II: 645.

not only to storms but to their effects, such as fallen trees and storm-swept ground or any recently devastated area.[155]

Hurricane is an adaptation of the Spanish *huracán,* which in turn was derived from the Carib Indian *huracan,* according to William A. Read.[156] Bartlett likewise, over a century ago, traced the origin of the word to the West Indian natives:

> This word does not appear in any English dictionary before 1720, when Phillips notices it as a word denoting "a violent storm or wind, which often happens in Jamaica and other parts of the West Indies. . . ." It is the Carib name for a high wind . . . and was doubtless carried by seamen to Europe.[157]

Daniel Brinton found that the word had been exported also to the Indians on the mainland of Central America:

> In the legends of the Quiches [a Mayan tribe of Guatemala] the mysterious creative power is HURAKAN, a name of no signification in their language, one which some have thought they brought from the Antilles, which finds its meaning in the ancient tongue of Haiti, and which, under the forms of *hurricane, ouragan, orkan,* was adopted into European marine languages as the native name of the terrible tornado of the Caribbean sea.[158]

Skeat, like Brinton, believed the word came from the natives of Haiti,[159] in which case it must be from the Arawak language and not the Carib (as presumed by Read and Bartlett), for all known tribes of Haiti were of the former stock.

ILLINOIS (*Illinois, the state; Illinois River; Illinois City, village, Rock Island Co.; Illinois, village, Alexander Co.; Illinois Township, Jersey Co.; Illinois Beach State Park, Lake Co.; Illinois and Michigan Canal; Illinois and Mississippi Canal; Illinois Slough, Mercer Co.*

Derivatives: *Illiana, village, Vermilion Co.; Illini, village, Champaign Co.; Illini State Park, La Salle Co.; Illini Township, Macon Co.; Illiniwek Forest Preserve, Rock Island Co.; Illinoi, village, Kankakee Co.; Illiopolis, village and township, Sangamon Co.*)

155. Mitford M. Mathews, ed., *A Dictionary of Americanisms on Historical Principles* (Chicago, 1951), I: 853.

156. Read, *Louisiana Place-Names of Indian Origin* (Baton Rouge, 1927), 32.

157. John Russell Bartlett, *Dictionary of Americanisms* . . . (3d ed., Boston, 1860), 209.

158. Daniel G. Brinton, *The Myths of the New World* . . . (2d ed., New York, 1876), 52.

159. Walter William Skeat, *The Language of Mexico, and Words of West Indian Origin* (London, 1890), 145.

Illinois is derived from *ininiwek* or *ininiok*,[160] altered to *illiniwek* and finally to Illinois by the French. This term, signifying "men," was the collective name of the confederacy of six tribes, once a mighty host, which formerly occupied this state and surrounding regions.[161]

The earliest known reference to the meaning of Illinois comes from Marquette:

When one speaks the word "Ilinois," it is as if one said in their language, "the men," — As if the other Savages were looked upon by them merely as animals. It must also be admitted that they have an air of humanity which we have not . . . seen upon our route.[162]

Father Louis Hennepin also made several references to the meaning of the name, some closely resembling the remarks of Marquette:

The word *Illinois* signifies *a Man of full Age in the vigour of his Years.*

. . . . . .

This Word *Illinois* comes, as it has been already observ'd, from *Illini,* which in the Language of that Nation signifies *A perfect and accomplish'd Man.*

. . . . . .

They call themselves *Men* by way of Excellence, as tho other Nations were no more than Brutes in comparison with them.[163]

These reports from men who lived among the Illinois would seem conclusive enough, yet Governor John Reynolds and some others were of the opinion that the name came from the French *Isle au Noix* (Island of Nuts).[164] There is no shred of evidence, in any early map or

160. The latter form is given in an eighteenth-century Illinois-Miami vocabulary, of uncertain authorship, in *U. S. Catholic Historical Magazine,* III (1891): 3. It is believed that the Illinois tribe did not have the sound of "l" in their language and that the switch to that sound was made by Europeans.

161. Hodge, I: 597. The tribes were the Cahokia, Kaskaskia, Moingwena, Michigamea, Peoria, and Tamaroa.

162. *Jesuit Relations,* LIX: 125.

163. *A New Discovery of a Vast Country in America* (Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., Chicago, 1903), I: 62, 153, II: 506. Both Marquette and Hennepin thought the use of the term "men" to describe themselves implied arrogance on the part of the Illinois. However, several tribal names have the same meaning, and cognate terms for "man" and "men" are found in numerous related languages: Fox, *ineniwa* (Michaelson), Kickapoo, *né ni, né ni ak,* pl. (Gatschet), Peoria, *lä ni a* (Gatschet), Natick, *ninnu, ninnuog,* pl. (Trumbull), Miami, *helaniah* (Volney), Shawnee, *hileni* (Michaelson) or *ilani* (Alford), Algonquin, *inini, ininiwak,* pl. (Cuoq), Delaware, *leni* (Mooney) or *lenno, lennowak,* pl. (Brinton & Anthony), Potawatomi, *nú-nè-wǫ̀k,* pl. (Gailland), Ojibway, *in-niń-é* (Schoolcraft), and Illinois, *irini8o, -ki,* pl. (Le Boulanger).

164. John Reynolds, *The Pioneer History of Illinois* . . . (Belleville, 1852), 11; Richmond, *Centennial History of Decatur and Macon County,* 93.

account, to support this belief. The French did give the name *Isle aux Nois* to an island in the St. Lawrence River, county of St. John, Quebec, but the name cannot be found in this vicinity.

The form "Illini" is singular; its present-day use as a plural is to substitute the Latin plural ending for the French *ois* or aboriginal *wek.*

The composite name "Illiana" was given to this place because it is on the Illinois-Indiana border. The name of Illiopolis, which is located at the geographical center of the state, is what H. L. Mencken would call a linguistic hermaphrodite. It is coined from the first two syllables of Illinois, a connecting *o,* and the Greek suffix *polis,* for "city." Since the first part of the word is in French orthography, the name might be called trilingual.

INDIAN (*Indian Creek*: *in Calhoun, Coles, Henry and Stark, Jackson, Kane, Knox, Lake, La Salle and De Kalb, Livingston, Menard, Morgan and Cass, and Stephenson Cos.; Little Indian Creek*: *in Morgan and Cass, and La Salle Cos.*

Lakes: *Indian Lake, Lake Co.; Indian Grave Lake, Adams Co.*

Parks and forest preserves: *Indian Acres, La Salle Co.; Indian Boundary Park, Chicago, Cook Co.; Indian Garden Park, Riverside, Cook Co.; Indian Hill Forest Preserve, Cook Co.; Indian Mounds Park, Quincy, Adams Co.; Indian Road Woods, Cook County Forest Preserve District.*

Topographical features, etc.: *Indian Grove, Mercer Co.; Indian Hill, Bureau, Calhoun, Cook, and Knox Cos.; Indian Head Trail, Bureau Co.; Indian Point, Johnson Co.; Indian Point, Fox Lake, Lake Co.; Indian Prairie, Wayne Co.; Indian Spring, on Senachwine Lake, Putnam Co.*

Townships: *Indian Creek, Cass, Menard, and White Cos.; Indian Grove, Livingston Co.; Indian Point, Knox Co.; Indian Prairie, Wayne Co.; Indian Town, Bureau Co.*

Villages, stations, settlements: *Indian Hill, Cook Co.; Indian Oaks, Kankakee Co.; Indianola, Vermilion Co.; Little Indian, Cass Co.*)

Most of these places received their names because of some event in Indian history or because they were once Indian village sites, although some were apparently named simply to commemorate the red men. The stories behind some of these names are given below.

Indian Boundary Park, Chicago, is so named because it is located on the north boundary line of the Potawatomi cession of August 24, 1816. Rogers Avenue and Forest Preserve Drive follow this line, while the George Brennan Highway traces part of the southern boundary

of the same cession. In the treaty the Potawatomi ceded a strip of land twenty miles wide extending southwestward about a hundred miles from Lake Michigan to the Illinois and Fox rivers. The purpose of the treaty was to secure land for a canal and a military road.[165]

Indian Creek, in Lake County, is a tributary of the Des Plaines River near Half Day. It is apparently so named because of associations with the Potawatomi chief Aptakisic or Half Day (*q.v.*), who frequented the area, *ca.* 1831, and the band of Mettawa (*q.v.*), which was encamped there in 1833-1834.[166]

Indian Creek, village, Lake County, was incorporated in 1958 and named for the above stream.

Indian Creek, in Kane County, a tributary of Fox River at Aurora, was probably named for Waubansee's band of Potawatomi, who were formerly encamped near Aurora.[167] See WAUBANSEE.

Indian Creek and *Indian Point Township,* in Knox County, are so named because many Indian remains were found in the vicinity, including the ruins of bark wigwams, flint arrowheads, axes, hatchets, and domestic utensils. "There was but one grove of timber in the township, and that extended into a point."[168]

Indian Creek, in La Salle and De Kalb counties, and *Little Indian Creek,* a tributary, are so named because of the massacre which occurred on the first-named stream during the Black Hawk War, May 21, 1832. On that day a band of hostile Potawatomi sympathetic to Black Hawk killed fifteen settlers who were gathered at the William Davis cabin and blacksmith shop located on the creek, and carried off as captives Sylvia and Rachel Hall, teen-aged girls, who were later released to the Winnebago, who delivered them to the Americans.[169]

165. Kappler, II: 133; Charles G. Davis, "The Indian Boundary Line under the Treaty of August 24, 1816," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society,* XXVIII (April, 1935): 26 ff. "Although mainly a subject of historical interest as far as they concern most people, the Indian Boundary lines, established in 1816, are still a practical consideration for land surveyors. They appear on all maps produced by the County Highway Department and as land situation references they have become permanent in real estate recordings." *Cook County Highways,* Feb., 1959, p. 4.

166. Halsey, *Lake County,* 31. The latter chief's name therein is misspelled *Metama.*

167. S. MacCarty to Lyman Draper, Dec. 20, 1881, in Draper's "Tecumseh Manuscripts," Vol. YY-9, p. 69.

168. Albert J. Perry, *History of Knox County* . . . (Chicago, 1912), I: 44.

169. Miscellaneous letters in the Black Hawk War Collection in the Illinois State Historical Library; Elmer Baldwin, *History of La Salle County* . . . (Chicago, 1877), 95 ff.; E. W. Hicks, *History of Kendall County* . . . (Aurora, 1877), 86-88; Jackson, ed., *Autobiography of Black Hawk,* 151-53.

The site is today occupied by Shabbona Park, near Harding, which features two monuments and a small museum.

Indian Creek, in Morgan and Cass counties, is so named because an Indian (or Indians) who participated in the Wood River massacre was killed there in the summer of 1814 by a group of volunteer rangers led by Samuel Whiteside.[170] Sources are in disagreement as to the dates of these occurrences, the number of people killed by the Indians, and the number of Indians killed.[171]

Indian Garden Park, Riverside, Cook County. This wooded tract is on a bend of the Des Plaines River, said to be the site of an Indian burial ground, and is also near the site where General Winfield Scott's cholera-stricken troops camped during the Black Hawk War.[172]

Indian Grove Township, Livingston County, includes the site of a Kickapoo Indian village said to have numbered over six hundred persons during 1828-1830.[173] *Indian Creek* in this county apparently received its name from them also.

Indian Grove, Mercer County, is so named because some forty or fifty "natives" camped there as late as 1836 or 1837.[174]

Indian Oaks, village, Kankakee County, adjoins the former reservation granted to Mawteno, a Potawatomi woman, in 1832. See MANTENO.

Indian Point, a forested bluff six miles south of Vienna, on U.S. Route 45, adjoins an Indian trail followed by George Rogers Clark and his party, who camped at this point on June 29, 1778.[175]

Indian Road Woods, named for the adjoining street, is part of the reservation granted to Sauganash or Billy Caldwell (*q.v.*), a Potawatomi chief, by the Treaty of Prairie du Chien, July 29, 1829.[176]

Indian Town Township, Bureau County, includes the site of a former Potawatomi village called Indian Town by the whites.[177]

170. V. P. Richmond, "The Wood River Massacre," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society,* VI (1901): 94.

171. Cf. *ibid.;* also, J. Nick Perrin, "The Wood River Massacre," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society,* Vol. III, No. 4 (Jan., 1911), pp. 70-74; "A Speck of Indian Warfare on the Frontier of Illinois in 1811," *ibid.,* V (April, 1912): 119-20; Reynolds, *My Own Times* (1879 ed.), 97-98.

172. *Chicago Tribune Chicagoland Map;* Quaife, *Chicago's Highways,* 95.

173. Le Baron, pub., *Livingston County,* 230-31.

174. H. H. Hill & Co., pub., *History of Mercer and Henderson Counties* . . . (Chicago, 1882), 425.

175. George Washington Smith, *A History of Southern Illinois* . . . (Chicago, 1912), I: 357; Federal Writers' Project, *Illinois Guide,* 432.

176. Kappler, II: 298.

177. H. F. Kett & Co., pub., *The Voters and Taxpayers of Bureau County* . . . (Chicago, 1877), 141; Harry L. Spooner, *Indians of Northern Illinois* (Tiskilwa, Ill., 1941), 15-16.

Indianola, in Vermilion County, formerly named Chillicothe and Dallas City, was renamed Indianola by the postmaster because the other names duplicated existing post offices.[178] The reasons for his choice are unknown, but Indianola is the name given to Pontiac's village on the Maumee River of Ohio in 1764.[179] It may be only coincidental that Indianola is located about ten miles east of the spot where Pontiac is believed to have met Colonel George Croghan for preliminary peace talks in 1765.[180]

Little Indian, a village in Cass County, is so named because of its proximity to Little Indian Creek, the name of which, like that of adjacent "Big" Indian Creek, is derived from the Wood River massacre and its aftermath.[181]

Iowa (*Iowa Junction, railway point, Henderson Co.; Iowa Junction, railway point, Peoria Co.*)

These are named for our neighboring state, the protonym of which is the Iowa or Ioway tribe, a Siouan group closely related to the Winnebago. Formerly residents of the region bearing their name, and also at one time of Illinois,[182] their remnant now occupies a small reserve in Kansas.

In the Santee dialect of the Dakota language, to which stock the Iowa language belongs, the word *i-o'-wa* is a noun defined as "something to write with, a pen or pencil."[183] However, the name of this tribe has been spelled in innumerable ways, and so many opinions have been offered as to its origin and meaning that space does not permit a discussion of them here.[184]

178. H. W. Beckwith, *History of Vermilion County . . .* (Chicago, 1879), 781.

179. Howard H. Peckham, *Pontiac and the Indian Uprising* (Princeton, N.J., 1947), 252.

180. Adin Baber, "Early Trails of Eastern Illinois," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society,* XXV (April-July, 1932): 57.

181. Letter from C. R. Wilson, postmaster at Virginia, Ill., June 25, 1955.

182. Thomas Hutchins's map of 1778; Niota (*q.v.*), in Hancock Co., comes from the Iowa language.

183. Stephen Return Riggs, *A Dakota-English Dictionary* (*Contributions to North American Ethnology,* VII, Washington, 1890), 202.

184. L. F. Andrews, "The Word 'Iowa' — What It Means," *Annals of Iowa,* II (3d ser., July, 1896): 465-69; "The Meaning of the Word Iowa," *ibid.,* 555-56; "Major William Williams' Journal of a Trip to Iowa in 1849," *ibid.,* XII (April, 1920): 282; C. W. Irish, "Iowa," *Iowa Historical Record,* Vol. I, No. 1 (Jan., 1885), pp. 13-25; Capt. William Phelps, "Iowa, Its Original Meaning," *ibid.,* Vol. I, No. 3 (July, 1885), p. 136; S. Murdock, "Origin of the Name of Iowa," *ibid.,* Vol XII, No. 2 (April, 1896), p. 460; Frederick W. Lawrence, "The Origin of American State Names," *National*

IROQUOIS (*Iroquois County; Iroquois, village and township, Iroquois Co.; Iroquois River, in Iroquois and Kankakee Cos.; Iroquois Woods, Forest Preserve District of Cook Co.*)

Iroquois village, township, and county all derive their names from the river, which was so named because of an ancient battle that allegedly took place on its banks between the Iroquois and the Illinois.[185] This battle may be the one that is described in the Watseka legend (*q.v.*).[186]

The river already bore its present name at the time of Charlevoix' visit in 1721; he described in his journal a tributary of the Kankakee, 120 feet wide at its mouth, "called the *River of the Iroquois,* because some of that nation were surprized on its banks by the Illinois, who killed a great many of them."[187]

The Iroquois or Five Nations (later six) were residents of New York state but made occasional forays into Illinois,[188] being partly responsible for the decimation of the Illinois tribes. Since they called themselves *Ho-dé-no-sau-nee,* or people of the Long House,[189] the designation Iroquois is probably an Algonquian name in French orthography, though its meaning is disputed. J. N. B. Hewitt and John Swanton held it to mean "adders" (snakes).[190] Charlevoix believed the word was Iroquoian, derived from a term meaning "I have

Geographic Magazine, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 2 (Aug., 1920), p. 129; Forsyth Papers (MSS, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison), II: 60; Fulton, *Red Men of Iowa,* 423-26; William Hamilton, "Names Derived from the Indian Languages," *Transactions and Reports of the Nebraska State Historical Society,* I (1885): 74-75; Hodge, I: 614; Edwin James, *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains* . . . (Philadelphia, 1823), I: 339; *Jesuit Relations,* LX: 203; Herbert W. Kuhm, "Indian Place-Names in Wisconsin," *Wisconsin Archeologist,* XXXIII (March-June, 1952): 31.

185. Salem Ely, *A Centennial History of the Villages of Iroquois and Montgomery* . . . (Chicago, 1918), 1 ff., 8-9.

186. Beckwith, *Iroquois County,* I: 114. Although the Potawatomi are mentioned in the legend as here given, the name of the Iroquois River antedates their arrival in this region. Moreover, their name for the river was Pickamink. (A. Finley's map of Illinois in 1831, *et al.*) However, Finley's map of Indiana calls the stream "Iroquois or Canawaga." The latter is said to be Iroquoian for "at the rapids." Hewitt in Hodge, I: 220.

187. Charlevoix, *Journal* (1923 ed.), II: 183-84.

188. The Iroquois tribes were Cayuga, Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Seneca, and (after 1713) Tuscarora. For their role in Illinois, see George T. Hunt, *The Wars of the Iroquois* . . . (Madison, 1960), Chap. XI, and Emily J. Blasingham, "The Depopulation of the Illinois Indians," *Ethnohistory,* III (Summer, Fall, 1956): 193-224, 361-412.

189. Morgan, *League of the Iroquois,* I: 48.

190. Hodge, I: 617; Swanton, *Indian Tribes of North America,* 33.

said."[191] Still other accounts hold it to be Iroquoian for "bear"[192] and "tobacco people."[193]

ITASCA (*village, Du Page Co.; Itasca Creek, Du Page Co.*)

These were named for Lake Itasca, Minnesota, the source of the Mississippi River. Henry R. Schoolcraft, who led the expedition which discovered it, gave the name in 1832, but its significance remains unsettled. It is alleged that Schoolcraft devised the term "from the Latin words *veritas,* truth, and *caput,* head, supplied to him by [Rev. William T.] Boutwell, the name being made by writing the words together and cutting off . . . the first and last syllables."[194] This version is also given by B. A. Botkin, who states that Boutwell, a missionary in Schoolcraft's party, laid claim in 1872 to authorship of the name.[195]

In three separate places, however, Schoolcraft gives an Indian origin for the name, while in a fourth source, he appears to give the Latin derivation mentioned above. In one account, Schoolcraft declared that upon arriving at the source of the Mississippi,

I inquired of Ozawindib [his Indian guide] the Indian name of this lake; he replied *Omushkös,* which is the Chippewa name of the Elk. Having previously got an inkling of some of their mythological and necromantic notions of the origin and mutations of the country, which permitted the use of the female name for it, I denominated it ITASCA.[196]

In another work Schoolcraft's explanation is less vague: "I-TAS-CA, From *Ia,* to be, *totosh,* the female breast, or origin, and *ka,* a terminal

191. *History of New France,* II: 189; cf. also G. H. Armstrong, *The Origin and Meaning of Place Names in Canada* (Toronto, 1930), 142; Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes,* III: 320; and Dunn, *True Indian Stories,* 266.

192. Beauchamp, *Aboriginal Place Names of New York,* 191; cf. Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes,* II: 488. The bear explanation was also given this author by William Skenandore, member of the Oneida tribe of Wisconsin.

193. Armstrong, *Place Names in Canada,* 142, citing Horatio Hale; Hubbard, "Geneseo, Illinois," 406.

194. Warren Upham, *Minnesota Geographic Names . . . (Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society,* XVII, St. Paul, 1920), 126.

Rufus Blanchard states that the Du Page County place names were given for Lake Itasca; see his *History of Du Page County, Illinois* (Chicago, 1882), 291.

195. *A Treasury of Mississippi River Folklore . . .* (New York, 1955), 517-18.

196. *Summary Narrative of an Exploratory Expedition to the Sources of the Mississippi River . . .* (Philadelphia, 1855), 243. In Schoolcraft's first published full-length account of this expedition, *Narrative of an Expedition through the Upper Mississippi to Itasca Lake* (New York, 1834), he made no mention of the source of the name.

subs [*sic*], inflection."[197] "This name," he explained, "has been applied to the lake in which the Mississippi River originates." But to confuse matters further, Schoolcraft also attributed the name to an Indian maiden named Itasca, whose tears for a lost lover formed the lake, according to legend.[198]

The centennial of the discovery of Lake Itasca brought the publication of three articles dealing with the origin of the name,[199] all of which only thickened the mystery, revealing, for the first time, Schoolcraft's contradictions. In 1936 came the discovery of an obscure published letter by Schoolcraft which supported Boutwell's etymology.[200] In this letter, addressed to Dr. Addison Philleo, and dated July 25, 1832 (only twelve days after the discovery of Itasca), Schoolcraft declared:

. . . we made a portage of six miles, with our canoes, into La Biche or Itasca lake, (from a derivation of the expression *veritas caput*) which is the true source of this celebrated stream, being at the same time its most western and northern head.[201]

In 1958 the journals and letters of three of Schoolcraft's companions,

197. *Indian Tribes,* V: 624. This revealing statement of Schoolcraft's escaped notice until Irving Hart discovered it in 1931; see n. 199 below. Cf. *Tadoussac* (Canada), from "Totoshak, (Breasts), the place is so called from its landmark, two dome-shaped mountains." Kelton, *Indian Names,* 51; also: "*tootooshonarbo,* or the sap of the human breast." John Long in Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846* . . . (Cleveland, 1904-1906), II: 138; *Otokakenog,* "uncovered breast," old name of Du Page River in Illinois, Keating, *Narrative* (1825 ed.), I: 176.

In a letter addressed to the mayor of New York, Oct. 28, 1844, Schoolcraft included Itasca in a list of proposed Indian names for the streets of that city. Elsewhere he inveighed against Latin or Greek place names. *Notes on the Iroquois* (New York, 1846), 225.

198. Schoolcraft composed a short verse about "the fair Itasca" in his *Narrative,* a tale which was expanded and popularized by Mary H. Eastman in *The American Aboriginal Portfolio* (Philadelphia, 1853), 14-18.

199. Edward C. Gale, "The Legend of Lake Itasca," *Minnesota History,* XII (Sept., 1931): 215-25; Irving H. Hart, "The Origin and Meaning of the Name 'Itasca,'" *ibid.,* 225-29; Theodore C. Blegen, "That Name 'Itasca,'" *ibid.,* XIII (June, 1932): 163-74. Blegen, citing Stephen Riggs and Charles H. Baker, speculates that Itasca might be of Dakota origin, signifying "white face" or "white moose."

200. William J. Peterson, "Veritas Caput: Itasca," *Minnesota History,* XVIII (June, 1937): 180-85. The Schoolcraft letter unearthed by this historian was published in the *Galenian,* of Galena, Ill., Aug. 22, 1832, and *Niles' Weekly Register,* Dec. 1, 1832 (XLIII: 227).

201. This excerpt is from the version in the *Galenian,* examined by this writer at the Chicago Historical Society. The letter as published in the *Niles' Register* differs in several details. It differs again as published in the *Democratic Free Press and Michigan Intelligencer* (Detroit), Oct. 25, 1832.

Lieutenant James Allen, Douglass Houghton, and Boutwell, were published for the first time, along with Schoolcraft's previously published reports and the known newspaper accounts.[202] Allen merely mentions the arrival at "Lac La Biche," which they were sure was the *"true source"* of the great river.[203] Houghton, a geologist,[204] mentions "Elk Lake" or "Lac la Beiche."[205] Boutwell refers to their arrival at "Omoshkos Sagaiigun (Elk Lake)," adding that "the lake is very irregular in shape and from this reason, the Indians gave it the name."[206] Since Boutwell claimed forty years later that he was the author of the name Itasca, devised from two Latin words,[207] it is odd that his journal makes no mention of this.

Historian Irving Hart decided that the origin and meaning of Itasca must "remain one of the unsolved problems of history," and further declared that "the conflicting evidence . . . cannot be reconciled without sacrificing somewhat the reputation of one or more of the men involved in the discovery of Lake Itasca."[208]

IUKA (*village and township, Marion Co.*)

The name of this place, formerly Middleton, was changed to Iuka by the legislature in 1867 "at the request of the soldiers who had been in the battle of Iuka in the Civil war, and thus the township got its name."[209] This story from a local history was verified in a letter to the author by the Iuka postmaster, Ralph Holstlaw, April 13, 1955:

During the Civil War several of our boys from here fought in a battle at Iuka, Mississippi. At that time our town was named Middleton. After the war ended and the boys returned, they asked that the name be changed to Iuka which it was. I am not sure but rather think it is an Indian name.

202. Philip P. Mason, ed., *Schoolcraft's Expedition to Lake Itasca . . .* (East Lansing, Mich., 1958).

203. *Ibid.,* 204-5. Yet one source has credited Allen with originating the supposed Latin name: O. D. Von Engeln and J. M. Urquhart, *The Story Key to Geographic Names* (New York, 1924), 49.

204. For whom Houghton, Mich., is named.

205. Mason, ed., *Schoolcraft's Expedition,* 255-56. "La Biche" is French for "doe."

206. *Ibid.,* 330.

207. First published probably in the *St. Paul Pioneer,* June 16, 1872, Gale, "Legend of Lake Itasca," 219. John G. Shea mentioned the supposed Latin derivation in his edition of Charlevoix' *History of New France,* III (1868): 207n., but did not indicate where he had obtained his information or who had originated it. The story was repeated in varying forms in later years: Mason, ed., *Schoolcraft's Expedition,* 350-51.

208. Hart, "Itasca," 229.

209. J. H. G. Brinkerhoff, *Brinkerhoff's History of Marion County, Illinois* (Indianapolis, 1909), 206.

Iuka, Mississippi, is on the site of a former Chickasaw village said to be named for one of the lesser chiefs of the tribe, a friend of chief Tishomingo, for whom the county was named. Union and Southern forces battled there September 19, 1862, and July 7, 1863.[210]

One source says Tishomingo was born on the site of Iuka and died there about 1836. "Iuka," the chief for whom the town was named, is also said to have died while camping at the springs there, and was supposedly buried there, the place being a combination spa and graveyard.[211]

The name Iuka was derived by one writer from the Choctaw *i yuk hana,* "where two roads cross."[212] Not only is this implausible as a personal name, but an examination of the long lists of names of chiefs and warriors appended to Chickasaw treaties with the United States reveals nothing similar to this, or to Iuka. The name is doubtless a contraction from a much longer one, probably *Ish-ta-ki-yu-ka-tubbe,* whose name in this form is listed as an endorser of the Treaty of Pontitock Creek, October 20, 1832.[213] Chickasaw is a mere dialect of Choctaw, and Byington's Choctaw dictionary gives *isht iki^{n} yukpo* as "a hater," and *tạbi* (pronounced "tubbe") as "the termination of the names of many men."[214] Probably this name, as it sounded to the treaty clerk, was *Ishtakiyukatubbe.* It appears that the local settlers dropped the *ishta* from one end, and the *tubbe* from the other, took *kiyuka,* spelled it *Iuka,* and so named the town. This is merely an informed guess, but no more plausible explanation has been found.

JAMAICA *(village and township, Vermilion Co.)*

This is the name of an island in the West Indies and also of a former town now included in the borough of Queens, New York City. Both names are derived from the Indians. The New York name, which has been spelled, among other ways, as Gemeco, Jameco, and Jemeco, is believed to originate in the Mohegan or Delaware word for beaver.[215]

210. Federal Writers' Project, *Mississippi: A Guide to the Magnolia State* (New York, 1938), 442-43.

211. Dunbar Rowland, ed., *Encyclopedia of Mississippi History . . .* (Madison, Wis., 1907), I: 948, citing Goodspeed's *Memoirs of Mississippi.*

212. Noxon Toomey, *Proper Names from the Muskhogean Languages* (Hervas Laboratories of American Linguistics, Bulletin 3, St. Louis, 1917), 11. Choctaw and Chickasaw are dialects of the same language. William C. Sturtevant, "Spanish-Indian Relations in Southeastern North America," *Ethnohistory,* IX (Winter, 1962): 54.

213. Kappler, II: 362.

214. Cyrus Byington, *A Dictionary of the Choctaw Language* (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 46, Washington, 1915), 205, 343.

215. Beauchamp, *Aboriginal Place Names of New York,* 177; William

Elijah Haines believed that the Illinois name was borrowed from the West Indian island.[216] Its name appears on Bartholomew Columbus's map as *jamaicha,*[217] which has been called a corruption of *Xayamaca,* "land of wood and water."[218] A more recent opinion holds that Jamaica arises from the name of an Arawakan tribe inhabiting that island, *Yamaye,* with the locative suffix *ca* added.[219]

KANAGA (*Lake Kanaga, Effingham Co.*)

The name of this thirty-four-acre lake is apparently Indian but does not seem to be of local origin. Possibly it is related to Kanauga, an Ohio village which may take its name from the Kanawha River, of West Virginia, which feeds into the Ohio at that point. The latter name is believed to be a cognate of *Conoy,* a name of uncertain meaning belonging to an obscure Algonquian tribe.[220]

The name sounds Iroquoian, however, and one could conjecture that it is a variation of Canoga, a New York town at the site of a Cayuga village called *Ga-no-geh,* "oil floating on the water."[221]

Since this area was settled by southerners, the name could conceivably be of Cherokee origin. Canuga (*Kănūga*) was the name of Cherokee settlements in both South and North Carolina. The odd translation of that name given by James Mooney is "a scratcher," referring to a bone-toothed comb used to scratch the skin of ball players before applying conjured medicine.[222]

Cf. also *Kenagomak,* Potawatomi for "eel," in H. W. Kuhm's "Indian Place-Names in Wisconsin," 38. In Gailland's "English-Potawatomi Dictionary" this word is *Kinujukōme'k.*

KANKAKEE (*city and township, Kankakee Co.; Kankakee County; Kankakee River; Kankakee River State Park*)

The Kankakee River gives its names to the other places listed. Charlevoix mentioned this picturesque stream in 1721: "The 27th of

Wallace Tooker, *The Indian Place-Names on Long Island . . .* (New York, 1911), 75; E. M. Ruttenber, "Indian Names in the Valley of Hudson's River," 88.

216. *The American Indian,* 734.

217. E. G. Bourne, *Spain in America, 1450-1580* (A. B. Hart, ed., *The American Nation, III,* New York, 1904), facing p. 96.

218. Stephen G. Boyd, *Indian Local Names, with Their Interpretation* (York, Pa., 1885), 17. A dubious source.

219. Nils M. Holmer, "Indian Place Names in South America and the Antilles, II," *Names,* VIII: 219. This tribal name does not appear in Swanton's list of Jamaican tribes in *Indian Tribes of North America,* 611.

220. *Ibid.,* 57-58.

221. *Ibid.,* 34; Morgan, *League of the Iroquois,* II: 133.

222. "Cherokee Glossary," 524.

September we arrived at the *Forks,* that being the name given by the Canadians to the place where the Theakiki and the river of the Illinois join."[223]

Few names have been spelled in more ways than this one: Huakiki, Kaukake, Keatiki, Kiakiki, Kiankakee, Kyankeakee, Quiouentaguet, Qui-que-que, Quin-que-que, Teafiki, Teatiki, Teatiquy, Theaiki, Theakaki, Theakekie, Tiatiky, and Tiaukakeek. The varying orthography helps to explain why the origin and meaning of the name is disputed. Charlevoix' account of the origin of the name asserts:

These [marshy ponds] are the sources of the river *Theakiki,* which by a corrupted pronounciation our Indians call *Kiakiki.* Theak signifies a wolf, in I do not remember what language, but this river bears that name, because the Mahingans [Mohicans], who are likewise called the wolves, had formerly taken refuge on its banks.[224]

Mooney and Thomas give the meaning of Mahican (Mohican) as "wolf," a name believed to be taken from that of one of their clans.[225] La Salle in the spring of 1681 held council with the Miami on the Wabash, at which time he was accompanied by "fifty savages from New England" (refugees from Philip's War), whom he presented to the Miami to take the place of members of that tribe slain by the Iroquois.[226] It is thus barely possible that the Miami named the river by a mispronunciation of the plural name of these Mohicans: *Muhhekanneuk.*

In view of the marshy character of the Kankakee valley, however, and the Indian penchant for formulating names from the natural environment, Dunn's definition of "swampy country" (from Potawatomi *Tc̄h'-yak-kĭ'-kĭ'*) sounds plausible,[227] though the "wolf land"

223. Charlevoix, *Journal* (1923 ed.), II: 184. Some earlier writers considered the Kankakee a part of the Illinois, and the Des Plaines a tributary. St. Cosme called the "Teatiki" the "true river of the Illinois." Milo Milton Quaife, ed., *The Development of Chicago, 1674-1914, Shown in a Series of Contemporary Original Narratives* (Chicago, 1916), 42.

224. *Journal* (1923 ed.), II: 171.

225. Hodge, I: 787-88. J. H. Trumbull also gives *Muhhekanneuk* as the correct plural name of the related Mohegans, and derives it from the Algonquian *maingan,* "wolf." *Indian Geographical Names* (Hartford, 1870), 31.

226. *Relation of the Discoveries and Voyages of Cavelier de La Salle from 1679 to 1681* (Chicago, 1901), 269, 283. N. Perrot in 1686 wrote of the "Loups" (wolves) as neighbors of the Miami. Emma Helen Blair, ed., *The Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley and Region of the Great Lakes . . .* (Cleveland, 1911-1912), I: 245.

227. Jacob Piatt Dunn, *Indiana and Indianans . . .* (Chicago & New York, 1919), I: 89. Hiram Beckwith said he was told by Gurdon Hubbard that the name was Potawatomi, signifying wonderful or beautiful land. *Ver-*

etymology cannot be dismissed. Conceivably the river meant one thing to the Miami and the other to the Potawatomi. The present name bearing a faint resemblance to both, a definite conclusion cannot safely be made.

KANSAS (*village and township, Edgar Co.; township, Woodford Co.*)

Kansas Township in Woodford County was named in 1859 at the suggestion of township supervisor P. H. Vance, "it being just the time of the Kansas troubles."[228]

The state of Kansas from which the name comes is named for the Kansa Indians, a tribe of Siouan stock. The name has been spelled variously,[229] but popularly the tribe have been called "Kaws," and "Kaw" is the Jayhawkers name for the Kansas River. Floyd Streeter, in *The Kaw,* asserts that Kansas means "wind people" or "people of the South Wind." The tribal name, he adds, was generally pronounced Kansa or Kasa, but early traders gave it the sound of *au* or *aw,* thus the "Kaw" or Kansas River.[230] The missionary William Hamilton reported that the Kansas called themselves *Ka-za,* and their linguistic relatives, the Iowa, called them *Kantha,* meaning "swift."[231]

KASKASKIA (*island, village, and township, Randolph Co.; Kaskaskia Township, Fayette Co.; Kaskaskia River; Fort Kaskaskia State Park*) See also OKAW

These are named for the principal tribe of the Illinois confederacy, whose large village on the Illinois River near Utica was visited by Father Marquette in 1673 and 1675. Father Claude Allouez reported that the "Kachkachkia" village on the Illinois River was composed of 351 cabins in 1677.[232] The tribe later moved to the Mississippi at the mouth of the river now bearing its name,[233] where they continued to live until 1832.

milion County, 78. Cf. Albert Gatschet ("Peoria Lexicon"): *maki kwi,* "prairie of marshy or wet ground"; *cackiwi,* "muddy"; *kayuka wi,* "it tumbles, collapses."

228. William Le Baron, Jr., & Co., pub., *The Past and Present of Woodford County* . . . (Chicago, 1878), 461. The reference is to the controversy over slavery, John Brown, the Lecompton constitution, etc.

229. E.g., *Cansez,* Charlevoix, *Journal,* II: 208; *Kansez,* Auguste Chouteau, "Notes on the Indians" (1816 MS in the National Archives), 12. See also Hodge, I: 655.

230. *The Kaw: The Heart of a Nation* (New York, 1941), 4.

231. Hamilton, "Names from Indian Languages," 73.

232. *Jesuit Relations,* LX: 159.

233. *Ibid.,* LXV: 101, 263-65.

The historic village of Kaskaskia, around which the French established an important settlement, figured in Clark's conquest of 1778, and was the first capital of the territory and the state of Illinois. It now lies beneath the Mississippi, which shifted its course in the nineteenth century, creating an island on which the new village of Kaskaskia now stands, to the west of the great river's main channel, but still a part of Illinois.

Mooney and Thomas thought the word Kaskaskia was akin to *kāskāskahamwa,* "he scrapes it off by means of a tool,"[234] referring to their method of dressing hides and pelts for clothing and other articles. This view must be regarded critically, however, for other Illinois terms have a similarity to the name, e.g., *caskitenoui,* signifying *étroit* (Fr.), or strait.[235] Illinois Indians living along the river south of Peoria Lake were called "Illinois of the strait" (*d'étroit*) by the Jesuit Fathers Gravier and Marest.[236]

To confuse matters, a Delaware village above Pittsburgh, visited by Father Bonnecamps in 1749, was called "Kaskaske."[237] Moreover, Bishop Baraga gave *Kaskaskasew* as the Ojibway word for coal.[238] Since coal outcroppings were observed by Jolliet near the original Kaskaskia village, it is conceivable that the name was given for this reason.

Another view was held by Albert Gatschet, who believed Kaskaskia was a variation of *Kakákia,* or plural: *Kakakiáki,* derived from the Kaskaskia Indian word "Kakakiû'ngi or 'Katydid place,' the prairie tract inhabited once by the Kakakiaki, falsely called by us 'Kaskaskias'; it was somewhere below Vincennes, Indiana."[239] No early maps or accounts indicate, however, that the Kaskaskia ever lived in the Wabash Valley, where Vincennes is located.

White settlers named the Kaskaskia River for the tribe living along its banks. According to Governor John Reynolds, "The Indians called the Kaskaskia 'Raccon [*sic*] River' for the number of those

234. Hodge, I: 661. Cf. *gratter* [to scrape] — *niniassapic8mi.* Le Boulanger, "French-Illinois Dictionary."

235. *Ibid.*

236. *Jesuit Relations,* LXV: 101, LXVI: 51.

237. "Account of the Voyage on the Beautiful River, Made in 1749 . . . by Father Bonnecamps," *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly,* XXIX (Oct., 1920): 406, 409.

238. Friedrich Baraga, *A Dictionary of the Otchipwe Language, Explained in English* (Montreal, 1878), Pt. I, p. 51. Cf. Illinois: *Charbon* [coal] — *nicakicanchihaw.* Le Boulanger, "French-Illinois Dictionary."

239. "Peoria Lexicon." But compare *Käk, kek, kak,* which he calls a prefix conveying the idea of across or athwart, cognate to Ojibway *nin Kakiwe,* "I traverse or cross a point of land on foot." *Ibid.,* citing Baraga.

animals living on it."[240] This name is preserved in the name of a tributary in Effingham County.

KEWANEE (*city and township, Henry Co.*)

Andrew J. Blackbird, Ottawa Indian, defined the word *Ke-won-nee* as "prairie hen."[241] There is no linguistic evidence to support certain other definitions given.[242]

This place may be named for the same Potawatomi chief whose name was given to Kewanna, Indiana. His name appears in various treaties as Kewaune, Kee-waw-nay, and Kee-waw-nee.[243] According to Jacob P. Dunn, "Kē-waw′-nē is the Potawatomi name of the prairie chicken; and also means 'lost.' The word is very similar to the Miami Kē-wah-ni, which means 'nose.' "[244]

KICKAPOO (*village and township, Peoria Co.; Kickapoo Creek: in Coles Co., in McLean, De Witt, and Logan Cos., and in Peoria Co.; Little Kickapoo Creek, in McLean Co.; North Kickapoo Creek and South Kickapoo Creek, in La Salle Co.; Kickapoo Grove, Forest Preserve District of Cook Co.; Kickapoo Slough, Rock Island Co.; Kickapoo State Park, Vermilion Co.*)

These are named for the Kickapoo Indians, a semi-nomadic Algonquian tribe closely related to the Sauk and Fox, who lived at various locations in central Illinois from 1699 to 1833.[245] Their descendants live in Kansas and Mexico.

Schoolcraft believed that the tribal name was extracted from *Negik-abo,* signifying "otter's ghost."[246] Dunn declared that the otter was one of their totems.[247] Mooney and James traced the name to *Kiwigapawa,* meaning "he stands about" or "he moves about, standing

240. *Pioneer History,* 53.

241. *History of the Ottawa,* 121.

242. "Returning track," Barge and Caldwell, "Illinois Place Names," 242; Gannett, *Origin of Place Names* (1905 ed.), 174; "Crossing a point of land by boat," H. W. Kuhm, "Indian Place-Names in Wisconsin," 41, citing Verwyst.

243. Kappler, II: 276, 368, 458.

244. Dunn, *True Indian Stories,* 269. Cf. *Ke-waw-ne* (Ottawa) "prairie hen," Tanner, *Narrative of Captivity,* 308; *Ke-waw-ne* (Miami) "nose," Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes,* II: 470.

245. Hodge, I: 650, 684-85; Grant Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians* (Chicago, 1946), 38; *Jesuit Relations,* LXV: 69; Reynolds, *Pioneer History,* 8; Beckwith, *Vermilion County,* 163; John Leonard Conger and William E. Hull, *History of the Illinois River Valley* (Chicago, 1932), I: 52.

246. *Indian Tribes,* IV: 256.

247. *True Indian Stories,* 269.

now here, now there."[248] This could perhaps be freely translated as "wanderers," a term which would correctly describe their habits.

KILLBUCK (*Killbuck Creek, in De Kalb, Lee, and Winnebago Cos.; Killbuck Forest Preserve, Winnebago Co.*)

This is the name of a town and township in Holmes County, Ohio, and of creeks in Ohio and Indiana. The name probably drifted to Illinois with the advancing frontier. The Indiana stream is reportedly named for Charles Killbuck, a Delaware Indian, who lived on its banks.[249] Killbuck is the family name, probably of European invention, of the descendants of a prominent Delaware Indian otherwise known as Gelelemend (leader), who was converted to Christianity in the eighteenth century by Moravian missionaries.[250]

The original Killbuck signed a treaty in 1765 with Sir William Johnson, bringing the Delawares into the peace settlement which followed Pontiac's rebellion.[251] He was active in Lord Dunmore's War in 1774, and once met George Rogers Clark.[252] The name John Killbuck appears in the list of signers of the Treaty of Fort Pitt, September 17, 1778. A Delaware named Captain Killbuck endorsed a treaty at Fort Wayne, September 30, 1809, and at St. Mary's, Ohio, October 3, 1818. A Jim Killbuck signed a treaty near Detroit, in 1815.[253] William Henry Killbuck, a "Christian Delaware," in December, 1810, was granted a life pension of $40 a year by the Pennsylvania legislature, for his services in the revolution, but died before receiving it. His three sons were given rifles in token appreciation of their father's services.[254]

KINNICKINNICK (*North Kinnickinnick and South Kinnickinnick creeks, in Boone and Winnebago Cos.* [Cf. *Kinnickinnic River, Milwaukee, Wis.*])

Kinnickinnick is the name for the "Indian tobacco" once smoked in the Midwest. A. F. Chamberlain described the substance as a

248. Hodge, I: 684.

249. Dunn, *Indiana and Indianans,* I: 90.

250. Hodge, I: 489. Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels,* I: 210-11.

251. C. W. Alvord and Clarence E. Carter, eds., *The Critical Period, 1763-1765 (Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library,* X, Springfield, 1915), 463, 522.

252. James, ed., *Clark Papers,* 6-7.

253. Kappler, II: 3, 5, 102, 171, 118.

254. John Heckewelder, in *American State Papers,* Class II (Indian Affairs), Vol. II, p. 386. For other information see Heckewelder, *History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations Who Once Inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighboring States* (Philadelphia, 1876), 233-34; Draper, "Tecumseh Manuscripts," Vol. XI.

mixture of tobacco, sumac leaves, and the inner bark of a species of dogwood, though the contents varied in different tribes and localities. The name was also applied by white men to particular plants used in the mixture. The word signifies "it is mixed," and may be derived from Chippewa *kinikinige,* "he mixes," from the radical *kinika,* "mixed."[255] Early references:

[1829] Our red man of America is excessively fond of smoking tobacco, the leaves of the sumach, (Kinne Kennick) and of some other plants.[256]

[1830] I watched the falling of the ashes from their long pipes, and the other inconveniences of the use of tobacco, or kin-ni-kin-nick, with absolute dismay.[257]

KISHWAUKEE (*Kishwaukee Forest Preserve, Kishwaukee Glen, Winnebago Co.; Kishwaukee River; Kishwaukee, village, Winnebago Co.*) See also SYCAMORE

This stream, called Kish-wa-co-kee in Black Hawk's autobiography, was followed for some distance by the Sauk in their flight toward Wisconsin in 1832.[258]

Possibly the earliest record of the name of this stream is in Keating's account of 1823: "At about twenty-eight miles in a general westerly course from the Pishtako [Fox River], we came to a beautiful winding stream, called the Kishwake, Cottonwood. It is about twelve yards wide, and is a tributary of Fox River [*sic*]."[259]

Thomas Forsyth, Indian agent among the Sauk in the 1820's, gave *Keesh-a-wock-quai* as the Sauk name for the sycamore tree.[260] Since Governor John Reynolds and S. A. Mitchell also called the stream "Sycamore Creek,"[261] and the city of Sycamore (*q.v.*) is located near its south branch, it is likely that the latter is the correct translation of the Indian name. H. W. Kuhm cites a Potawatomi mixed-blood as saying that *Kishwake* is also a Potawatomi name for a sycamore tree,

255. Hodge, I: 692.

256. Caleb Atwater, *The Indians of the Northwest . . .* (Columbus, 1850), 104.

257. Kinzie, *Wau-Bun* (1901 ed.), 76. Eleanor Kinzie Gordon, in a footnote, described kinnickinnick as "the bark of the red willow, scraped fine, which the Indians prefer to tobacco" (p. 5).

258. Jackson, ed., *Autobiography of Black Hawk,* 146-47. The stream has also been called *Kitcheewaakeekee* (Le Claire), *Kishwake* (Keating), and *Kishwakie* (Lucius Lyon, Thomas Ford).

259. Keating, *Narrative* (1825 ed.), I: 181. The Kishwaukee is a tributary of the Rock River, not the Fox.

260. Blair, ed., *Indian Tribes,* II: 242.

261. Reynolds, *My Own Times* (1879 ed.), 237; S. A. Mitchell, *Illinois in 1837 . . .* (Philadelphia, 1837), 83.

and *Kish-wauk-ctoe,* may be construed as "an old sycamore tree."[262]

It has been claimed that Potawatomi formerly resident on the shores of Lake Geneva called that body of water *Kishwauketoe,* alleged to signify "clear water,"[263] but there seems to be no reliable evidence for this claim.

KIWANIS (*Kiwanis Park, Chicago Park District*)

Bishop Baraga's Otchipwe (Ojibway) dictionary translates *Kiwanis* as "I make noise; I am foolish and wanton."[264] The Chicago park is undoubtedly named for the Kiwanis Club.

KLONDIKE (*village, Alexander Co.*)

This unincorporated cotton-gin village is named for the region in Yukon Territory made famous by the gold rush of 1897-1899. The name comes from that of a small stream (Klandark), tributary of the Yukon River, which is taken "from one of the Athapascan dialects prevailing in that region."[265] The name has been supposed to mean "deer" or "deer river."[266] It has also been claimed that "the name Klondike is derived from Indian Throndiuk meaning 'river full of fish.' "[267]

LACROSSE (*village, Hancock Co.*)

La crosse is the French name for the popular Indian ball game called *pau-kee-to-way* by the Chippewa, Ottawa, and Potawatomi Indians,[268] which is still a live sport in Canada and a few American universities. Charlevoix described the game among the Miami,[269] while the De Gannes memoir notes its popularity among the Illinois: "Before they set out for the chase, the men play at Lacrosse, a few women mingling with them."[270]

It is probable that the name of Lacrosse, Illinois, was inspired by La Crosse, Wisconsin, the site of which was visited by Zebulon Pike in 1805, when he noted the origin of the name: "Passed . . . a prairie called Le Cross, from a game of ball played frequently on it by the Sioux Indians."[271]

262. Kuhm, "Indian Place-Names in Wisconsin," 44.
263. Paul Jenkins, *The Book of Lake Geneva* (Chicago, 1922), 14.
264. *Otchipwe Dictionary,* Pt. II, p. 198.
265. Mathews, ed., *Dictionary of Americanisms,* I: 938.
266. A. F. Chamberlain in Hodge, I: 714-15.
267. Armstrong, *Place Names in Canada,* 155.
268. Kinzie, *Wau-Bun* (1901 ed.), 391-92.
269. *Journal* (1923 ed.), II: 97.
270. Pease and Werner, eds., *French Foundations,* 341.
271. *An Account of Expeditions . . .* (Philadelphia, 1810), entry for Sept. 12, 1805.

La Framboise (*La Framboise Reserve; La Framboise Woods, Forest Preserve District of Cook Co.*)

La Framboise Woods, a patch of forest preserve along the Des Plaines River between Belmont and Fullerton avenues, is the residue of La Framboise Reserve, an individual reservation of one square mile given to Claude La Framboise (French: "the raspberry"), a half-breed Potawatomi, by the Treaty of Prairie du Chien, July 29, 1829, which stipulated: "To Claude Laframboise, one section of land on the Riviere aux Pleins, adjoining the line of the purchase of 1816."[272]

With his brother Joseph, Claude La Framboise enlisted in the militia for service in the Black Hawk War, May 2, 1832.[273] As a reward he was granted a section of land on Thorn Creek by the Treaty of Tippecanoe, October 20, 1832, which he sold the next year. The Treaty of Chicago, September 26, 1833, awarded $300 to each of the children of Claude La Framboise, and made several substantial grants to Joseph La Framboise, his brother.[274] Claude La Framboise was recorded as a taxpayer and voter at Chicago in 1825-1826,[275] and other members of his family appear in early records.[276]

Lehigh (*village, Kankakee Co.*)

This is the name of a river and county in eastern Pennsylvania, of a railroad, a university, a variety of coal, a coal company (apparent source of the Illinois name), and of towns in five other states and one Canadian province. The name originated in Pennsylvania, probably from the Delaware name for the junction of Pahopoco Creek and the Lehigh River, near present Lehighton. According to A. F. Chamberlain, Lehigh is derived from the Lenape (Delaware) word *lechau,* denoting "fork of a river."[277] Heckewelder defined it as "where there are forks."[278] Apparently the significance is similar to that of the Iroquoian term *Tioga* (*q.v.*).

272. Kappler, II: 298.

273. Muster roll in John Wentworth, *Early Chicago* . . . (Fergus Historical Series, No. 16, Chicago, 1881), 65-66.

274. Kappler, II: 353, 403, 404, 405.

275. East, "Inhabitants of Chicago, 1825-1831," 151.

276. *Ibid.;* Houghton, *Our Debt to the Red Man,* 100, 106, 107, 109-10; Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, Chicago Agency, 1824-1834, National Archives Microcopy No. M-234, Roll 132.

277. Hodge, I: 763.

278. Heckewelder, in *Narrative of the Mission of the United Brethren,* 542. This has been held, apparently in error, to denote a forked trail rather than a forked stream. A. Howry Espenshade, *Pennsylvania Place Names* (State College, Pa., 1925), 132.

LIMA (*Lima Lake, Adams Co.; Lima Township, Carroll Co.; Lima, village and township, Adams Co.*)

This name of the capital of Peru was a corruption, by the Indians or the Spaniards of South America, of the aboriginal South American word *Rima* or *Rimac*,[279] which is still the name of a Peruvian river. Rimac was a Peruvian god whose temple "was repaired to by countless numbers from all parts of the realm."[280] The name is from the Quechua tongue of the Incan empire, and signifies "he who speaks."[281]

MACKINAW (*Mackinaw River, in Tazewell, Woodford, and McLean Cos.; Mackinaw, village and township, Tazewell Co.; Little Mackinaw Township, Tazewell Co.*)

The village and two townships are named for the Mackinaw River. First mentioned in the journal of Patrick Kennaday in 1773 as "Little Michilimackinac," the name of this stream had evolved to its present form by 1846. While there is no reason to suppose that the stream is named for the Island of Mackinac or the city of Mackinaw, Michigan, the meaning is doubtless the same, *i.e.*, "turtle."[282] Cadillac, Charlevoix, and Mrs. Kinzie, all agreed that the name, taken from the language of the Ojibways of that area, signified "turtle,"[283] but there have nevertheless been many other theories brought forth.[284]

The reason for the name in Illinois is not definitely known. A Kickapoo village led by a chief "Machina" was located on the Mackinaw River in 1832.[285] This name may be a variant of Mackinaw. Hiram Beckwith apparently refers to the same chief in describing the "Kickapoos of the Vermilion, comprising the bands of Mac-ca-naw, or Mash-e-naw."[286] Macacanaw was one of the Indians whose

279. Anne Merriman Peck, *The Pageant of South American History* (New York, 1941), 85. The form *Rima* is in Bertrand Flornoy, *The World of the Inca* (Garden City, N. Y., 1958), 184.

280. Brinton, *Myths of the New World*, 321.

281. Flornoy, *World of the Inca*, 184.

282. Hodge, I: 782.

283. Cadillac memoirs in Quaife, ed., *Western Country*, 3; Charlevoix, *Journal* (1923 ed.), II: 43; Kinzie, *Wau-Bun* (1901 ed.), 25. Cf. *Me-kinnauk*, "large tortoise," Tanner, *Narrative of Captivity*, 304.

284. See the various articles on Michilimackinac in *Michigan History*, XLII (Dec., 1958); Allouez in *Jesuit Relations*, LIV: 201; La Potherie in Blair, ed., *Indian Tribes*, I: 283-87.

285. Ninian W. Edwards, *History of Illinois from 1778 to 1833* . . . (Springfield, 1870), 96; William H. Bates, *Souvenir of Early and Notable Events in the History of . . . Tazewell County* . . . (Pekin, 1916), 8. Edwards called the river "Little Makina."

286. *The Illinois and Indiana Indians* (Fergus Historical Series, No. 27, Chicago, 1884), 137. Beckwith translated his name as "The Elk Horn."

mark was placed on a treaty with the Kickapoo of the Vermilion, signed at Fort Harrison, Indiana, August 30, 1819. "Ma-she-nah, elk, his mark" appears in the list of signers of the treaty with the Kickapoo at Castor Hill, Missouri, in 1832.[287]

However, if the river was named for this man, he would necessarily have been very old by the time his name appears in the records. There is a record of an earlier chief in Illinois by the name of Mackinac, an ally of Pontiac, who died in 1778.[288] Little is known of him, but he may offer a better clue as to the origin of this name.

MACOUPIN (*Macoupin County; Macoupin Creek, in Greene, Jersey, and Macoupin Cos.; Macoupin Island, in the Illinois River, Greene Co.; Macoupin, village, Macoupin Co.*)

Franquelin's map of 1688 shows a "R. Macopin" flowing into the Illinois. Charlevoix also mentioned the stream and gave the origin of the name. Five or six leagues below the mouth of the Sangamon, he related, his party came to a smaller stream "called the river of the *Macopines;* these are a large kind of root, which eaten raw is a rank poison, but which when roasted five or six hours or more before a slow fire, loses all its pernicious quality."[289]

Pierre de Liette also mentioned this root in 1702, when he wrote that of all the roots gathered by the women of the Illinois tribes, "the one which they like best is the *macopine.*"[290]

Patrick Kennaday mentioned passing the "Macopin or White Potato River" in 1773.[291] Victor Collot in 1796 reached a "small river, called Macopin, which signifies in the Indian language White Yam."[292] Other accounts mention the stream as *Ma-ka-pinn, Mackapin,* and *Maquapin.*[293]

287. Kappler, II: 184, 366. Cf. closely related Sauk: *Mish-a-way,* "elk." Forsyth in Blair, ed., *Indian Tribes,* II: 220.

288. C. W. Alvord, ed., *Kaskaskia Records, 1778-1790 (Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library,* V, Springfield, 1909), 44.

289. *Journal* (1923 ed.), II: 200.

290. Memoir in Quaife, ed., *Western Country,* 126-27.

291. "Journal up the Illinois River" (MS, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, photostat in the Illinois State Historical Library).

292. "A Journey in North America" (reprint from the English ed. of 1826) in *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society,* XIII (1908): 296.

293. Edwards, *History of Illinois,* 97; R. Paul map, 1815, in Sara Jones Tucker, *Indian Villages of the Illinois Country* (Illinois State Museum, Scientific Papers, Vol. II, Pt. 1, Springfield, 1942), Pl. XL; A. Finley map of Illinois, 1831. See also Charles A. Walker, *History of Macoupin County . . .* (Chicago, 1911), I: 75.

MAHOMET *(village and township, Champaign Co.)*

Inquiries by correspondence and a search of local histories have failed to establish whether this place was named for the prophet of Islam[294] or for a noted Mohegan Indian.

The village was established as Middletown in 1836, though it was not incorporated until 1872. The post office, allegedly without consulting the residents, began using the name Mahomet in the 1840's because there was another Middletown in Logan County. The name Mahomet appeared on maps as early as 1845; it was next adopted by the Illinois Central Railroad, but the name of the village was not formally changed until 1871, prior to which time mail was often addressed to "Middletown, Mahomet P.O." The township was the last to be renamed.[295]

One local tale has it that the name was given by one Captain Brown because the locale "was as heathenish a country as he knew of and ought to have a heathen name." Another tradition maintains that the name was taken from that of the Mahomet Lodge of the Masonic Order, which was chartered in 1856. However, the earlier existence of the name would seem to preclude Masonic origin. At least one early resident, Mrs. Mae Rayburn, stoutly denies Masonic origin of the name and maintains that the village is named for an Indian chief.[296]

Mahomet is one of several spellings for the name of a son and grandson of Oweneco (*q.v.*), a sachem of the Mohegan Indians of Connecticut in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.[297] Conceivably the name could have been given to this village by someone familiar with the history of eastern Indians.

MAKANDA *(village and township, Jackson Co.)*

William K. Ackerman, onetime president of the Illinois Central Railroad, declared that "this station derived its name from that of the chief of the last tribe of Indians who inhabited the section of country about here. His name was Makanda."[298] The only his-

294. A claim made by Henry Gannett in his carelessly begotten *Origin of Place Names* (1905 ed.), 196.

295. Isabelle S. Purnell, *History of Mahomet* (Mahomet, Ill., 1955), 35-36; correspondence from Mrs. Purnell, Jan. 20, 1960, and her aunt, Mrs. Mae Rayburn, Jan. 18, 1960. Mrs. Rayburn, now of Ithaca, Mich., was born near Mahomet in 1872 and resided there until 1912.

296. Letter of Jan. 18, 1960.

297. R. A. Douglas-Lithgow, *Dictionary of American-Indian Place and Proper Names in New England . . .* (Salem, Mass., 1909), 72-73, 321-23, 326; John W. DeForest, *History of the Indians of Connecticut from the Earliest Known Period to 1850* (Hartford, 1851), 318.

298. *Early Illinois Railroads,* 136.

toric Illinois Indian whose name resembles this one is Makouandeby, who warred against the Fox in the early eighteenth century.[299]

There are several Indian names and words resembling Makanda[300] but no evidence to associate any of them with this place. Some person who had heard of the Sioux "deity" Wakanda may have conferred this name by inverting the first letter.

Local tradition, as presented in the following tale furnished by postmaster Wayman Presley, affords an amusing contribution to local folklore, but can hardly be considered historical:

> Tradition says that at an early date a family lived here with two boys, Mike and Andy. Mike was lazy. Every time their father asked Mike to do anything he would say "Make Andy." The name "Makanda" is said to derive from this saying which became a community phrase.[301]

MANHATTAN *(village and township, Will Co.)*

This place is named for the island and borough of Manhattan in New York City. The earliest settlers in this vicinity came from New York state.[302]

The Manhattans, an Algonquian band related to the Delaware, occupied the site of New York City and the banks of the Hudson River when Henry Hudson arrived there in 1609. It was they who in 1626 made the famous sale to Peter Minuit of what became the world's most valuable real estate for sixty guilders' worth of trinkets.[303]

According to Tooker, the name Manhattan means "hill island" or "island of hills," from *manah,* "island," and *atin,* "hill" [*sic*].[304]

299. Wayne C. Temple, *Indian Villages of the Illinois Country: Historic Tribes* (Illinois State Museum, Scientific Papers, Vol. II, Pt. 2, Springfield, 1958), 37.

300. *Makamde* (Dakota), "sunk lake," Haines, *The American Indian,* 742; *Mikana* (Chippewa), a path or road, Baraga, *Otchipwe Dictionary,* Pt. II, p. 237.

301. Letter to author, June 23, 1955. The story has since been published in my article "Some Illinois Place-Name Legends," *Midwest Folklore,* IX (Fall, 1959): 157. Dr. Jesse W. Harris of Southern Illinois University writes: "There are several versions of the story you give of how Makanda got its name. John W. Allen's *Jackson County Notes* [Carbondale, 1945, p. 23] says it was originally Markanda, at the time a post office was opened there in 1857. Before that it had been called North Pass." Letter of Jan. 9, 1959.

302. William Le Baron, Jr., & Co., pub., *The History of Will County* . . . (Chicago, 1878), 634 ff.

303. Hodge, I: 800.

304. Tooker, *Indian Place-Names on Long Island,* 96; The Delaware word for hill is *wachtschu.* Daniel G. Brinton and A. S. Anthony, eds., *A Lenâpé-English Dictionary* . . . (Philadelphia, 1888), 150.

However, a bewildering number of other derivations has been given.[305] J. H. Trumbull suggested that the name simply meant "the island,"[306] and this was considered "the most analytical and most generally accepted" explanation by E. M. Ruttenber.[307]

This writer's own view is that the name means "island village," for the *attan* seems to be related to Natick *otan* and Delaware *oteney,* signifying a town, a suffix found in several other Indian place names.[308]

MANITO (*village and township, Mason Co.*)

Manito is a word in all Algonquian dialects, signifying the unknown power, translated loosely by white men as "The Great Spirit."[309] The more common spelling "manitou" is due to French influence. A map of Illinois in 1822 shows the "Manitou River" as a tributary of the Sangamon.[310]

"This word," wrote Chamberlain, "which has obtained a firm abiding place in literature, has signified at various times: Spirit (good, bad, or indifferent); god (or devil) of the Indians; demon, guardian spirit, *genius loci,* fetish, etc."[311] The term is often preceded by an adjective such as *gitchi* (great) or *matchi* (evil).[312]

The Illinois tribes' form of this name, according to Le Boulanger, was *Manit8* (Manitou).[313]

The Potawatomi form was *mă-nē′-tō,* and the Miami form *mahnăt′-o-wah.*[314]

A Potawatomi chief listed as Man-itoo was a signer of the Treaty of Tippecanoe, October 20, 1832.[315] Possibly this place is named for him; more likely the name came from literature.

305. Beauchamp, *Aboriginal Place Names of New York,* 129; Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes,* III: 502, IV: 379, V: 38, 593, VI: 101; Dunn, *True Indian Stories,* 274.

306. Beauchamp, *Aboriginal Place Names of New York,* 129.

307. "Indian Names in the Valley of Hudson's River," 14.

308. J. G. E. Heckewelder, *Comparative Vocabulary of Algonquin Dialects . . .* (Cambridge, Mass., 1887), 4-5. Cf. Punxsutawney, Pa. (from *oteney),* Chariton, Ia., Raritan, N.J., Ootan Creek, Ky. (from *otan*), and Odanah, Wis., an Ojibway village. Cf. also *munnóh* (island) *otán* (village), Trumbull's *Natick Dictionary,* 282, 339; *Menohhannet* (island) *otan* (village), Massachusetts dialect, in Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes,* I: 291.

309. Hodge, I: 801.

310. *New American Atlas* (Philadelphia, 1822).

311. Chamberlain, "Algonkian Words," 247.

312. Dunn, *True Indian Stories,* 275.

313. Translated as *"genie, esprit,"* "French-Illinois Dictionary."

314. Dunn, *True Indian Stories,* 275.

315. Kappler, II: 355.

MANTENO (*Manteno Lake, Kankakee Co.; Manteno, village and township, Kankakee Co.*)

Haines and others believed that this name was a corruption of manito or manitou, "spirit." Another erroneous suggestion is that the word was Potawatomi for "Soldier's village."[316] The error arose from the fact than an Indian called Soldier had a village nearby. (See SOLDIER'S CREEK.) Still another erroneous guess in print is that Manteno was the name of a Potawatomi chief[317] (cf. MANITO, above).

There can be little doubt, however, that Manteno is named for "Maw-te-no, daughter of Francois Burbonnois, jun.," who was awarded a land tract of "one section, at Soldier's village," in the Treaty of Tippecanoe, October 20, 1832.[318] Since Soldier's village was near the site of Manteno, and this Indian also gave his name to a nearby creek, it seems probable that Mawteno (or Manteno), a Potawatomi woman, was the source of this place name. The original form of the name may have been Manteno, which could have been misspelled by the clerk, who also misspelled Bourbonnais,[319] or Manteno may be corrupted from Mawteno, if the *w* in manuscript was mistaken for an *n*.

MAQUON (*village and township, Knox Co.*) See also SPOON RIVER

Maquon is an Indian name for the nearby Spoon River, or a contraction of the same.[320] This stream, made famous in literature by Edgar Lee Masters's *Spoon River Anthology,* has been the site of numerous Indian villages, as evidenced by the burial mounds and

316. This error apparently originated with Ackerman, *Early Illinois Railroads,* 123. It was repeated by Barge and Caldwell, "Illinois Place Names," 250; Gannett, *Origin of Place Names* (1905 ed.), 198; Haines, *The American Indian,* 744; and Lohmann, *Cities and Towns of Illinois,* 91.

317. William Nelson Gemmill, *Romantic America* (Chicago, 1926), 78.

318. Kappler, II: 353. Louise Houghton erroneously called "Maw-ta-no" the "daughter of Joseph La Framboise, who was a son of Shaw-we-no-qua-qua." *Our Debt to the Red Man,* 141.

319. However, Dan Beckwith, surveyor of the tract, spelled the name Mawteno, as in the treaty; see the field notes of his survey of Kankakee County lands (Vol. II, pp. 72, 76). These notes, in two bound volumes, are in the Illinois State Historical Library.

320. Charles Chapman & Co., *History of Knox County, Illinois* (Chicago, 1878), 496-97. *Miquon* (feather or pen) was also the name given to William Penn by the Delaware Indians. Heckewelder, *Indian Nations,* 78. There is a close resemblance between the Algonquian words for pen, feather, and spoon, but all the evidence indicates that this place name in Illinois signifies "spoon."

other remains which dot the region. A local historian has given a plausible account of the origin of the name:

It was called in the Algonquin tongue, the language used by the Pottawatomie Indians, A-ma-quon-sip-pi, A-ma-quon meaning mussel, or mussel shell. The Indians used the shell as we do spoons for dipping up food. The word sip-pi means river, thus A-ma-quon-sip-pi meant Spoon river. Because of the Indians' manner of pronouncing the first syllable of a word very short, it was difficult for the white man's ear to catch the sound, and thus it was an easy step from A-ma-quon-sip-pi to Maquon. In a government report, in 1813, Brigadier General Howard speaks of several encampments on the "Maquonie" as the river was known at that time.[321]

It is virtually certain, however, that the Illinois tribes, and not the late-arriving Potawatomi, were the name-givers, for Franquelin's map of 1684 shows a *R. Emicouen* flowing into the Illinois near the location of present Spoon River.[322] Other names of the river in old maps and accounts are Demi Quian, Demi Quain, Mequen, Micouene, Mequoin, Micouenne, Amequon, Mequin, and Meequen.[323]

MARAMECH (*Maramech Hill, Kendall Co.*[324])

Franquelin's map of 1688 shows an Indian village called Maramec, probably occupied by Mascouten or Miami, near this site.[325] The name is one of many variations of Merrimac (*q.v.*) which, in the Algonquian languages of this region, means "catfish."[326] The form Maramech, according to Dunn, is in the Peoria dialect, and was once the name of a band of Miami.[327]

This hill is believed by some to be the site of a siege against the Fox Indians by a force of French and Indians in September, 1730, in the course of which some three hundred Fox were annihilated.

321. Perry, *Knox County,* I: 44.

322. It is shown flowing from the east side, but this is doubtless an error.

323. The "Demi" probably originated from mistaking the French article *de* (De Miquian) for a part of the true name. To these names compare the Illinois *c8ocane, grande cueillere* [large spoon], in Le Boulanger, "French-Illinois Dictionary," and the Potawatomi *Émikwán,* spoon, in Gailland, "English-Potawatomi Dictionary."

324. Located near Fox River, adjacent to confluence of Big and Little Rock creeks, 1.5 miles southwest of Plano. See U.S. Topographic Map, Sandwich Quadrangle, 1948.

325. Tucker, *Indian Villages of the Illinois Country,* Pls. XI-A, XI-B.

326. Dunn, *True Indian Stories,* 276. Without foundation, Steward assumed that this name signified "sturgeon." *Lost Maramech,* 28-29. Sturgeon is *Na-ma,* and variants. L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society,* 170, 171, 174. See also references under MERRIMAC in the third article of this series.

327. *True Indian Stories,* 276.

From this circumstance it is believed the nearby Fox River received its name.

About 1900, John F. Steward, a competent local historian and geologist, after considerable exploration and excavation, and research in original French sources, reached the conclusion that this was the site of one of the bloodiest massacres in Indian history. The evidence is detailed in his book *Lost Maramech and Earliest Chicago.*[328] On a five-foot boulder atop the hill Steward chiseled an inscription, now partly obliterated, setting forth his claims concerning the site.[329]

The assault on the Foxes in the late summer of 1730 was made by three French forces, one under St. Ange from Fort Chartres, one from St. Joseph commanded by De Villiers, and a third headed by Desnoyelles "from the Miami post in the north." These were supported by Kickapoo and Mascouten Indians. However, reports by participants are vague as to the battle site,[330] and claims for at least three other locations have been made.[331]

MARISSA (*Marissa, Old Marissa, villages, St. Clair Co.; Marissa, township, St. Clair Co.*)

Marissa is given as the Illinois Indian word for "knife" in an Illinois-Miami vocabulary of the early eighteenth century.[332] A Peoria Indian named "Mawressaw, or Knife" signed with his mark the treaty negotiated by Ninian Edwards and Auguste Chouteau at Edwardsville, September 25, 1818.[333] Since these villages are located in territory long inhabited by the Illinois tribes before their departure from the state, one is strongly tempted to attribute the name Marissa to them.

The postmaster at Marissa, however, believed that the name was

328. Subtitle: *A History of the Foxes and of Their Downfall near the Great Village of Maramech.*

329. For text, see flyleaf facing p. 281 in *ibid.*

330. St. Ange reported that the Foxes' fort was situated "dans un petit bouquet de bois, le long d'une rivière dans une vaste prairie." F. E. Audet, *Les Premiers Établissements Français au Pays des Illinois: La Guerre des Renards* (Paris, 1938), 173.

331. Stanley Faye believed the tragedy occurred on the Vermilion River in La Salle County, 4¾ miles south of Starved Rock. "The Foxes' Fort — 1730," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society,* XXVIII (Oct., 1935): 135-36. William B. Brigham placed the site on the Sangamon River *(The Arrowsmith Battlefield . . .*, Bloomington, Ill., *ca.* 1935). Finally, the state department of conservation locates the battleground on the Vermilion of the Wabash near Danville. "Kickapoo State Park" (leaflet issued by the Illinois Division of Parks and Memorials, Springfield, 1956).

332. *U. S. Catholic Historical Magazine,* III (1891): 5.

333. Kappler, II: 165-66.

taken from the Bible, though no proof was furnished.[334] Marissa is listed as "an opulent town of Judea" in Lempriere's *Classical Dictionary of Proper Names* (page 355). *The New Standard Bible Dictionary*[335] gives the name, however, as *Mareshah,* identifying it both as the name of a city and of an individual who was the father of Hebron and the son of Laodah. This place name must remain on the doubtful list.

334. Letter to author, unsigned, June 26, 1955.
335. (New York, 1931), 547.

Recent Acquisitions Of the Historical Library

Copies of a heretofore unknown 1864 Lincoln campaign paper, *Father Abraham,* have been presented to the Illinois State Historical Library by Brockett Bates of Springfield. The paper was a weekly, published every Tuesday in Reading, Pennsylvania, by E. H. Rauch and Son. The five issues presented to the Library date from September 27 to October 25, being Numbers 9-13. The other issues are now being sought.

The motto of the paper was "Liberty and Union — One and Inseparable — Now and Forever." It was devoted to politics and local news and earnestly supported the Union nominees for President and Vice-President, Lincoln and Johnson. The four-page sheet also accepted ads, and approximately one quarter of its columns were devoted to the display of "wares."

Of especial interest are articles dealing with events in Illinois relative to the campaign. A speech by John Wentworth, reported on September 27, dealt with Jefferson Davis. According to the paper, Wentworth rebuked Davis for not paying for his education but for attending West Point and forcing others to pay for his instruction. "When schooldays were over Jeff was sent out West here at government expense, and spent a year or so surveying around Calumet, gunning and lounging, and shooting grouse at government expense, and eating them himself."

A speech about "War Democrats" delivered in Springfield on September 8 was reported on October 11. General Isham Haynie reportedly stated, "My friends, I am a War Democrat. . . . I do care about the preservation of the Union. . . . I am ready to fight for it. I will fight for it. I will fight till my hair is white and when I go down to my grave I will leave this war as a legacy to my son, and charge him in a like manner to transmit it to his son, and his son's son, unless we have an honorable peace, upon the terms of submission by the South to the power of the Federal Government."

In addition to the political speeches, cartoons, and advertisements there were little humorous statements in abundance. Typical was the following: "When did Noah go into the wine business? — He *made port* about forty days after the Deluge began." Obviously the paper's humor was not so successful as its politics.

Bernard Wax

Book Reviews

THE LETTERS OF STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS
Edited by Robert W. Johannsen. (University of Illinois Press: Urbana, 1961. Pp. xxxi, 558. $10.)

Dr. Robert W. Johannsen, the Universities of Kansas and Illinois, and Martin F. Douglas have rendered a valuable service for everyone interested in middle-period American history by making possible this excellent collection of the letters of Stephen A. Douglas. Lincoln's letters and speeches have been painstakingly compiled and edited in the *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, but until now we have had nothing comparable for his great opponent.

Dr. Johannsen, for the past several years a member of the Department of History of the University of Illinois, has made available here all of the extant letters of Stephen A. Douglas he has been able to locate after an extensive search through libraries and after contacting private collectors. Most important of all, he had access to those materials in the hands of the Douglas family through the courteous assistance of Martin F. Douglas. Even so, the editor points out that no claim is made for completeness.

In this collection (and the reviewer believes this volume to be the *definitive* collection) are only letters written by Douglas. Incoming correspondence is not included, nor are his speeches. Legal briefs and drafts of speeches, resolutions, and bills have been located but not included. Further, routine letters which are "relatively devoid of historical interest" have been calendared in chronological order but not published in full. Letters known to have been in existence are similarly put in chronological order and, when possible, are summarized. For each letter full identification as to owner or source, addressee, and date has been provided. Original spelling and punctuation have been retained, although periods at the end of sentences have been supplied, paragraphing supplied on occasion, and the missing portions of incomplete words supplied.

The editorial work is unquestionably excellent, and the explanatory footnotes necessary to full comprehension are present but not so often as to intrude upon the letters themselves. We are proud to note that many of the principal repositories of Douglas material are in the state of Illinois: the bulk of Douglas's incoming correspondence is in the University of Chicago Library; and the Chicago Historical So-

ciety and the Illinois State Historical Library have large collections of Douglas's letters. Perhaps the largest single collection is in the Illinois State Historical Library.

The first letter in the collection is dated Cleveland, September 30, 1833; the second is dated Winchester, Morgan County, Illinois, December 15, 1833; both are owned by the grandson of Stephen A. Douglas, Martin F. Douglas of Greensboro, North Carolina. The last letter in the collection is dated Chicago, May 10, 1861, and is owned by Philip D. Sang, a director of the Illinois State Historical Society. There are two appendices, the first being Fragmentary and Undated Letters, and containing three letters; the second is Letters Written by Stephen A. Douglas as Register of the Springfield Land Office, April 26, 1837-March 2, 1839, and contains sixty-nine items. There is a good index.

We look forward, now, to Dr. Johannsen's projected biography of Douglas, and perhaps it is not too much to hope that when the biography is finished, he may produce an edition of the "Little Giant's" speeches.

C.C.W.

A PICTURE STORY OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN
By Lloyd Ostendorf. (Lothrop, Lee and Shepard: New York, 1962. Pp. 160. $3.50.)

Children's books on Abraham Lincoln are about a dime a dozen these days and of vastly uneven quality. But Lloyd Ostendorf's volume is one of the few original and distinctive contributions to this overcrowded field in recent years. The drawings are completely lifelike, and the layout is truly inviting. Each page is devoted to a single episode in Lincoln's life, briefly recounted, with an accompanying black and white illustration. Ostendorf has also utilized photographs of places intimately connected with Lincoln and reproduced original Lincoln documents, including the copy of the Gettysburg Address now on display in the Illinois State Historical Library.

Perhaps because the book is designed for young people, almost half of it is concerned with Lincoln's childhood and his years in New Salem. Many of the events in young Abraham's life during those years are matters of conjecture, but undoubtedly he and his family shared the experiences common to all frontier settlers of the time. And so we have illustrations of raising a cabin, cooking a meal over an open fire, grinding grain in a grist mill, reciting in a "blab" school, and, of course,

splitting rails. These revelations of their forebears' way of life may come as quite a surprise to today's youngsters and should give them a hearty appreciation of their pioneer heritage.

In sum, this is a grand picture book. A fourth- or fifth-grader with little or no previous knowledge of Lincoln will find this an excellent introduction, and those students who have some acquaintance with the Emancipator will treasure the book for its pictures.

PHYLLIS E. CONNOLLY
Stamford, Connecticut

LINCOLN AND THE EMPERORS

By A. R. Tyrner-Tyrnauer. (Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc.: New York, 1962. Pp. xvi, 176. $4.50.)

A. R. Tyrner-Tyrnauer was born in Hungary in 1897, educated in Budapest and Vienna, and for a number of years served as associate foreign editor of International News Service. When he became interested in American foreign policy, he searched through the invaluable archives of the Austrian government in Vienna. There he found many documents relating to the attempts of Emperor Francis Joseph and his brother Maximilian to establish a monarchy in Mexico while the United States was torn asunder by the Civil War. Although these papers were used by Count Corti to write his magnificent story *Maximilian and Charlotte of Mexico* (1928), many students of Civil War history have neglected Corti's volumes.

The basic account of the abortive attempt to establish a European empire in North America is told by Tyrner-Tyrnauer from well-known sources, but the value of this monograph lies in the interweaving of the official Austrian documents into the history of our own Civil War. Important letters which shed new light on European political activities have been quoted verbatim.

While examining the voluminous Austrian documents, the author discovered a Lincoln letter which has been overlooked all these years. It is addressed to Francis Joseph I and dated Washington, August 15, 1861. Certainly there is no doubt that the signature is Lincoln's, but it is equally certain that Lincoln merely signed a stiff, pompous greeting composed by Secretary Seward or some other member of the State Department. It is a typical missive, and though it is interesting, little information can be gleaned from it.

Readers will enjoy this brief treatment of foreign affairs during Lincoln's administration. It is well written, and reflects good

insight into the diplomatic relations of the period. Some may question the theory which the author propounds concerning the influence of Europe upon our Civil War, even though "America is an offspring of Europe."

It should be pointed out that Jefferson Davis did not fight in the Black Hawk War of 1832 (page 14). Garrison records indicate that Davis was on leave during the actual fighting. Purists will quickly note that *Merrimack* (page 76) is spelled without the necessary "k," and bibliographers may regret the omission of a most important book concerning Lincoln and foreign affairs. A full treatment of diplomacy during Lincoln's time is found in Jay Monaghan's *Diplomat in Carpet Slippers* (New York, 1945). Nevertheless, Tyrner-Tyrnauer has made a notable contribution to Lincolniana. Libraries and students will welcome his book.

WAYNE C. TEMPLE
Lincoln Memorial University

THE GENESIS OF AMERICAN FREEDOM, 1765-1795: A SELECTION OF ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS FROM THE COLLECTION OF ELSIE O. AND PHILIP D. SANG
Edited with an introduction by Lawrence H. Leder. (Brandeis University: Waltham, Mass., 1961. Pp. 31. Plates xxvi. $10.)

The American Institute of Graphic Arts has named this as one of the "Fifty Books of the Year" for 1961, and no one would argue with the selection; it is a beautiful example of the designer's and manufacturer's arts. It is also a very specialized book in another way — it is a book for manuscript collectors.

The book itself is eight and one-half by twelve inches in size, the type is Monotype Caslon, and the cover is light blue with white spine and gold lettering. Thirty-nine manuscripts (mostly letters and broadsides) from the Americana collection of Mr. and Mrs. Philip D. Sang of River Forest, Illinois, have been selected by the editor and woven into a five-page story of "the seedtime of American liberty." Following this is a listing and summary of the papers and then a transcription or facsimile reproduction of each document.

The earliest of these documents is a letter from Jeffrey Richardson of Boston to his brother Jacob, dated September 1, 1765, in which he describes the anti-Stamp Act rioting that took place in Boston several days earlier. The last in the chronology is dated November 25, 1794, and was written by Colonel Henry Lee to Brigadier General A. W. White. Colonel Lee had been in charge of suppress-

ing the anti-whiskey tax insurrection in western Pennsylvania and was providing for the transfer of the prisoners from Pittsburgh to Philadelphia for trial. Thus tax objection had run its full cycle.

Between these two extremes are letters from George Washington, Patrick Henry, Benjamin Franklin, John Hancock, Alexander Hamilton, Thomas Paine, Benedict Arnold, Count Casimir Pulaski, John Adams, John Quincy Adams, and several others of only slightly lesser importance. The most interesting of these letters is possibly the one written in number code (two pages of numbers) by Robert Morris to Benjamin Franklin on September 28, 1782. Morris warned Franklin, who was in France, of the activities of his enemies in this country.

A fitting close to this "seed-time" chronicle is a facsimile page from an unpublished essay (July, 1831) by Washington Irving, beginning, "One of the most striking characteristics of an American is his self dependence."

Although this is a near-perfect book, it does have two shortcomings — crimes of omission. One is the lack of an index, and the other is that transcriptions are not provided for all of the facsimile reproductions.

H.F.R.

VIRGINIA RAILROADS IN THE CIVIL WAR

By Angus James Johnston. (University of North Carolina Press: Chapel Hill, 1961. For Virginia Historical Society. Pp. xvi. $6.00.)

With the publication of *Virginia Railroads in the Civil War,* Angus Johnston joins the growing company of those who have recognized the significant and perhaps crucial role which railroads played in the struggle over the preservation of the Union. A pioneering work by Festus P. Summers on the Baltimore and Ohio reopened the subject more than twenty years ago, and the past decade has seen notable scholarly advances in the direction of a fuller understanding of the part played by the "iron horse" in the dark hour of the nation's tragedy. Robert C. Black's masterful study titled *The Railroads of the Confederacy* appeared almost simultaneously with Thomas Weber's *The Northern Railroads in the Civil War,* both being published in 1952. Only a year later George Turner surveyed the whole subject of the railroads' contribution with his challenging thesis expressed in the title *Victory Rode the Rails: The Strategic Place of the Railroads in the Civil War.* Within the past year *Civil War History* reviewed recent scholarship with a number titled "Civil War Railroads," which focused

entirely on the transportation theme.

In spite of this evidence of continuing activity, Johnston cannot be accused of dealing in second-hand merchandise. Though his canvas is not nearly so broad as that of Black, Weber, or Turner, his strokes are sure, and the picture which he creates has genuine depth and meaning. The choice of locale is most appropriate. Virginia, whose addition to the "cause" really made the Confederacy, had more railroad mileage than any other Southern state, and (with certain well-known and glaring deficiencies) her lines resembled something at least approaching a coordinated network. Furthermore, the Old Dominion was the scene of almost continuous campaigning from the very beginning of the conflict to its very end, with an unbelievably high proportion of the major battles of the war occurring within her boundaries.

Johnston makes it very clear that much uncertainty existed in 1861 as to the full potential of the rail transportation factor in terms of offensive and defensive strategy. Early in the war both sides devoted a considerable share of their energies to interfering with and disrupting each others' supply lines long before they had gained any clear conception of the true logistical possibilities of railroads. For example, the Baltimore and Ohio suffered repeatedly and grievously at the hands of Confederate raiders early in the war, while in northern Virginia the usefulness of the Manassas Gap; the Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac; and the Orange and Alexandria lines had been so effectively nullified by Union depredations that they were virtually abandoned by Confederate withdrawals in the spring of 1862.

It is one of the fateful ironies of the conflict that as the war went on and leaders, both civil and military, became increasingly conscious of the tremendous possibilities of the "iron horse," the Virginia lines upon whose light iron rails rested so many of the hopes of the Confederacy were no longer able to provide either the offensive impetus or the defensive resiliency without which victory was impossible.

With the careful scholarship and serious prose which characterize *Virginia Railroads,* the author deals with the inevitable transportation collapse which for the Confederate cause spelled defeat and despair. With never really sufficient rail support and dependable supply lines, the Army of Northern Virginia was unable to translate its remarkable individual triumphs into a sustained and victorious campaign. As time passed and the iron ring closed ever tighter around the Richmond-Petersburg defenses it was as much the severing, one by one, of Lee's

remaining supply lines as it was the overwhelming superiority of Grant's forces which produced the flight to Appomattox.

This is the central theme of Johnston's study, and it is well summarized in the author's own words:

> At the beginning of the war, when the railroads were in good condition, they served Virginia reasonably well and the Armies of Lee and Jackson prospered. But, as the war wore on, short-comings in various forms—deterioration, inflation, scarcity of men and material, corruption; particularism, attrition, contraction, and even disloyalty—took their toll. As the railroads which were the very sinews of war grew flabby, the fortunes of the Army of Northern Virginia speedily declined [page 256].

Both author and publisher are to be congratulated on a most attractive product of bookmaking. The general format is appealing, the illustrations quite appropriate, and the craftsmanship high; only the maps leave a little to be desired. Full and extensive notes, a complete bibliography, and a carefully prepared index add to the value of this volume.

Robert M. Sutton
University of Illinois

THE UNITED STATES DURING THE CIVIL WAR

By Auguste Laugel. Edited with introduction and notes by Allan Nevins. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, Civil War Centennial Series, 1961. Pp. xli, 338. $6.50.)

Americans have always been curious to know how they appear through foreign eyes. Both good and bad reports were made early in the nineteenth century by such writers as Mrs. Frances Trollope, Harriet Martineau, Charles Dickens, Alexis de Tocqueville, and Captain Frederick Marryat. From France in the closing months of the Civil War came Auguste Laugel, not primarily as a war reporter but as a traveler and observer of the American scene. The clarity of his vision was somewhat distorted by the fact that his wife and her mother were abolitionist Americans from Boston, and he shared their views.

Laugel's analysis of the causes of the Civil War, the progress of the war, the politics and finances of the period, and his sympathetic portrait of Abraham Lincoln are all remarkable, considering the fact that he did not have the benefit of historical perspective. Yet most of these ideas are accepted as rather commonplace today, and their republication would hardly be warranted.

The real merit of this book is in the author's personal experiences and observations. In his

account of eight months of travel through the northern states, Laugel assumes the role of a reporter delivering a travelogue with a smattering of philosophical musings, sandwiching statistics between florid romantic observations: "Mount Lafayette (3,200 feet high) and Mount Pemigewasset (4,100 feet high) raise their heads above a sea of mountains of all shades, colours, and shapes, that recede in a disorder full of grace." Among other facts, he gives the dimensions of Niagara Falls in meters, a report on the Chicago Board of Trade, the tonnage of iron production in Pittsburgh, and the number of elementary school children in Philadelphia.

His travels took him from Boston to Portland, Maine, to the White Mountains, thence back to Albany and to Niagara Falls. He went to Detroit and Chicago, and on to La Crosse, Wisconsin, where his first sight of some Indians led him to write, "I had before me at the same time the old masters of the Mississippi and its present possessors. The smoke of the fire lit by the Indians rose side by side into the sky with that puffed out by those powerful [steamboat] engines that today transport the traveller from the mouth of the Mississippi to the borders of Lake Superior. Was not the whole history of America in this picture?" And he went by steamboat from Quincy to Hannibal, Alton, and St. Louis, thence by railroad back to Cincinnati, Pittsburgh, and Philadelphia. Later he visited Washington and managed to go to Virginia to look over the Federal lines at the siege of Richmond.

The author exhibits particular interest in Americans with foreign backgrounds, in the way in which the frontier influenced democracy, and in the impact of the war upon the North. He is concerned about the future of the Negro in the South after the war and about other problems peace would present.

The editors have added Laugel's American diary, originally published in the *New York Nation* in 1902. Although there is considerable repetition in the text and diary, the latter details his relationships with the great and near-great Americans, political, military, literary, and philosophical: Abraham Lincoln, Charles Sumner, Secretary Chase, Grant, Lowell, Longfellow, Emerson, Agassiz, Bancroft, and many others.

Allan Nevins's introduction is a pleasant relief if it is re-read after poring over the nineteenth-century romantic prose of the text, which abounds in characterizations and generalizations. The explanatory notes could have mentioned Laugel's suggestion that to "raise export duties on the cotton, tobacco, and petroleum" would have been a somewhat unconsti-

tutional means of financing the war, and a university press should either have better proofreading or indicate that the author made the error of saying that the Monongahela and Allegheny rivers join to form the Hudson.

Although the book's title fits the text well, it is misleading to one who is looking for a book on the Civil War. It will appeal to those who are interested in the culture of the North during the period, or to those who wish to compare a contemporary summary with a present-day analysis of the war and its problems.

HAROLD J. ZIEGLER
Blackburn College

THE INDIAN WAR OF 1864

By Eugene F. Ware. With introduction and notes by Clyde C. Walton. (St. Martin's Press: New York, 1960. Pp. 427. $7.50.)

Clyde Walton has done a fine job of editing Captain Eugene F. Ware's *Indian War of 1864*. Ware's account of his life in and around the "District of Nebraska" — the establishment of frontier forts; the homey, often humorous, tales of barracks life; and "soldiering" in the early days — is sure to hold the attention of all Western buffs.

I especially enjoyed learning about the Pawnee delicacy which seems to have been the original American hot dog. I liked the tales of the early train and telegraph pioneers. Ware's descriptions of frontier life, customs, and costumes have the scuff and smell of Western Americana at its best.

The book stands on its own merits, but State Historian Walton's notes, appendices, and index give the volume added stature. I regret only that a comprehensive map of the area treated was not included. It would have been dessert for a fine repast.

CARL G. HODGES
Springfield

THE CIVIL WAR AT SEA (VOL. II): THE RIVER WAR

By Virgil Carrington Jones. (Holt, Rinehart and Winston: New York, 1961. Pp. 490. $6.00.)

The river war, particularly in the West, is a fascinating part of the Civil War. The chief characters — David Glasgow Farragut, David Dixon Porter, and Andrew H. Foote — have places in American history extending over periods even longer than the Civil War.

Virgil Carrington Jones, who is widely and popularly known

as "Pat," began his series with *The Blockaders,* now *The River War,* and there is one more volume to come. His writing is easy and pleasant. In Volume II he has chosen actions that are relatively familiar and has given them adequate treatment. He has omitted many smaller actions, thus making a book of popular appeal, rather than one of exhaustive detail.

Actually, the book is not limited to the river war. It carries the general sea war through 1862 and 1863. Thus, it has the story of the battle of the *Monitor* and *Merrimack* in Hampton Roads and some of the exploits of the raiders Raphael Semmes and John Newland Maffitt, and a few actions on the East and Gulf coasts.

The story of the *Monitor* and *Merrimack* discloses not so much who won or lost — if there was a winner — but the fact that the types of ship construction and armament changed the course of naval warfare.

On the rivers, Foote and his gunboats, built by the great engineer James B. Eads at Carondelet (St. Louis) and Mound City, Illinois, had as much to do with the fall of Forts Henry and Donelson as General U. S. Grant did. (Foote received a wound at Donelson that eventually proved fatal.)

Soon afterward Foote and his successors, Charles Davis and Porter, began working down the Mississippi with successes at Island No. 10 and Memphis. Farragut started up the river by subduing Forts Jackson and St. Philip on the Mississippi delta, and then followed through with the conquests of New Orleans, Baton Rouge, and the smaller towns.

Farragut's seagoing warships and Davis's shallow draft gunboats made a junction above Vicksburg in 1862, but water craft were not enough to reduce the city on the high bluffs.

This period brought out the thrilling stories of the Confederate ram *Arkansas,* with commanders Isaac Newton Brown and Charles Read. The *Arkansas'* short career was one of the greatest stories of slugging in the Civil War. On the Union side were such men as Henry Walke, a talented artist as well as commander, and the Ellets — Alfred W., Charles, and Charles R.

Farragut had to go down river in 1862 because of low water and in doing so found that the bluffs of Grand Gulf, where the Big Black River meets the Mississippi, had become a formidable fortification. Shelling and an army assault almost razed the town of Grand Gulf but did not reduce its defending forts. The next year when Farragut and Porter were cooperating in Grant's Vicksburg campaign, passing the guns of Grand Gulf was a vital step. A duel of five and one-half hours

between gunboats and forts was a standoff. Grant unloaded his waiting transports and marched his men down the Louisiana side. At dusk the gunboats baited the forts while the empty transports slipped downstream. Afterward came the successful crossing to Bruinsburg and the start of the Vicksburg campaign.

"Pat" Jones touches on other actions such as the river navy's support of General W. T. Sherman's sad assault against the bluffs north of Vicksburg, actions at Arkansas Post and in the Red River, and the weird spectacle of gunboats going through forests along the flooded Yazoo and other rivers of Mississippi. Jones has made a fine selection of actions that represent the sea war of 1862 and 1863.

GILBERT G. TWISS
Chicago

A CASUAL VIEW OF AMERICA: THE HOME LETTERS OF SALOMON DE ROTHSCHILD, 1859-1861

Translated and edited by Sigmund Diamond. (Stanford University Press: Stanford, Calif., 1961. Pp. 136. $3.75.)

In this magnificently printed, footnoted, and indexed book the scion of the Paris branch of the famous financial family comes alive.

"Self-confident to the point of arrogance and equipped with a fixed standard from which to judge the workings of a society," Salomon de Rothschild traveled throughout the United States during the years previous to the Civil War, unable to understand the experiment in democracy.

Genial, brilliant, and somewhat of a dare-devil, Rothschild had all the prejudices of rich, well-educated, comfortable Europeans viewing the American scene. He was fearful of "Democratic leveling," of abolitionism, and of what he termed socialism. He believed that all these movements would lead to anarchy.

After the war started, he strongly advocated the Confederate cause because he felt that a Union victory would threaten the forms of social order that provided security for himself and his kind, and would endanger the national interests of France.

Highly impressed by the beauty of this country, Rothschild wrote on July 12, 1860, that "nature in America is so grandiose in everything, so luxurious that nature in Europe cannot stand comparison." But he viewed the people in a different light, as can be seen from this description of an 1860 Republican campaign rally: "It made me think of the dangers that constantly hang over our heads and made me foresee for this country an era of revolutions and civil wars." Other statements

were: "This country is too much in love with great names, lofty titles, decorations — in a word, everything that glitters to the eye — to be able to keep its democratic government for long." "The word 'liberty' signifies here, as it does in all democracies the power to do all sorts of harmful and annoying things to one's neighbors." "What is extraordinary, however, is that the crudest people, the least agreeable, the least attractive, are the politicians. It seems their great distinction consists in their almost total lack of education."

In 1860 Rothschild felt that no civil war would take place, but he became more pessimistic as time progressed. He blamed Northern manufacturers and their support of the tariff for causing the war. Obviously he was prejudiced, for when he advocated intervention and aid to the South by France, he stated that it was in its own interest to do so, "for the independence of the South will bring about free trade and will unite an immense outlet for all our products and for those of England."

BERNARD WAX

THE STORY OF AMERICAN STATEHOOD
By Dana Lee Thomas. (Wilfred Funk, Inc.: New York, 1961. Pp. viii, 275. $4.95.)

This book may be more easily appraised by describing what it is not, than by describing what it is. It is not, in the first place, "the story of American statehood," if by this one means a discussion of the evolving process by which new lands became full-fledged members of the American Union. The book is not an analysis of the "concept of statehood," which the author writes on page 166 "concerns us here." Finally, the work does not fulfill the stated theme of the book — "how the instruments of the United States government, devised by the elected representatives of the people, enabled this republic to grow in size and power without allowing it to neglect its first principles."

There is little unity in the work, in spite of the promise of the title, nor is there any attempt to analyze or probe in a meaningful way the sometimes devious and perplexing paths to statehood. There is little appreciation or understanding of the intricacies of the American territorial system, which is basic to any story of American statehood; no attempt has been made to explore the sometimes nebulous ground of territorial-federal and state-federal relationships. This book is little more than a loose collection of episodes and anecdotes

drawn from the histories of the various states of the United States. Many of the author's discussions have no connection with the statehood process. The stories of each state are told in a vacuum, without an awareness of the significant impact of national events and issues on the development of the statehood process.

In selecting his episodes, the author has exhibited a distinct flair for the romantic and dramatic. For example, the chapter on the Northwest Territory contains a detailed account of the explorations of Marquette and Jolliet; several pages in the chapter on the Louisiana Purchase are devoted to the exploits of the pirate Jean Lafitte; in the chapter on Texas there is a detailed discussion of the vicissitudes of the Republic of Texas Navy. Junípero Serra and John Sutter figure prominently in the story of California statehood, as do Narcissa and Marcus Whitman in that of Oregon, Osceola in that of Florida, John Brown in that of Kansas, and Captain Cook in that of Hawaii. The organization of the book is sometimes mystifying, and the narrative contains too many inexcusable errors of fact. In short, it is difficult to discover a justification for this book.

Robert W. Johannsen
University of Illinois

DIRECTORY OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES AND AGENCIES IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA, 1961

Compiled by Clement M. Silvestro and Sally Ann Davis. (American Association for State and Local History: Madison, Wis., 1961. Pp. 111. $1.50.)

The description of this biennial compilation, as given in the preface, reads, "Information for each entry is listed in the following order: name and address of the organization, name of person to whom correspondence should be sent, address (if different from agency address) and title of that person, membership number, whether the agency has a museum, museum hours, whether the agency has a library, manuscripts, archives, and/or newspaper collections, and publications."

An evaluation of compilations of this sort is difficult since the material is factual and does not lend itself to interpretation and analysis. However, an estimate can be made of the accuracy and completeness of the entries for Illinois.

Ninety-three Illinois organizations are listed, thirty-one more than were in the 1959 compilation. There are several omissions: Abe Lincoln Society of the Mississippi Valley, Moline; Du Page Graue Mill Corporation, Hinsdale; and

Knox County Historic Sites, Inc., Knoxville.

Several misspellings occur, such as Toma for Toman (Lawndale-Crawford Historical Society), Vermillion for Vermilion County Historical Society, and St. Claire for St. Clair County Historical Society.

Other errors include the omission of the word County from the Randolph County Historical Society and a zero from the address of the Calumet Historical Society, which is located at 11001, not 1101, South Indiana Avenue, Chicago.

The Society of Architectural Historians is not at the University of Illinois, but a Chicago Chapter of that organization is located at 30 North La Salle Street.

The inclusion of the Newberry Library as a historical agency puzzles me. Despite its magnificent collections of Americana, genealogy, and the like, its major purpose is *not* the dissemination of information regarding history.

The above-listed shortcomings should in no way detract from the obvious value of this compilation as a reference tool. Of added value is the newly compiled alphabetical index.

For those interested in numbers, Illinois, with 93 entries, now ranks fifth in the number of active historical organizations in the United States and Canada, after New York (213), Massachusetts (149), Pennsylvania (115), and Ohio (112).

BERNARD WAX

CIVIL WAR CENTENNIAL ADDRESS

By Carl Sandburg. (Library of Congress: Washington, D. C., [1962]. Pp. [16]. $3.00.)

Publication of this little book containing the address of Carl Sandburg at the formal opening of the Civil War Centennial exhibition in the Library of Congress on October 25, 1961, was made possible by the Library's Alfred Whital Stern Fund. The late Mr. Stern was a trustee of the Illinois State Historical Library and the principal donor of its Civil War Collection.

The book will be treasured for its appearance as well as for its contents. It was designed by William N. Palmstrom of Washington, a member of the American Institute of Graphic Arts, and is printed by letterpress in Electra type on ivory paper. The cloth cover is terra-cotta in color, with the title printed in black above Sandburg's signature in blind stamping. Three penciled drawings by Palmstrom are used as illustrations. His sketch of Sandburg is the frontispiece, one of Lincoln is in the middle, and at the end there is a drawing of two hands clasped beneath arches,

which was inspired by Sandburg's words: "If there is a Valhalla conceivable then we may in imagination picture the hands of Abraham Lincoln and Robert E. Lee clasped and shaken in contemplation of the power of the United States of America in the present world struggle."

This edition of the book was limited to one thousand copies, and they may be purchased by writing to the Information Desk, Library of Congress, Washington 14, D.C.

H.F.R.

WISCONSIN WITNESS TO FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER: A COLLECTION OF ESSAYS ON THE HISTORIAN AND THE THESIS

Compiled by O. Lawrence Burnette, Jr. (The State Historical Society of Wisconsin: Madison, 1961. Pp. 204. $4.00.)

This series of eleven essays on the life and work of Frederick Jackson Turner, published in observance of the centennial of Turner's birth, is composed primarily of essays which have appeared over the years in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*. Several of the essays, including the introduction and the essays by Joseph Schafer, Avery Craven, and Merle Curti, are sympathetic studies of Turner's life and work. A two-part article written by George Pierson in 1941 as the result of a survey he conducted relative to current opinions about the Turner thesis and a 1947 article by J. A. Burkhart make some attempt to deal with the criticisms of Turner's ideas.

Carl Russell Fish's essay, written in 1917, is an early effort to deal with the problem of frontiers throughout the world, although his article would seem to have very little relevance to Turner's thesis and has been superseded by more recent work. The contribution by Curtis Nettels tries to show the connection between the closing of the frontier and the economic policies of the New Deal. A sample of Turner's own prose style is provided by Fulmer Mood's collection of "Little Known Fragments of Turner's Writings."

The most interesting segment of these reprints is the autobiographical letter from Turner to Constance L. Skinner which is printed here in its entirety along with an explanation of the circumstances under which the letter was written. Throughout the book, Turner the man is described in terms reminiscent of Hamlet's eulogy of his father. This view is balanced by Turner's letter which reveals a man possessed of human pride in his own accomplishments. Certainly no one can doubt the force of the per-

sonality of a man who could inspire the intense personal devotion that is evident in the writings of all who knew him, but it is still refreshing to read a letter which reveals the great teacher as a human being.

Despite the enduring value of some of the essays, the book as a whole is disappointing. It simply does not contain many of the most important articles about Frederick Jackson Turner. This is perhaps an inherent flaw in a work of this kind. In the first place, a sizable collection of anti-Turnerian material would probably be out of place in a memorial volume. More importantly, the major criticisms of Turner's ideas have not made their initial appearance in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*. Another flaw, perhaps also inherent in the format, is the tremendous amount of repetition. Turner's life and summaries of his major ideas are repeated so frequently as to give the reader intellectual indigestion.

This is hardly the place to engage once more in the hoary debate over the merits of Turner's interpretation of American history. Perhaps there is no appropriate place in 1962. Perhaps it is time to listen to those who contend that the real question is not whether Turner was right or wrong, but whether he is relevant. Perhaps it is time to allow a generation or two of historians to go about their business without having to take sides on this issue. In the opinion of this reviewer, both sides have said about all that is necessary in the present context.

This is not to say that Turner's work is insignificant. Quite apart from the truth or falsity of the theory, Turner's hypothesis has stimulated more valuable historical research and writing than any other approach to American history. For this reason alone he deserves a festschrift.

ROBERT W. SCHNEIDER
Northern Illinois University

CIVIL WAR DAY-BY-DAY, 1861: A CHRONOLOGY OF THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS OF THE WAR'S FIRST YEAR
By Alexander C. Niven. (Berkshire Publishing Company: Cambridge, Mass., 1961. Pp. 64. $1.00 Paperbound.)

This attractive small pamphlet, crammed with instant information, is a must for date- and name-droppers who specialize in the first year of the Civil War.

The almost daily calendar of events is easy to read and informative. Included are secession dates; Northern and Southern action, skirmish, and battle dates; and major political dates.

The calendar entries are separated from each other by such capsulized feature items as the

background of the war, notes on Northern and Southern military and government leaders, the Battle of Bull Run, biographies of Lee and McClellan, and a summary of 1861 events. Also included are many pictures of Civil War people, places and things (boats, battles, etc.), with full explanatory captions.

The pamphlet is well done and unpretentious. Too basic for scholars, it is an ideal short course on the war for laymen and students.

HELENE LEVENE

THE CHARLES ILFELD COMPANY: A STUDY OF THE RISE AND DECLINE OF MERCANTILE CAPITALISM IN NEW MEXICO

By William J. Parish. (*Harvard Studies in Business History,* Vol. XX. Harvard University Press: Cambridge, Mass., 1961. Pp. 431. $10.)

William J. Parish here relates the history of a Las Vegas general merchandise business from its beginnings in 1867 to the close of the 1950's. The author chose as a framework for his study the changes in the business structure of the Charles Ilfeld Company — from petty capitalism to the beginnings of mercantile capitalism, thence to mature mercantile capitalism. Finally, he tells of the pressures of industrial capitalism which forced upon the mercantile capitalist a series of adjustments enabling him to compete under current market conditions.

The author has woven the fabric of the firm's history with elaborate detail from the original business records of the Charles Ilfeld Company. He has very skillfully related the firm's experience to the regional, national, and at times international, forces affecting that experience. In Parish's opinion, local environment played a key role in shaping the structure of the firm and in governing the policy decisions of its owners.

Although of special interest to business historians, this volume will interest all students of American economic development. Historians of the American westward movement will find it a valuable account of the activities of the general merchant on the frontier. Much less colorful than the early Santa Fe traders, the sedentary general merchant of the Southwest contributed far more to the development of the area and played a more significant role in the life of the settlers than did his roving predecessors. The history of the Charles Ilfeld Company is so intimately tied with the agricultural growth of the Southwest that the author found it necessary to deal extensively

with farmers' production and marketing problems. The chapters devoted to sheep and wool production contribute substantially to our knowledge of the southwestern sheep industry. This volume also has specific interest to specialists in transportation history. The author shows clearly the impact of the railroads, the automobile, and air travel upon the business community.

The general tone of the book is appreciative. Readers with Granger and Populist sympathies will lament the author's failure to criticize company pressures upon the railroads for favored treatment. Readers who savor the history of abuses in federal land disposal must look elsewhere for critical treatment of Charles Ilfeld's difficulties with the General Land Office.

MARGARET R. BOGUE
Iowa City, Iowa

Out in History's Left Field

By Clyde C. Walton

This new column — *Out in History's Left Field* — is designed to bring to the attention of *Journal* readers books, periodical articles, records, and films about American history that do not bear directly on Illinois, Lincoln, or the Civil War. Here then is *Out in History's Left Field* — comment on books and activities related to history that have come to the attention of your editor.

The University of Nebraska Press, at Lincoln, has published lately three books dealing with western history — Herbert S. Schell, *History of South Dakota* ($5.50); Lola M. Homsher (editor), *South Pass, 1868* ($4.50); and Donald F. Danker (editor), *Man of the Plains* ($4.75). All three are attractive, not badly made, and, for a change, priced at what seems to me to be a realistic level. Publishers naturally want to make money, but even though I sympathize with their problem of high production cost, I sometimes wonder if I will ever be able to buy a book priced at less than $6.00. Many of the books that sell for $7.50, $10, $12.50, and $15 seem to me to be overpriced. But at least these three books from Nebraska are, as the real estate ads say, "priced to sell."

Schell's *History of South Dakota* compresses between the covers of one volume the exciting panorama of South Dakota history. I recommend it highly, not only to those who are interested in South Dakota but as an example of how well written a state history can be. There are good maps, a thirty-two-page pictorial section, excellent line drawings by Jack Brodie, and an adequate "Supplementary References" section. Of Illinois interest: Lincoln appointed a personal friend, Dr. William Jayne of Springfield, who was a brother-in-law of Senator Lyman Trumbull's, as territorial governor. J. B. S. Todd, a cousin of Mary Lincoln's and a onetime resident of Springfield, was extremely active and influential in early Dakota.

Miss Homsher's *South Pass, 1868* is a valuable collection of "this and that" about the western Wyoming gateway to the Far West and the gold strikes there in 1867-1868. At that time the *Chicago Tribune* sent flute-playing reporter James ("Jim") Chisholm to Wyoming to cover the gold rush, and the largest part of this book is his journal. In the "Supplementary Notes" there is a South Pass chronology, 1812-1865; Wyoming chronology, 1803-1869; a

four-page glossary of mining terms; and miscellaneous information about mining, Chisholm, and related matters. Chisholm's journal makes interesting reading and is carefully edited, but I cannot help wishing that Miss Homsher had told us a little more herself, instead of letting the original material stand alone. The book's usefulness as a source is limited since there is no index (a deplorable omission!), but you will enjoy reading *South Pass, 1868.*

Danker's *Man of the Plains* is the edited recollections of Captain Luther North, and a good, thorough job of editing Danker has done. Although North did not finish his memoirs until 1925, they are generally accurate, as the editor proves. Altogether, the book is an important and fascinating contribution to western history. The Norths (brothers Frank and Luther) and their Pawnee Indian scouts have been of interest to students for many years, and now we have Luther North's own version of his experiences on the Plains. An appendix has a selection of Luther's letters. This is a must for anyone interested in the Plains Indians.

Another in this parade of new western books is Merrill J. Mattes, *Indians, Infants and Infantry* (Denver: Fred A. Rosenstock Old West Publishing Company, 1960. $5.95). Fred Rosenstock, as many of you know, is one of the top book-sellers of our country. In a letter to me he said about this book, "I am proud to be its publisher for several reasons: first, this isn't the usual book about the Indian wars. It is, more than anything, an unvarnished, refreshingly warm human document, of personalities in time of stress, on the frontier." I agree with him: this is not the ordinary book about the Indian wars. It is the story of Andrew and Elizabeth Burt, a Regular Army major and his wife, in and around Fort Laramie and the lesser known Fort C. F. Smith in 1866-1876, those significant years in the struggle of the Plains Indians against the white man.

I have long been fascinated by the old trail area from Fort Kearney through Fort McPherson, Julesburg, Fort Laramie, and to Forts Fellerman, Reno, Phil Kearney, and C. F. Smith, and so will admit that I was predisposed to like this book. Merrill Mattes, regional historian for the National Park Service, has done a fine job of turning Mrs. Burt's reminiscent manuscript into a most readable book. There is much information here, both in the text and the notes, as well as some excellent photographs. This book tells what it was like not only for the Regular Army soldier but for his wife; it's almost as if one were there in person.

Quadrangle Books, Inc., 119 West Lake Street, Chicago, has begun a new series titled "Ameri-

cana Classics." So far, I have seen the first two. The first is Henry M. Brackenridge's *Views of Louisiana, Together with a Journal of a Voyage up the Missouri River, in 1811* ($7.00), and the second is Charles H. Crawford's *Scenes of Earlier Days in Crossing the Plains to Oregon, and Experiences of Western Life* ($5.25). The Brackenridge volume, first published in 1814, has long been recognized as one of the important early sources on the Missouri River; the Crawford volume appeared in 1898, and takes the reader from western Illinois to Oregon in 1851. Crawford's later adventures in the West complete the volume. These are reprints with nothing added to the original edition: no new preface or introduction, no appraisal of the significance of the book in American history, and, of course, no index. Nevertheless, Quadrangle Publishers are to be commended for making rare and unusual volumes available at prices the average reader can afford. I hope that they sell well and that the series continues.

The Minnesota Historical Society has published Kenneth Carley's *The Sioux Uprising of 1862* at $3.75 in the regular edition and $2.50 in paper. This is a pictorial history of the great uprising of the Sioux in Minnesota in 1862; at least 450 and perhaps as many as 800 settlers and soldiers were killed. This tragedy signaled the beginning of the Indian wars of the Plains that did not end until 1890. A good and entertaining book, *The Sioux Uprising of 1862* is well worth $3.75.

I first encountered Don Russell some ten years ago through one of his books, *103 Fights and Scrimmages.* The book was then out of print, and I wrote to the author, hoping he could help me locate a copy, but the book had done so well that even he had no spare copies. A Chicagoan and well-known student of Western Americana, Russell is the author of *The Lives and Legends of Buffalo Bill* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960. $5.95). This is not only the latest but perhaps the last word on Buffalo Bill; Don Russell's careful scholarship and thorough knowledge of the West tend to make this the definitive biography of William Cody. The judicious weighing of evidence and the careful expression of opinion make the book a valuable addition to any shelf of Americana.

News and Comment

1962 Spring Tour Held at Quincy

History can be fun, especially when the facts are mixed with folk songs and fiction as they were when the Illinois State Historical Society held its 1962 Spring Tour at Quincy on May 5 and 6. The folk songs were on the program at the Saturday banquet when Win Stracke, "Chicago's Minstrel," was the speaker, and fiction was a predominant element of a tour of the Mark Twain sites of Hannibal, Missouri.

Early arrivals were entertained Friday evening at a reception at the Governor John Wood Mansion, home of the Historical Society of Quincy and Adams County. To honor the occasion the Quincy Society held a formal opening of a new exhibit room in the basement of the old house. The most important part of this addition was, perhaps, a Civil War exhibit. Among the interesting memorabilia in the room was a gigantic weather vane (in the shape of a steam locomotive and tender) that was once used on the Quincy depot of the Burlington Railroad. Other notable antiques included a cheese press, a rug-weaving loom, and the pilot wheel from a river steamer.

Saturday morning arrivals found members of the Society's new hospitality committee presiding at a coffee urn in the Lincoln-Douglas Hotel ballroom not far from the registration desk.

George M. Irwin, president of the host organization, the Quincy and Adams County Society, presided at the first meeting of the Tour. In welcoming the group he told of the present-day development and future plans of Quincy in the fields of the arts and recreation. He then introduced Mayor Weslie Olson and Judge Robert S. Hunter, who extended greetings from the city administration and the Tri-State Civil War Round Table, respectively. In her response Mrs. Doris P. Leonard, president of the State Society, gave a brief history of the purposes of the organization.

The annual historical tour, with five buses and a dozen or so cars in the group, left the hotel at about 10:50 A.M. and took a route north along the Mississippi. They passed the Clat Adams store (last of the river boat suppliers), the old Burlington depot with its unusual tower, the George Rogers Clark monument, and the homes of General Benjamin M. Prentiss and Senator Orville H. Browning, before arriving at the Illinois Soldiers' and Sailors' Home.

From there the route led south again through the east part of the city, past the Quincy Jets' stadium, Quincy College, St. Mary's Hospital, the Women's City Club, the Art Barn, and back west to Highway 57. The entourage then went south, passing the Villa Kathrine, a home built like a Moorish castle (now a neighborhood community house), the two-mile-deep limestone quarry caves, the village of Marblehead, and across the slough area to the eastern end of the Mark Twain Bridge, where the packet *River Queen* has been permanently moored to serve as a restaurant, theater, museum, and tourist attraction.

Following luncheon aboard the *River Queen* (where there were 210 guests) Dr. Wyeth Hamlin of Hannibal began his talk on "Mark Twain of Hannibal" by pointing out Cardiff Hill, Cave Hollow, and other Tom Sawyer landmarks that could be seen from the river boat. His discussion of the fourteen years Samuel L. Clemens lived in Hannibal consisted largely of humorous excerpts from the famous author's later writings. Dr. Hamlin then identified members of the Clemens family and people in Hannibal who became characters in Twain's fiction.

From the *River Queen* one bus returned to Quincy, two headed for the Mark Twain Cave, two miles below Hannibal, and the other two stopped in the town and later went to the cave. The Hannibal visitors went through the Mark Twain Home and Museum, saw the Becky Thatcher House, the Tom and Huck Statue, the law office of Twain's father (John Marshall Clemens), and the Pilaster House (where the Clemens family once lived), with its drug store and doctor's office museum. Many also looked in at the several antique shops in the neighborhood. Visitors to the cave welcomed the fifty-two-degree temperature for the forty-five minutes required by the guided tour of that subterranean labyrinth.

After they had completed their scheduled stops, the buses returned to the hotel; and the fifty-mile tour was ended by 5:15 P.M.

At the banquet that night Barbara Moro, director of the Historical Society's Oral History Project, told of her work over the past ten months and then played brief excerpts from four of the interviews she has tape-recorded.

In the first of these Jesse Owens, star of the 1936 Olympic Games, told of an incident that happened in Berlin that year. Dr. Loyal Davis, famed neurosurgeon, related a story from his boyhood in Galesburg, Illinois, that helped to shape his future life. Artist William Schwartz revealed the difficulties he had in enrolling at the Art Institute to begin his art training. And advertising executive Fairfax M. Cone listed his likes and dislikes for the record.

Following the excerpts from the Oral History Project President Leonard introduced the speaker of the evening, Win Stracke, Chicago folk singer. Although the program listed Stracke's subject under the title "Midwest Folk Songs," he explained that few songs originated in the Midwest but that most of them were sung here. For more than an hour he played his guitar and sang (baritone) the old songs, and toward the end he used some of the "new folk songs." As an illustration of the earliest "singing commercials," he began with "Eden in the State of Illinois," which contains the line, "Move your family westward to the state of Illinois." As another early commercial he sang "Hamlin's Wizard Oil," which was used by the oldtime medicine shows.

Folk songs came to Illinois from the South and from New England, he said, and the same words for a song could be found in Mark Twain's writings and in the mountains of North Carolina. Yet twenty different versions of "Barbara Allen" have been found within a small radius in the South Carolina mountains.

Many folk songs, he pointed out (by singing the evidence), are irreverent, deal with violence, and frequently have a macabre twist at the end. The "love" songs involve the contest between marriage and "true love," with the latter winning. And in a series about the struggle between drinkers and non-drinkers the former had the edge. As examples of these he sang "Cold Water" and "Rye Whiskey."

In more recent years folk songs have moved to the cities and college campuses, and an urban type of folk song has developed. The samples he sang were about trading stamps, automation, psychiatry, and baseball.

For several of the songs Stracke asked for audience participation and was given an enthusiastic response. Near the close he had the group singing an old camp meeting favorite, "Methodist Pie," and the evening ended with the audience joining in a requested number, "Blue Tail Fly."

Speakers at the Sunday luncheon were Judge Hunter and Father Landry Genosky, each of whom presented various phases of Adams County history. The Judge discussed the early history of the area, and Father Landry supplemented this with stories of the people whose careers had highlighted that history. The luncheon was followed by another reception at the Wood Mansion for the visitors who had not been able to see the old house on Friday evening — and this closed the 1962 Spring Tour.

Spring Tour Notes: The Governor John Wood Mansion of the Historical Society of Quincy and Adams County is undoubtedly

one of the best local historical museums in the country. The Society was founded in 1896 and purchased the house in 1907.

The twelve-room frame mansion was built in 1835 by German artisans from St. Louis, who, it is said, were later paid off in land. Eight of the rooms and the basement house the exhibits, and the other four rooms are used as a residence by the curator, Mrs. Jane Bowman.

Some of the more notable exhibits are two wooden cigar store Indians, a set of sixteen keys to the Mormon temple at Nauvoo (one of the three surviving "Sun Stones" from the temple is on the lawn), two crystal chandeliers from a Mississippi River packet, a desk that was owned by John Quincy Adams, the first piano and first fire engine in Quincy, a river steamer pilot wheel, bell cord and anchor, and a number of early oil portraits.

The statue of Governor Wood at the west side of Washington Park, Quincy, is inscribed, at the base of the figure, "C G Volk sculpt. Quincy, Ill., 1883." The "C G Volk sculpt." was Cornelius Gesner Volk, an older brother of Leonard Wells Volk of Lincoln bust-and-life-mask fame. They were sons of Garrett and Elizabeth (Gesner) Volk of New York state. Incidentally, Leonard married Emily Clarissa Barlow, and Cornelius's wife was Martha L. Barlow; and both husbands claimed a relationship to Stephen A. Douglas through their wives — whether the two women were sisters is something for the genealogists to settle.

The pink dogwood trees, for which the city is noted, were in full bloom all over Quincy, and at nearly every corner one of the bus passengers would remark, "That is the biggest pink dogwood I ever saw," only to have to repeat the exclamation at the next corner. Another nature note was the egrets, flying gracefully over the Mississippi slough region.

Guides on the five buses of the Quincy Public School District 172 that were filled to the doors for the Saturday tour were Father Landry Genosky, George M. Irwin, Arthur Higgins, Carl Landrum, and William Warford.

Charles Weishaupt, curator of the State Historical Society's Robert R. McCormick Historymobile, spent two sleepless nights installing a new exhibit and driving his charge down from Chicago so that he could be ready for visitors on Saturday morning. This Civil War exhibit was prepared by the Howard Miller Studio of Chicago as a project of the Civil War Centennial Commission of Illinois. The Historymobile was parked on Maine Street in front of the Free Public Library and Reading Room on Saturday, and

on Sunday was at the rear of the Wood Mansion.

President Leonard's new hospitality committee proved a huge success. Its members — Mrs. John S. Gilster of Chester and Mrs. William Henry, Jr., of Cambridge as co-chairmen, and Mrs. William A. Pitkin of Carbondale, Mrs. Ralph Gibson of Cairo, and Mrs. Ralph E. Francis of Kankakee — were busy at the registration-coffee hour Saturday morning and again at the social hour preceding the banquet that evening.

An exhibit arranged by the Quincy Photographic Society at the J. C. Penney store consisted of about fifty enlargements of photographs from the collection of H. J. Berghofer. Most of the pictures were made around 1900 and were of Quincy streets, homes, parks, and river boats, plus several fire scenes.

Passengers on one of the buses Saturday had a bit of unscheduled excitement when the driver made a wrong turn en route from Hannibal to the Mark Twain Cave. Instead of arriving at Cave Hollow the bus wound up at a lookout point high above the Mississippi. The turnaround was so small that the driver decided it would be easier with an empty bus than with a full one, so his passengers got out and waited while he negotiated the turn — he made it.

Visitors to the *River Queen* were given a guided tour of the old packet from paddlewheel to pilot house. The *Queen,* a sternwheeler with a length of 257 feet and a 44-foot beam, was built at Jeffersonville, Indiana, in 1923. She was originally named the *Cape Girardeau* and later became the *Gordon C. Greene.*

Joseph C. Burtschi of Vandalia Dies

Joseph C. Burtschi, Vandalia civic leader and a past vice-president of the Illinois State Historical Society, died in Fayette County Hospital on April 22 at the age of eighty-seven. He had been in failing health for several years and had been a patient at the hospital following a cerebral hemorrhage on March 17.

In addition to helping to make the recent history of his hometown, Mr. Burtschi was an enthusiastic delver into its past. He was a collector of historical mementos and papers and devoted six years to compiling material for a book which was published in 1954 under the title *Documentary History of Vandalia, Illinois.* Copies of this profusely illustrated, ninety-six-page volume were presented to members of the Illinois State Historical Society attending the annual meeting in Vandalia that year. Also in 1954 he organized the Vandalia Historical Society and served as its first president —

in 1956 he was honored by being elected president emeritus.

A biographical sketch published in the *Vandalia Union* of April 24, 1962, says of Mr. Burtschi:

Starting with a bookkeeper's manual and the desire to learn, Mr. Burtschi became owner of Burtschi Bros. & Co., a firm dealing in abstracts, real estate, loans, and insurance.

He was born August 15, 1874, the son of Daniel and Franceska Woegtli Burtschi, Swiss emigrants who settled in Vandalia in 1865.

His father, who was a tailor, died in 1881, leaving six sons, of whom Mr. Burtschi was the youngest. His brothers were Oswald, Theodore, Martin, Julius L., and Daniel.

Joseph was born on the second floor of a two-story frame building across the alley west of where his present office building now stands on Gallatin Street.

As a small boy he helped his mother with work in her commercial vegetable garden just west of their home on part of the land where the Farmers and Merchants Bank now stands.

He left school in the fifth grade and went to work as a clerk in the Yost Confectionery and later in the Seaman Drug Store, where his duties were to open the place at seven in the morning and to close it at nine in the evening as well as to clerk and to perform janitor services. His salary was ten dollars a month.

At the age of 20 he entered the newly established real estate and loan office of his oldest brother, Julius, as a bookkeeper and office assistant. Their office was on the second floor of a building on the site where Joe was born.

Their business grew and prospered, and as partners they eventually built the building which now houses the firm. When his brother moved to Decatur, Joseph became sole owner and chief executive of the firm.

In 1901 he married Elizabeth Cahill who died in 1902. To this union a son, Robert Leo, was born. On June 6, 1905, he married Olive Pauline Yoos in Effingham who shared in his enterprises as a life partner. To this union three daughters were born, Regina Mary, Josephine Frances, and Mary Pauline. Mrs. Burtschi died May 18, 1959.

In telling of Mr. Burtschi's service as mayor the *Union* stated:

As a Chamber of Commerce candidate he was elected mayor for three consecutive terms (1919-1924), taking city elections out of politics and revolutionizing the bookkeeping system and management of city affairs. During his administration . . . great strides were made in the improvement of the light and water systems, the sewer system was started, and the city hall was acquired. Much paving was done also. At the close of six years he left the following administration a surplus of $20,000.

As mayor he helped to establish a public library for Vandalia and throughout his life had a keen interest in the project. He took an active part in influencing Charles A. Evans to donate a library building to Vandalia. . . .

One important service during his administration as mayor was not

achieved as chief magistrate. As a real estate agent Mr. Burtschi went to Springfield to sell the Vandalia statehouse to the State of Illinois. He sold it to Governor Lowden for $60,000. Also, as a real estate agent, he sold to the state the acreage which later became the Illinois State Penal Farm.

Two other civic projects in which Mr. Burtschi was interested were the Cemetery Association and the Evans Youth Center, and he served both organizations as a trustee for many years.

Services for Mr. Burtschi were held on Tuesday, April 24, in the Mother of Dolors Catholic Church, with Rev. Francis Gribbin officiating. Burial was in the Vandalia Catholic Cemetery. He is survived by two daughters, Josephine and Mary of Vandalia, and a son, Leo, of Centralia.

Activities of Local Historical Societies

The Aurora Historical Society is working on plans for a new program that will expand its community services. Along with its regular monthly business meetings the board of directors has been having a series of talks by members who are experts on certain of its collections. If these talks prove popular with the board, they may be made available to clubs and other organizations interested in Aurora's history.

Fred W. Schussler was re-elected president of the Aurora Society at its annual meeting in January. LeGrande T. Fowler was named treasurer to succeed Norris T. Ulness, and the following other officers were re-elected: Robert W. Barclay, first vice-president; Eleanor Plain, second vice-president; Elinor Olsen, recording secretary; and Edith Tanner, corresponding secretary.

The Batavia Historical Society is well on its way to raising a fund of $500 with which it will begin publication of a history of the area written by John Gustafson, columnist for the *Batavia Herald*. When it is completed, the Society expects to sell the book at cost.

In observance of National Library Week (April 8-14) the Batavia Society held its April 8 meeting in the Batavia Public Library at the invitation of the library board. The early history of the library (which will be ninety years old on April 8, 1963) was presented in a paper prepared by Gustafson and read by his sister Alice. Recent developments in the library's services were told by the librarian, Mrs. Carl W. Johnson. The library is now housed in a home which was built in 1878 and given to the city in 1921 by Mrs. Don Carlos Newton.

Letters about Copperhead activities in and around Bond County during the Civil War were

read at the February meeting of the Bond County Historical Society. The letters were written by Dr. and Mrs. Jacques Ravold during July and August, 1863. Mrs. Mary Jane Sandifer, who was in charge of the program, read excerpts from the article "Diary of a New York Doctor in Illinois — 1830-1831" which was published in the Spring, 1961, issue of this *Journal*. The town where the young doctor spent the winter was Greenville.

Officers of the Society, re-elected at the annual meeting, are Evelyne McCracken, president; Mrs. Charles Dawdy, first vice-president; Charles I. Watson, second vice-president; Mrs. Frank V. Davis, secretary; C. Douglas Hoiles, treasurer; and Carl Gobberdiel, museum curator.

Dr. Ray Turner, pastor of the Belvidere Presbyterian Church, was the speaker at the March meeting of the Boone County Historical Society. The title of his talk was "Man's Finest Hour." Robert Tripp was re-elected president of the Society at the annual meeting when the following officers were also named: Robert Wait, vice-president; Elizabeth W. Seegmiller, recording secretary; Clara Porter, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Lloyd Taylor, treasurer; Elsie King, historian; and Robert Steenrod, genealogist.

Isabelle S. Purnell presented a history of the schools of Mahomet Township from 1833 to 1952 at the bi-monthly meeting of the Champaign County Historical Society held in the County Courthouse Annex on March 26. Her talk was based on material which she plans to publish in book form. She drew a number of comparisons between school expenditures of a hundred years ago and now. In 1865, she said, the township had two school buildings; one of them had cost $5,000, was used for forty years, and is still standing. She also pointed out that at the time Lincoln was elected President there were only three high schools in Illinois.

Karl B. Lohmann was re-elected president, and Vereta McGuire, treasurer, at the business meeting. Other officers named were Mrs. Carl Creamer, vice-president, and Marian T. Estep, secretary.

Newest exhibit of the Chicago Historical Society is a completely furnished two-room mid-eighteenth-century French-Illinois house. The furnishings were assembled by a committee of the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America in Illinois over a three-year period and presented to the museum. Many of the articles were unavailable in the United States, but the committee was able to find them in Canada. One of these was a large two-tiered buffet, which is the principal furnishing of the living room. A necessary piece of furniture which the committee was

unable to find was a pencil-post canopy bed, so it had a reproduction made — but the search for an authentic one will be continued. In addition to tables, chairs, cabinets, and utensils, some of the articles peculiar to the French frontier period are bedsteps, praying stool, dough box, and dowry chest.

The Chicago Lawn Historical Society celebrated its silver anniversary at a meeting on May 8 in the Marquette Park (Chicago) Fieldhouse. Principal speaker on the afternoon program was Charles A. Brady, Jr., chief of staff of the Grand Army of the Republic Memorial Association of Cook County. His subject was "Our Yesteryears." Songs of yesteryear were sung by the Chicago Lawn Women's Club chorus, and refreshments were served by the Camp Fire Girls of Marquette District.

Mrs. Harold P. Dunton of Wheaton was elected president of the Du Page County Historical Society at its annual meeting to succeed Hugh G. Dugan of Hinsdale. Mrs. Dunton is a lifelong resident of Wheaton and has been a director of the Society since 1943. Other officers also elected to two-year terms were Norman F. Clarke of Hinsdale, vice-president, and Mrs. Wayne Harlan of Elmhurst, assistant secretary. Re-elected officers were Rev. Gowan Williams of Glen Ellyn, vice-president; Willis H. Milar, West Chicago, secretary; and Harold R. Klein, treasurer.

A collection of 1,800 dolls from practically every country in the world has been given to the Evanston Historical Society. The donor, Katherine Waller, a retired Evanston school librarian, spent more than thirty years compiling the collection. In addition to a great variety of nationality groups the dolls represent such historical figures as Abraham Lincoln, Henry VIII, Florence Nightingale, and the entire English royal family. The collection was exhibited during World War II under government sponsorship for a bond drive; and parts of it have been used during French, Armenian, and Chinese relief campaigns.

James T. Hickey, curator of the Lincoln Collection of the Illinois State Historical Library, spoke on the subject "Mary Lincoln, a Tragic Portrait" at the March 5 meeting of the Galena Historical Society.

In cooperation with the Galena Planning Commission the Historical Society has been conducting a building survey of every structure, both residential and business, erected in the city prior to 1900. The survey reports will list the type of architecture and the purpose for which the building was erected, as well as its history.

The Geneva Historical Society is planning to construct a museum building in Wheeler Park in the near future. Plans have been drawn up, and a beginning has been made on the fund raising. In the sixteen years of its existence the Society has collected a great amount of material on the history of Kane County, which the new museum will house.

Highlights of the pioneer history of the area were outlined by Carl Drennan at a dinner meeting of the Jefferson County Historical Society on March 26, the anniversary of the founding of the county, March 26, 1819. Material for his talk was from a history of the community which is being compiled by the Continental Historical Bureau of Mt. Vernon and will be published soon.

Jesse R. Peck, former superintendent of Knox County schools, gave a colored-slide-illustrated talk on the history of the area at the March meeting of the Knox County Historical Society held at the Galesburg Club. Peck compiled his collection of pictures during a lifetime of traveling around the county. Many of them were of structures no longer in existence.

At the annual meeting of the Society, James L. Norton, Jr., one of its founders and the first president, resigned this position and was succeeded by Willis E. Terry, Jr. Mrs. Alma Archer Fox was elected vice-president to succeed Mrs. Helen Arnold. Re-elected were Mark Lawrence, secretary, and A. H. Telford, treasurer.

Appointment of Dwight F. Bracken as custodian of the Society's museum was announced in March by Dr. Kenneth M. Calhoun, president of the McLean County Historical Society. Bracken is a retired public relations expert and an amateur historian. The museum, in the McBarnes Memorial Building, Bloomington, is open on Tuesday through Saturday from 9:30 A.M. to noon and from 12:30 to 4:30 P.M. The McLean Society has recently launched a membership drive with one thousand members as its goal.

Members of the Marshall County Historical Society were guests of President and Mrs. Ralph Wier at their farm southeast of Lacon on March 18 for a tour of their sugar maple grove and an inspection of the sugar-processing operation.

Mrs. Emily Litchfield read a paper on the "History of Toluca and Surrounding Territory" at the March 29 meeting of the Society, which was held in Toluca.

Gene McWhorter, Aledo attorney, presented a history of Mercer Township at the April 2 meeting of the Mercer County Historical

Society held in the Essley-Noble Museum. The speaker's great-great-grandfather was a member of an earlier county historical society, and some of the papers presented before that group are in the collections of the present-day museum.

Armin E. Hartman was elected president of the Monroe County Historical Society at a meeting held on March 26 at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Richard Halstead near Tipton. Other officers elected were Mrs. Helen Klein, vice-president; Elmer Mund, treasurer; and Helen Agnes Kuehner, secretary.

Members of the Ogle County Historical Society met at the Erlander Home Museum of the Swedish Historical Society in Rockford on February 26 and were given a tour of the museum and served tea. President Merle Hazelton presided at a brief business meeting at which the new Ogle County Museum was discussed. The Society has recently reprinted five hundred copies of the first history of Ogle County, which was published in 1859 by Henry R. Boss in Polo.

Two members presented the program at a potluck dinner meeting of the Palos Historical Society in the Community Center Foundation on April 4. Richard Espey spoke on writers and artists of Palos, and Catherine McQuarrie presented a history of the area for the period from 1900 to 1930.

Plans for a summer program for the Randolph County Historical Society were discussed at the March meeting held in the Sparta Public Library. Among the proposals were a fund-raising campaign to supply $1,000 for restoration of the Charter Oak School, and bus tours to historic places in Illinois and to the St. Louis Art Museum and the Transportation Museum near Kirkwood, Missouri.

The Stephenson County Historical Society had an unusual Civil War exhibit at its museum for two months ending in April. Articles for the display were loaned by residents of the county and consisted of flags, arms, musical instruments and music, uniforms, letters, and photographs. The most important of these mementos perhaps were several letters by General U. S. Grant.

"Murder and Lynching" from Times and Seasons

Because of the many persecutions they had suffered, the Mormons of Nauvoo were acutely aware of the danger and illegality of mob action. This article, published under the heading "Murder and Lynching" in the Times and Seasons *of August 16, 1841 (pages 512-13), was, no doubt, a result of that interest. For a complete story of the* Times and Seasons *see pages 117-35 of this* Journal. *The spelling and punctuation of the article are unchanged.*

We are sorry to have to record two instances which have recently transpired, where the laws have been superseded and four persons unlawfully executed.

The first of these occurrences took place in Ogle county, in this state. It seems that suspicion having rested upon a number of persons for horse thieving, &c. The citizens had warned them to quit the state. This aroused the desparadoes, who determined to be revenged, and a gentleman of the name of Campbell was shot. This occurrence aroused the entire community who made all possible search for the murderers, but did not succeed. They, however, captured several of the gang and took them to a grove to await the decision of the multitude, the following we copy from a correspondent of the Chicago Democrat.

"A more respectable assemblage of individuals could hardly be convened in the northern part of Illinois. There were ministers, doctors, lawyers, farmers, and mechanics, and amongst them men whose weight of character was a sufficient guarantee that no single step would be taken which was not justifiable and even absolutely necessary. Before this tribunal the prisoners were put upon their trial. The examination was conducted with a calmness, a gravity, and deliberateness which could not have been surpassed had their responsibility been augmented by the obligation of an oath, or if they had been controlled by the fear of the pains and penalties of perjury. After a full investigation it was unanimously decided by the company, of whom at least 250 must have been present, that John Driscall and William Driscall had conspired with others to take the life of John Campbell, and had been accessary to his murder — and that they were guilty of many other criminal offences previously committed. Whereupon it was moved that they should

be shot forthwith, and the motion was unanimously carried. At their request a minister of the gospel was provided, and an hour's respite granted for the purpose of religious conversation. At the expiration of the hour, the sentence was carried into execution, and without a struggle or a groan they yielded up their respective spirits to Him who gave them. Thus died two hardened ruffians, whose whole life had been one uninterrupted career of crime and wickedness.["]

The other circumstance took place in the state of Kentucky. . . . [Here followed a 550-word report of the lynching of two men, identified only as Maythe and Couch, who had confessed to the brutal attack of a drover named Utterback at a tavern near Williamstown, Kentucky. Although Utterback was still living, a mob of five hundred citizens broke open the doors of the jail at Williamstown, took the prisoners to the site of the attack, and there hanged them.]

However deserving the culprits may have been of the fate which they have suffered, yet every reflecting mind must at once stand appalled at such unwarrantable and unconstitutional proceedings. — If the laws are defective, why not the people rise up *en masse* and have such amendments, and alterations as will better secure the end proposed, instead of carelessly looking on until the evil arises to such a height as threatens to overwhelm the social order, and thieves and marauders practice their iniquitous and bloody designs without fear? Let the people do their duty and nip the evil in the bud, and there will be no cause for those outbreaks and flagrant violations of the constitution. We have had too much mobbing and lynching for the honor of the United States, and such proceedings are not calculated to raise her in the estimation of her best citizens or of enlightened foreigners.

If the main pillar of the constitution, viz: the Judiciary is tottering, and the citizens after delegating that power into such hands as they choose, and then again take it into their own at pleasure, and use it as their excited passions may dictate — then farewell to order and virtue, the foundation of the social compact is at once destroyed, and the glorious constitution of America — the boast of freemen and the admiration of the world will fall, and in its ruins crush its best and noblest friends.

Journal
OF THE
ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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The *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* is published by the Illinois State Historical Library for distribution to members of the Illinois State Historical Society. Individual dues are $5 a year; sustaining membership, $10 minimum; student membership, $2.50; and life membership, $50. Business firms may support the Society as sustaining members ($10 a year) or as contributing members ($25 a year). Membership is open to all.

In addition to the *Journal,* which is published four times a year, members of the Society receive publications sponsored by the Society which are printed by authority of the State of Illinois. The latter include occasional books and pamphlets on Illinois history.

The Society's annual meeting is held in October. In May the Society visits some historic area. Both the meeting and the tour are open to all members and to the public.

Manuscripts for the *Journal* should be submitted to Clyde C. Walton, Illinois State Historical Library, Centennial Building, Springfield, Illinois. The editors do not assume any responsibility for the personal opinions expressed by the authors of articles published.

The Society's purpose is to collect and preserve data relating to the history of Illinois, to disseminate knowledge of the state and the story of its citizens, and to encourage historical research.

To preserve historical data in all possible completeness many types of material are needed. These include books about Illinois or Illinoisans, family histories, state and municipal publications, reports of Illinois institutions of all kinds, manuscripts, letters, diaries, newspapers, magazines, maps, prints, and photographs. The Historical Library specializes in Lincolniana and materials related to the Civil War and has large holdings in these two categories.

Although the Historical Library purchases a few items, its funds are limited by appropriation. Therefore it must depend in large measure on the public-spirited generosity of the people of Illinois, including members of the State Historical Society.

Materials which pertain in any way to Illinois and its history will be gratefully received and carefully preserved. All gifts will be suitably acknowledged. Donors may be assured of the appreciation of future generations of Illinois citizens.

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ROY V. SCOTT

John Patterson Stelle: Agrarian Crusader from Southern Illinois

Roy V. Scott, a native of Greene County, Illinois, is a member of the history department of Mississippi State University at State College, Mississippi. He did his undergraduate work at Iowa State University and received his M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from the University of Illinois. His general field of interest is American economic history.

WHEN HISTORIANS study the agrarian uprising of the late nineteenth century, their attention invariably turns to the colorful figures who provided leadership for the crusade. Ignatius Donnelly, the Sage of Nininger; Leonidas L. Polk, dedicated North Carolinian who might well have been the Populist presidential candidate in 1892 had not death intervened; and the sincere if naive Mary E. Lease, with her "less corn and more hell" language, have all received due attention. But in addition to these well-known people, and often far more important to the ordinary farmers they led, were a number of lesser figures, largely ignored by scholars. Such a leader was John Patterson Stelle – farmer, schoolteacher, editor, reluctant politician, and confirmed agrarian agitator – whose career extended from the Civil War to World War I and touched every farm organization and political reform group to appear in southern Illinois during that span of years.

Samuel Stelle, a descendant of a family which came to the New World from France in the 1660's, was born in Mercer County, New Jersey, August 27, 1793. Like many of his contemporaries, he resolved to move westward after

the War of 1812, and in 1817 he set out on foot, carrying little more than a rifle and accompanied by a dog. Not until 1820 did he arrive in Calhoun County, Illinois, where he settled down to farming. Life no doubt was crude and the soil far from hospitable; there is, in fact, no evidence that Stelle prospered. Nevertheless, on December 20, 1827, he married Patsy Parrish, a sixteen-year-old New Yorker whose parents had moved westward a few years earlier. The sixth child born to this marriage, April 16, 1843, was given the name John Patterson Stelle.

Fate was less than generous to the family and its new son; economic problems in Calhoun County forced Samuel Stelle to move to Hamilton County in 1846, and the same year the three-year-old child suffered an attack of infantile paralysis which left his right leg partly paralyzed. As a result, he was never able to walk without a crutch or cane. Lack of educational facilities and the poverty of the family further handicapped the boy's development. Public schools did not exist in Hamilton County in the late 1840's, and the family was far too poor to send the child to a private institution. Samuel Stelle was himself uneducated, at least in the formal sense of the word, but he taught the child to read and write and aroused in him a desire for knowledge. Legend has it that at the age of twelve John traded a pair of woolen socks he had knitted for his first book, a copy of McGuffey's First Reader. Be that as it may, the boy's education received a boost in 1856, when a public school opened in the neighborhood. Stelle attended for two months, found that his handicap could be overcome, and resolved to attend the full six-month term the following year. The boy applied himself, and at the end of the term was awarded a volume on American history as a prize for scholarship. In the spring of 1860 he completed the education available in that school.

Young John Stelle soon gave indications of commendable ambition as well as considerable ability. During the sum-

mer of 1860 he worked for the publisher of the *Hamilton Sucker,* a weekly published in McLeansboro. While learning the printing trade, which he was to put to good use in later life, Stelle wrote articles which appeared in the *Sucker* and its successor, the *Hamilton Express.* Such labors, however, produced little income. In September, 1860, he applied for a teaching certificate, and after being examined by the school commissioners of Hamilton County was duly certified. A month later, after obtaining a contract with the board of the rural school which he had entered just four years earlier, he began his teaching career. The six-month term paid a salary of $120.

Stelle enjoyed teaching, but the search for a more satisfactory and remunerative livelihood continued. Further education was a prerequisite, he thought, and it pained him that on his twentieth birthday he did not possess "an English education." Consequently, on April 29, 1863, he applied for admission to Carbondale College and was accepted after passing the required entrance examinations. Lack of finances limited his college career to one three-month term. Returning to Hamilton County, he studied ambrotyping, bought a camera and supplies for $75, and prepared to develop proficiency in a second trade.[1]

The outbreak of the Civil War had provided opportunities for additional experiences. Southern Illinois contained many whose loyalty to the Union was questionable, but Stelle was intensely patriotic and devoted to the Republican Party. His physical handicap excluded any possibility

1. Much of the foregoing information comes from John P. Stelle, "A Record of the Travels, Adventures, and Incidents in the Life of John P. Stelle of Hamilton County, Illinois" (MS), which was consulted in the home of Clarence A. Stelle, East St. Louis, Ill. See also St. Louis Journal of Agriculture, *History of the Farmers' Alliance . . . and Other Farmers' Organizations* (St. Louis, 1890), 305-6; School Commissioners of Hamilton County, 1861-1899 (MSS, in the office of the County Superintendent of Schools, McLeansboro, Ill). For information concerning the newspapers of McLeansboro, see Franklin William Scott, *Newspapers and Periodicals of Illinois, 1814-1879 (Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library,* VI, Springfield, 1910), 229-30.

of active service, but his not insignificant oratorical powers were instrumental in an older brother's successful effort to raise a company. By 1864 Stelle's reputation was such that the Republicans of Hamilton County named him as their party's candidate for circuit clerk. In the election Stelle cast his first vote for Lincoln, but in his own contest he was overwhelmed by the usual Democratic majority.

The decision of the Republicans to publish a pro-Union paper in Hamilton County gave Stelle another opportunity to serve his party; he was appointed its editor. The *Union Eagle,* which was established in the spring of 1865, proclaimed itself to be "independent in all things, neutral in nothing," but it was militantly Republican in tone, and after the termination of hostilities it called for a harsh reconstruction of the defeated South and belabored Andrew Johnson for his opposition to the Radicals. Such doctrines were less than popular in southern Illinois, and the paper collapsed early in 1866.[2]

Stelle returned to teaching in the fall of that year, expecting to devote the remainder of his life to the profession. It was as a teacher that he met his future wife. Eliza E. Coker, who was born in Polk County, Tennessee, January 26, 1846, was a co-worker; they constituted the faculty of a two-room school in McLeansboro. The couple was married December 15, 1866, and the union produced ten children, nine of whom reached adulthood. Meanwhile, Stelle developed an interest in church work and emerged as a community civic leader. When he was only eighteen, he had served as a Sunday School superintendent, and there were few years during his life that he was not busily engaged in such activities. Apparently, he failed to affiliate with a church but attended and participated in the work of the one nearest at hand, whether it was Presbyterian, Baptist, or Methodist. In addition, he was an active pro-

2. *Portrait and Biographical Record of Clinton, Washington, Marion and Jefferson Counties, Illinois* (Chicago, 1894), 218-19; Scott, *Newspapers and Periodicals of Illinois,* 230; *Union Eagle,* June 8, 1865, March 15, 1866.

hibitionist and in 1874 participated in the formation of the Hamilton County Temperance Association. His desire for knowledge, so strong in his youth, continued during manhood, and he read widely and thoroughly; Shakespeare, advanced mathematics, and the Bible all interested him, and on numerous occasions in later life he showed that he could quote from such diverse sources with amazing accuracy. In moments of relaxation he wrote poetry. Although many of his verses were published (in papers he edited as well as in other outlets), Stelle considered them unworthy, but some had real merit. If nothing else, they expressed his concept of the good life.[3]

During the decade of the 1860's, Stelle acquired title to the family farm, a 120-acre tract located near Dahlgren. Although his physical handicap prevented his actual working on the property, he devoted a great deal of attention to it and to means by which productivity might be increased. The maintenance of soil fertility and all aspects of scientific agriculture interested him. He developed, in fact, the first commercial orchard in Hamilton County. In time, he became something of an agricultural educator, using the columns of the various papers he edited to carry the message of improved agriculture to his readers. As early as 1872 he urged farmers to undertake the scientific study of their enterprises. When farmers' institutes became common, he was in great demand as a lecturer in neighboring states as well as Illinois, and in 1902 he was elected president of the Hamilton County Farmers' Institute.[4]

The years following the Civil War were bitter ones for Illinois farmers; as prices for farm produce fell, agriculturists found the burden of mortgages, taxes, transportation costs, middlemen's charges, and other expenses intolerable. The

3. Letter from C. A. Stelle to author, Dec. 15, 1955; *Golden Era* (McLeansboro), April 24, 1874. For an example of Stelle's poetry, see J. A. Everitt, *The Third Power: Farmers to the Front* (4th ed., Indianapolis, 1907), 38.

4. *Progressive Farmer,* Jan. 2, 1890; Illinois Farmers' Institute, *Annual Report, 1902* (Springfield, Ill., 1902), 338; *Golden Era,* April 25, 1872.

era was one of combination, as the rise of big business and organized labor testified, so it was only logical that farmers would turn to local, regional, and national associations as a means of self-protection. Oliver H. Kelley, founder of the Grange, introduced his order into Illinois in 1868 when he established a local in Chicago, but it was not until 1872 that the society reached a position of power. Designed to promote the educational, social, and economic welfare of farmers, the Grange, officially, was a nonpartisan order, with no role in local, state, or national politics. But distressed farmers meeting together were certain to discuss those matters which troubled them, and by the early 1870's many rural residents were convinced that only by political methods could basic inequalities be corrected. Consequently, an agrarian crusade began which was to continue for a quarter of a century and was to feature the organized Grangers, Greenbackers, Alliancemen, and Populists, in turn.[5]

For John P. Stelle the appearance of agrarian discontent was both an opportunity for service and a challenge to firmly held convictions. A shrewd observer, and a farmer himself, Stelle was acutely aware of the problems facing country people, and he felt a sincere responsibility to do all in his power to aid them. At the same time, he was a confirmed agrarian fundamentalist, saying in 1872 that while the farmer was the "bone and sinew" of the nation, he was the most abused individual in society.[6] But Stelle recognized, as many a rural leader did not, that any decision to use political power to correct injustices would in all probability lead to the formation of a new party. For Stelle such a step would be a traumatic one, since it would mean the repudiation of the party of Lincoln, to which he had been fiercely loyal during the ordeal of the Civil War.

But, given his interest in every phase of agriculture and his strong sense of justice, it was inevitable that Stelle would

5. A. E. Paine, *The Granger Movement in Illinois* (*University of Illinois Studies,* Vol. I, No. 8, Urbana, Ill., 1904), 10.

6. *Golden Era,* Feb. 17, 1872.

become involved in the Granger movement and play an active role in it. In the spring of 1873 organized farmers in the area formed the Hamilton County Farmers' Association, a society which soon took on a distinct inflationary and anti-railroad tone. Almost from the outset, Stelle was a prominent participant in the group, calling for farmers to join together to protect themselves against the encroachments of corporations, monopolies, and public carriers; and by July, 1873, he was secretary of the group.[7] In reality, Stelle's political migrations had begun.

His drift from Republican principles was clearly apparent in the columns of the *Golden Era,* a weekly which Stelle, in conjunction with others, had established in McLeansboro early in 1872. At the outset the paper (with Stelle as its editor) was militantly pro-Republican. During the campaign of 1872 he was chairman of the Hamilton County Republican Committee, and in the *Golden Era* he sneered at the Liberal Republicans and denounced Horace Greeley in terms later reserved for businessmen and railroad managers. After Grant's victory Stelle hailed him as the "invincible Soldier-Statesman." But perhaps the seeds of doubt were already present in Stelle's mind; at any rate, his transformation was rapid, and by the summer of 1873 the *Golden Era* had become an outstanding exponent of the farmers' movement.[8] In addition, as early as 1872 Stelle began publication of the *Progressive Farmer,* using the plant of the *Golden Era.* The *Farmer,* which was aimed specifically at the agricultural elements of Hamilton County, tended to be pro-Granger, but its career in Hamilton County was short. In 1873 it was moved to Evansville, Indiana, where Stelle exercised at least nominal direction until it stopped publication later in the decade.[9]

7. *Ibid.,* March 28, April 11, May 16, 1873.
8. *Ibid.,* May 9, June 6, Oct. 31, Nov. 14, 1872, Oct. 16, 1873.
9. *Portrait and Biographical Record of Clinton, Washington, Marion and Jefferson Counties,* 219; Scott, *Newspapers and Periodicals of Illinois,* 230; C. A. Stelle to author, Dec. 15, 1955.

During the summer and fall of 1873 farmers in Illinois and other states along the upper Mississippi River ventured into politics to correct what they conceived to be obvious injustices. Contests on the state and congressional-district levels aroused the greatest interest, of course, but probably the ordinary farmer was at least equally concerned with problems near at hand. At any rate, proceeding on the assumption that "courthouse gangs" were corrupt and that the only difference between a dishonest senator and a dishonest county politician was that the latter could steal less, farmers throughout the Middle West nominated independents for local offices. Joining the general trend, the Hamilton County Farmers' Association met in July and selected candidates, including John P. Stelle, whose experience and ability induced the convention to name him as its nominee for the position of county superintendent of schools. Although the area was traditionally Democratic, Stelle won enough independent and Republican votes to defeat his opponent.[10]

As Stelle studied the causes of agrarian distress in the late 1870's, he, like many of his contemporaries, came to the conclusion that the fiscal policy of the federal government was largely responsible for agricultural problems. Forced deflation, he thought, could only harm the man on the farm and might well destroy those who had contracted debts in more prosperous times. Consequently, Stelle by 1876 was a thoroughgoing Greenbacker, and he worked energetically to develop the party in southern Illinois. Besides converting the *Golden Era* into a Greenback organ, he undertook a heavy speaking program and became so prominent in the movement that he was chosen a delegate to the Indianapolis convention which in May, 1876, nominated Peter Cooper for President.[11]

Despite Stelle's efforts, the Democrats regained control

10. St. Louis Journal of Agriculture, *History of the Farmers' Alliance,* 306; *Golden Era,* July 11, Aug. 15, Nov. 7, 1873.

11. *Ibid.,* Oct. 13, 1876.

of Hamilton County in 1877, and he lost his position as superintendent of schools. He had sold his interest in the *Golden Era* in the summer of 1876, but, determined to use his editorial ability in the interest of Greenbackism, he moved to Murphysboro in 1878 and established the *Industrial Tribune.* In the fall elections he made an unsuccessful campaign for the office of clerk of the Illinois Supreme Court. But interest in Greenbackism declined after 1878 as agricultural conditions made a slow recovery from the depression that had driven farmers into the Patrons of Husbandry and caused them to question seriously their traditional political allegiances. Consequently, the *Industrial Tribune* was short-lived; publication was discontinued in 1880, and Stelle returned to schoolteaching.[12]

The early years of the 1880's were favorable to farmers, at least in comparison to those of the preceding decade. In Illinois good weather combined with generally rising prices to ameliorate the farmers' economic condition. As a result, interest in agrarian organizations faded; the early 1880's, in fact, was a quiet interlude between the Granger and Alliance periods of the agrarian crusade.

But while most farmers turned their backs on agricultural organizations and concerned themselves with seeding and harvesting, there were leaders who recognized that basic abuses still existed and that concerted action was still needed. Such a leader was Milton George, owner of the *Western Rural,* a Chicago farm paper. Outraged by the extortions of railroads, George in 1880 created the Northern or National Farmers' Alliance, which quickly spread throughout the Middle West. By 1887 the upper Mississippi Valley and the northern Plains States were thoroughly organized.[13] Meanwhile, in other areas of the United States, farmers joined together to create local farm organizations which increased in strength as economic conditions deteriorated.

12. *Ibid.,* Nov. 17, 1876, Sept. 27, Nov. 8, 1878.

13. Roy V. Scott, "Milton George and the Farmers' Alliance Movement," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* XLV (June, 1958): 90-109.

Such were the Louisiana Farmers' Union and the Arkansas Agricultural Wheel; such also was the Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association.

The F.M.B.A., as it was called, traced itself to the chance meeting of five farmers at Vienna in Johnson County, Illinois, in the fall of 1883. After a controversy with a local grain buyer, these five outraged farmers decided to join together to ship their wheat directly to the St. Louis market. Shortly thereafter, other "clubs" of a similar nature appeared in the area, and, finally, the groups were united in a formal society. The organization grew slowly during its first three years and as late as 1886 included only about 2,000 members scattered through six southern Illinois counties. Greater expansion seemed likely, however, with deteriorating economic conditions and growing agrarian discontent in 1887. Consequently, the association's leaders reorganized the order; secured a charter from the state; adopted a new constitution, creating a centralized association with assemblies on three levels — local, county, and national; and appointed organizers to work for more rapid expansion of the association.[14] The changes were remarkably successful; by November, 1890, when the society was approaching its greatest strength, officials reported 4,947 local lodges with 107,785 active participants scattered through nine states. Some 88 per cent of the membership, however, was concentrated in Illinois and Indiana.[15]

Given the existence and purpose of such an organization, it was only reasonable to expect to find John P. Stelle within its ranks. The date of his affiliation is unknown, but it is safe to assume that he joined as soon as the order reached Hamilton County, probably early in 1886. He was sufficiently prominent to be appointed to the committee of

14. *St. Louis Globe-Democrat,* Dec. 27, 1887; John P. Stelle, *Uncle John's F.M.B.A. Song Book, Including a Brief History of the Order, the Funeral Ceremony, etc.* (Mt. Vernon, Ill., 1891), 1-4; Fred G. Blood, *Handbook and History of the National Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union* (Washington, 1893), 306.

15. *St. Louis Globe-Democrat,* Nov. 21, 1888.

five to secure state incorporation, and he served as one of the first trustees under the charter issued September 1, 1887. Finally, in December, 1887, he was elected secretary of the general or national assembly, a position he held until the order began the decline which terminated in its disappearance as an effective organization.[16]

Stelle's editorial experience and a controversy among the leaders of the society gave him an opportunity to play an even greater role in the order than might have been expected. Soon after the F.M.B.A. began its expansion in southern Illinois, one of the early officers established at Marion the *Binder,* a paper devoted to the interests of the society. Later, Fred G. Blood of Mt. Vernon assumed control of the paper, but under his management it deteriorated in quality and tended to oppose positions taken by the organization's new leaders. As a result, the F.M.B.A. assembly, which convened in Jefferson County in the spring of 1888, asked Stelle to establish a paper that would be more in accord with the desires of members. A trip to Marion convinced Stelle that the *Binder* was beyond repair, and he agreed. In company with Mt. Vernon businessmen, a printing plant was assembled and the first issue of the new paper, the *Progressive Farmer,* appeared on April 21, 1888. Success was almost immediate. In November, 1888, the new paper absorbed the *Binder* and was designated the official organ of the F.M.B.A. By 1891 it claimed 16,000 readers and was the most popular paper of its type in the region.[17]

As the *Progressive Farmer* grew in popularity, so did Stelle's influence and power in the entire farm organizational movement. As editor of the *Progressive Farmer,* he was in a very real sense the voice of the F.M.B.A., respected not

16. St. Louis Journal of Agriculture, *History of the Farmers' Alliance,* 306.

17. Stelle, *Song Book,* 3-6; *Portrait and Biographical Record of Clinton, Washington, Marion and Jefferson Counties,* 310-11, 482; *Albion Journal,* Jan. 3, 1889; N. A. Dunning, ed., *The Farmers' Alliance History and Agricultural Digest* (Washington, 1891), 228; *The Independent* (Murphysboro), Nov. 30, 1888; Eliza Coker Stelle's diary, Jan. 1, 1891, 1892, 1893, MSS consulted in the home of Clarence A. Stelle, East St. Louis, Ill.

only by its members but also by leaders of contemporary organizations. In addition, as secretary of the F.M.B.A., he was a powerful figure in the order, usually overshadowing the other officers. Finally, his eloquence and power as a speaker made him a central figure in all F.M.B.A. conventions after 1887, and he was a frequent participant in gatherings of the northern and southern alliances as well.

The Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association, like contemporary groups, attempted to aid farmers by providing them with a social medium, by encouraging agricultural and general education, and by formulating plans which would aid the members economically through cooperative action. In local and county meetings, farmers and their families were brought together in private homes, schoolhouses, or shady groves where at least part of the drabness and isolation of the rural home was temporarily forgotten. Similarly, educational programs consisting of speeches, debates, and question-and-answer periods served to enlighten members on such diverse topics as the tariff, fertilization, and farm home improvement. Finally, the F.M.B.A. planned and effected projects for economic cooperation that ranged in complexity from the simple contract system to the establishment of farmer-owned mills, elevators, and stores.

The F.M.B.A., however, expected to score its greatest gains for its members by the use of its political power. Its leaders held that farmers suffered from class legislation because they were disorganized, blinded by partisan passions, and led by politicians who were in reality creatures of the business interests. The F.M.B.A. hoped to provide a medium by which farmers might unite on common political goals and dispel the prejudices that caused them to follow false leaders. But the organization consistently professed its nonpartisanship, maintaining that its members should work within their old parties to reform them and make them responsive to the popular will.[18]

18. *Centralia Sentinel,* Jan. 26, 1887; *Progressive Farmer,* June 2, 1892.

John P. Stelle, both in his capacity as editor of the *Progressive Farmer* and as secretary of the general assembly of the F.M.B.A., accepted these goals and promoted them vigorously. In the columns of the paper and in innumerable speeches to groups large and small, Stelle denounced monopolies, trusts, railroads, and other forces deemed detrimental to the "toiling poor." Political rings made up of "scheming politicians" who used their positions to engage in "public thievery" received rough treatment at his hands. An agrarian fundamentalist, Stelle was critical of all "non-producers," a group that was never clearly defined but which seemed to include all city dwellers who did not work with their hands. Bankers and others who profited through the operation of the credit system were especially despised.[19] Central to Stelle's philosophy, no doubt, was his strong sense of social justice; he was disgusted with the inequalities that existed in society, and he used every tool at his disposal to arouse the underprivileged. To this end, his journalistic style was especially effective; nowhere, in fact, was the bitterness which characterized the farmers' movement better illustrated than in a letter to Benjamin Harrison which Stelle published in the *Progressive Farmer*:

> But, Mr. President Harrison, if you could pass through this great region as a common citizen, mingle with the farmers and learn their secret struggles to save their homes from the mortgage debts forced upon them, could hear the farmer husband and wife in their private and mournful consultations as to how to save the dear old home for the children whose tender years yet save them from the forboding and anxiety that robs their parents of their sleep; if you could sit down with them at their scanty meals and see upon their tables naught but the plainest food their own hands had produced, all that would command a market having gone to appease the usurer; if you could see the tired wife struggling all day to have life-sustaining meals ready for the unrewarded toilers in the fields, if you could see her bending at night over the ragged clothes of the

19. *Albion Journal,* Feb. 6, 1890; *National Economist* (Washington), Nov. 1, 1890; *Mt. Vernon Register,* Nov. 20, 1889.

loved ones, trying to make this garment more comfortable and that one more presentable, in order, at the expense of her own comfort, her health, her life, to save a little for usury — if you could do and see these, Mr. President, you would form a very different opinion of the condition of the country.[20]

To farm organizations of the late 1880's and the early 1890's the question of political methods and procedures was all-important. The F.M.B.A. made its legislative desires known by innumerable petitions and resolutions, but politicians were usually unimpressed by such expressions. Thus the nonpartisan technique showed its practical limitations, especially in the minds of those agrarian leaders who remembered the successes of the independent parties of the 1870's. To complicate matters still further, all farm organizations included members who were more than ready to move actively into the political arena. Some of them honestly believed that by so doing they could more effectively aid the common farmer, but far too many were self-seekers, hoping to use the rural societies as stepping-stones to office. Finally, the old parties refused to allow the farmers to pursue their course undisturbed. To an old party with a normal majority in any given constituency, a body of organized farmers was a distinct danger, while members of the minority often saw rural societies as forces which, if properly handled, could install them in power. Consequently, the F.M.B.A., along with other components of the Alliance movement, was hauled into politics, despite the intention of most of its leaders to avoid such entanglements.

The dangerous crosscurrents of agrarian politics were clearly apparent in southern Illinois in 1889, when a special election was held to fill a vacancy in the Nineteenth Congressional District caused by the death of Richard W. Townshend. The Democrats, confident of the loyalty of their followers, ignored the farmers and nominated a party wheelhorse, James R. Williams. The Republicans toyed

20. *Farmers' Voice* (Chicago), Oct. 19, 1889, quoting the *Progressive Farmer*.

with the idea of naming John P. Stelle in an effort to draw farm votes from Williams, but after some hesitation they selected Thomas S. Ridgway, a party regular. Such conduct outraged agrarian leaders and induced them to put Stelle forward as an independent candidate. In the ensuing contest he was overwhelmed, receiving only 2,388 votes to the victorious Williams's 14,865. Only a hard core of agrarian insurgents supported Stelle, while a majority remained loyal to their old parties.[21] If nothing else, the affair showed the almost unsurmountable difficulties facing rural candidates running on third-party tickets.

In 1890, agricultural groups throughout the Middle West ventured into politics, although in most cases the state and national bodies of the various societies refused to give their official approval. In Illinois the F.M.B.A. maintained its usual nonpartisanship, but throughout the southern part of the state, where its strength was concentrated, farmers met in irregular assemblies where they nominated independents or endorsed old party candidates for county, state legislative, and congressional posts. Successes were far less impressive than they were in the Plains States, where farmers were more desperate, but the agrarians in Illinois succeeded in electing three independents to the lower house of the state legislature. Stelle declined an independent nomination in the Nineteenth Congressional District, where he had been defeated a year before, but his role in the campaign was far from passive. Throughout the contest he maintained a running drumfire of attack on the "interests," belabored those old party candidates who he thought were attempting to use the farmers, and generally attempted to strengthen the cause of the independents.[22]

21. *Albion Journal,* Dec. 5, April 18, May 9, 16, June 6, 1889; *Portrait and Biographical Record of Clinton, Washington, Marion and Jefferson Counties,* 219.

22. Ernest L. Bogart and Charles M. Thompson, *The Industrial State, 1870-1893* (*Centennial History of Illinois,* IV, Springfield, 1920), 178-79; Roy V. Scott, "The Agrarian Movement in Illinois, 1880-1896" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois, 1957), Chap. 7.

The three victorious farmer candidates (James Cockrell of Marion County; Herman E. Taubeneck, Clark County, later national chairman of the Populist Party; and Hosea H. Moore, Wayne County) were dubbed the "Big Three" when it appeared that they held a balance of power in the Illinois General Assembly, which had as its first and most important order of business the selection of a United States senator. Although they were uninstructed, most farm spokesmen in the state approved when the "Big Three" nominated Alson J. Streeter, a Mercer County stock-feeder who had been the Union Labor candidate for President in 1888. When the expected Republican support for Streeter failed to appear, the independents temporarily shifted to a variety of other figures, including John P. Stelle. He was the independent candidate for only a few days, but the old parties left no doubt as to their opinions of him. Although Stelle was a former Republican, party regulars considered him a "trifle light" for the position. The Democrats, firmly committed to John M. Palmer, sneered at Stelle and labeled him a "mongrel," a "nonentity," and a "miserable failure." After two months of unseemly maneuvering, during which offers of bribes and threats of violence were common, two of the independents joined the Democrats under more than suspicious circumstances and sent Palmer to Washington. For agrarian organizations the results were disastrous. The F.M.B.A., which in the course of the contest had become thoroughly committed to the integrity of the "Big Three," was given such a blow that it never recovered. By March, 1893, membership had fallen to 8,000.[23]

The disaster of 1891 strengthened the resolve of those leaders, including John P. Stelle, who were coming to the opinion that only by the formation of an entirely new party could farmers hope to secure an equitable voice in government. Stelle, in reality, had been a third-party advocate

23. Bogart and Thompson, *Industrial State,* 179-82; *Western Rural* (Chicago), March 18, 1893; *Progressive Farmer,* Aug. 8, 1895.

since the 1870's, and he therefore welcomed the formation of the Populist Party, cooperating in the effort to establish it in Illinois.

In this project he seriously misjudged the temper of the farmers of the Prairie State. Less distressed than the Plains farmers and thoroughly disgusted with what they considered the treasonous conduct of the independents in the 1891 senatorial contest, Illinois farmers were in no mood to support a third party.[24]

Although Populist hopes in Illinois were slight, Stelle labored manfully for the cause, serving as a presidential elector in 1892 and converting the *Progressive Farmer* into a militant Populist organ. But his efforts were of no avail; James B. Weaver received only token support, and two years later the outlook was no brighter, in spite of a temporary alliance with Chicago's laboring men. Stelle himself suffered an overwhelming defeat in 1894 when he ran for a local office on the Populist ticket. Moreover, the circulation of the *Progressive Farmer* fell steadily as Illinois farmers rejected the Populist doctrines it presented.[25]

As early as 1891 Stelle was convinced that the silver issue was the primary reform question before farmers, and in 1892 he urged all F.M.B.A. locals to spend at least one evening discussing the matter. Consequently, it was with considerable interest that Stelle watched the rise of William Jennings Bryan, and when the Nebraskan was nominated in Chicago in 1896, Stelle believed that the farmer had at last found a true and potentially successful leader. Stelle went to the Populist convention in St. Louis in 1896, determined that his party should accept Bryan, and his was a powerful voice in achieving that result. In the course of the campaign, when Bryan visited southern Illinois, Stelle traveled with him and introduced him at whistle-stops. To the Illinois leader, Bryan's defeat marked the final victory for those he feared. The struggle of 1896, however, was a

24. Scott, "Agrarian Movement in Illinois," 278-88.
25. *Progressive Farmer,* March 21, 1895.

benchmark in Stelle's political evolution; he became a Democrat.[26]

The failure of Bryan in 1896 marked the end of Populism in southern Illinois, and the declining fortunes of the *Progressive Farmer* reflected the declining importance of farm organizations. The circulation of the paper had begun falling in 1891 and continued steadily thereafter. As early as 1895 Stelle indicated a desire to retire from editorial work, a decision clearly influenced by the financial condition of the paper. In 1896 the name of the *Progressive Farmer* was changed to the *Progressive Home* in an attempt to compensate for the loss of support among farmers, but to no avail. In February, 1897, the paper was discontinued, and Stelle retired to his home near Dahlgren. The next year he returned to teaching in the same school he had left a decade earlier to lead the F.M.B.A.[27]

Still, Stelle did not completely abandon his work with agrarian organizations. The old Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association, although given a grievous blow by the 1891 senatorial contest and by later efforts of leaders to convert it into an adjunct of the Populist Party, did not completely disappear during the late 1890's. In fact, it began something of a revival soon after the turn of the century, only to be finally submerged by newer groups. Southern Illinois was well supplied with farm organizations after 1900. In April of that year, fifty Jackson County farmers created the Farmers' Social and Economic Union at Murphysboro, while other leaders formed a third society, known as the Farmers' Relief Association. Both new groups included, and were led by, men who had been prominent in the F.M.B.A. during its period of power. The three organizations existed side by side until April, 1906, when the two newer clubs met at Pinckneyville and merged to form the Illinois Farmers' Union. Subsequently, the combined group was invited to join the Farmers' Educational and Coopera-

26. *Ibid.*, June 2, 1892; John R. Stelle to author, Nov. 8, 1955.
27. Eliza Coker Stelle's diary, Jan. 1, 1896, 1897, 1898, 1899.

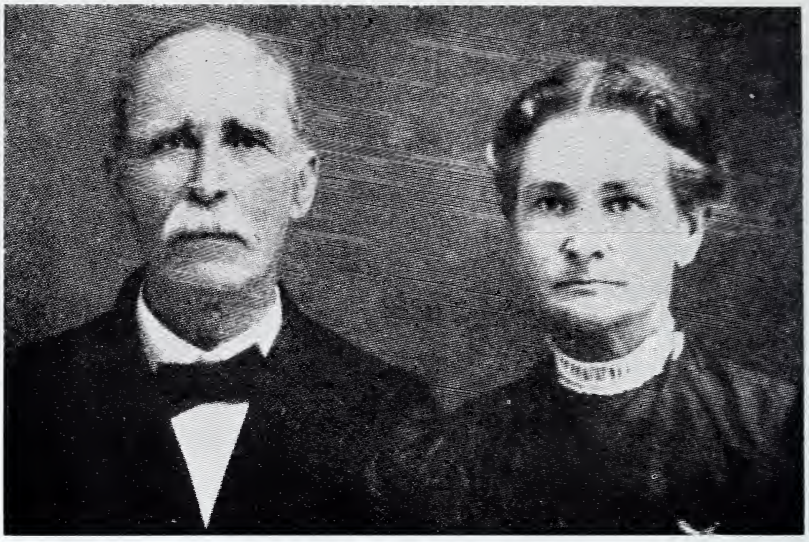
tive Union, the national association which originated in Texas in 1902. This merger, which brought a major agrarian organization into southern Illinois, was completed at a meeting in Marion on March 27, 1907.[28]

Meanwhile, the F.M.B.A. continued to exist. In 1906 John P. Stelle was president of the group, which maintained the social features of the old organization and operated a $100 funeral-benefit service for members. Official figures showed a strength of 3,007 farmers on January 1, 1907. A new constitution, providing for more effective organization and increased dues, was adopted late in 1906, with the obvious expectation of further growth. At a general assembly meeting in McLeansboro in March, 1907, Henry Dark of Warrick County, Indiana, was named to succeed Stelle as president. But in spite of these favorable signs of growth and optimism among leaders and delegates, membership began to disappear as participants turned to the newer and more powerful Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union, and shortly the F.M.B.A. faded into oblivion.[29]

For a few years Stelle was connected in an indirect way with the American Society of Equity, an organization that originated in Indianapolis in December, 1902. James A. Everitt, a seed dealer who claimed to be its founder, believed that the only means by which the farmer could protect himself against the power of big business on the one hand and the power of emerging labor unions on the other was the organization of country people into a "third force." The basic purpose of the organization was the control of marketing by united farmers so that demand might more often approach supply. In order to give unity to the association and, perhaps, to give himself an income, Everitt induced the society to adopt his paper, *Up-to-Date Farming,* as its

28. *Dahlgren Echo,* Jan. 31, Feb. 8, 1907; Carl C. Taylor, *The Farmers' Movement, 1620-1920* (New York, 1953), 350; Charles S. Barrett, *The Mission, History and Times of the Farmers' Union . . .* (Nashville, Tenn., 1909), 237-41, 323-27.

29. *Dahlgren Echo,* Jan. 3, 24, 1907.



John P. and Eliza E. Stelle, 1907

official journal. In April, 1904, Everitt employed Stelle as associate editor of the paper, a position that in January, 1909, paid a salary of $20 a week.[30] Stelle apparently limited himself to writing articles and editorials devoted to the cause of agricultural organization as envisioned by Everitt; there is no evidence to suggest that he took any part in the management of the group or that he participated in the internal controversies that removed Everitt from his leading position and induced him to establish the short-lived Farmers' Society of Equity as a rival movement.[31]

Stelle's wife died early in 1909, and this severe loss induced him to retire soon thereafter. Returning to his home near Dahlgren, the aged agrarian leader spent the remainder of his life with his children, a number of whom lived in the Dahlgren-McLeansboro area. Death came unexpectedly. December 10, 1917, as a result of a heart attack.

In evaluating the career of John P. Stelle, it is evident, of course, that in a material way he was far from being a

30. James W. Witham, *Fifty Years on the Firing Line* (Chicago, 1924), 63-64; Eliza Coker Stelle's diary, Jan. 1, 1905, 1907, 1909.

31. Theodore Saloutos and John D. Hicks, *Agricultural Discontent in the Middle West, 1900-1939* (Madison, Wis., 1951), Chap. V.

success. As an editor, he was never attached to a major newspaper or farm journal; as a politician, he held only minor office; although he was an excellent teacher, that profession unfortunately offered no easy road to affluence; and his farm was relatively small and the soil relatively poor. Measured in other terms, however, Stelle made a contribution to society that he, no doubt, considered far more important than any material gain for himself. Stelle was, above all else, an agitator, a reformer. Such men were less than popular in the late nineteenth century, but they were necessary if the United States was to adjust to the new industrial order. Stelle believed that "governments were instituted for the benefit of the governed and not . . . for the benefit of the governors";[32] he led an attack upon the prevailing concept of laissez-faire, and he struggled to promote social justice as he understood it. In every sense of the word he was a precursor of the twentieth century.

32. *Dahlgren Echo,* Dec. 13, 1917; C. A. Stelle to author, Dec. 15, 1955.

ROBERT H. FERRELL

A Dawes Diplomatic Dinner

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CHARLES GATES DAWES served as American ambassador to Great Britain from 1929 to 1932, and seems to have done passably well in that important post. He has not gone down into history as a great ambassador, perhaps because the period of his embassy was not a great era. It was plagued by the Great Depression, and many of Dawes's days were spent in dealing with problems of finance. The one large conference in which he took part, the London Naval Conference of 1930, found him grouped with six other American delegates, over whom the principal delegate, Secretary of State Henry L. Stimson, kept close supervision. Perhaps the only memory of Dawes's presence at the Court of St. James's that has persisted through the years has concerned a certain prankishness and at times undiplomatic behavior.

Before going to London, Dawes had a most distinguished career. Great-great-grandson of the William Dawes who rode in 1775 with Paul Revere and son of a Civil War general, Charles Gates Dawes grew up in Marietta, Ohio. As a young man he went west and practiced law in Lincoln, Nebraska, where he made the acquaintance of an-

other young lawyer, William Jennings Bryan, and the instructor of cadets at the local college, Second Lieutenant John J. Pershing. He moved to Chicago in the 1890's and managed McKinley's first presidential campaign in Illinois, thereby becoming comptroller of the currency at the age of thirty-two. After organizing the Central Trust Company of Chicago and making a fortune, Dawes joined the army in 1917 as a major and emerged as brigadier general in charge of all American supply activities in France. In postwar years he was the first director of the budget, and presided over the conference at London in 1924 that drew up the Dawes Plan for payment of German reparations. For his plan he received the Nobel Peace Prize. From 1925 to 1929 he served as Vice-President of the United States under President Calvin Coolidge.

By this time the General, as he was called, had achieved a considerable reputation as a breaker of precedent and protocol ("Hell and Maria," he shouted at a congressional investigating committee in 1921). He prided himself on maintaining an attitude of common sense toward all ceremonial. When, as ambassador in London, he attended a reception at Buckingham Palace, it was reported that he bowed gravely to King George V and walked on, ignoring Queen Mary, privately chuckling about it later with the remark, "Oh, I'm from the Middle West. We don't pay much attention to women over there." Dawes stories abounded, and doubtless many of them — including the above tale — were fabrications. But some of the stories were true. The following account of a dinner at the Embassy on Friday the Thirteenth of December, 1929, is from an unimpeachable source, Dawes's unpublished diary:[1]

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 15, 1929

The dinner we gave last Friday at the Embassy will live long in the memory of our guests and ourselves. Of this there is not

1. The original penciled manuscript of Dawes's diary is at the Charles Deering Library, Northwestern University. The published diary (*Journal as Ambassador to Great Britain* [New York, 1939]) was severely edited by its

General Charles G. Dawes—at times he indulged in undiplomatic behavior.

Comedian Leon Errol, the Ambassador's friend.

Photos courtesy Chicago Tribune

the least doubt. Ever since my acquaintance with Leon Errol I have had it in mind — for I rank him as one of the greatest of comedians, and to display his peculiar talent as a rather intoxicated waiter to an unsuspecting audience of feminine sticklers for conventionality at a formal dinner appealed to my imagination.

It was with great reluctance, to express it mildly — that my wife consented to this somewhat audacious enterprise, but once committed she became one of the best actors in a scene which de-

author. (In addition to deleting such episodes as the one described here, Dawes changed words and phrases at random and omitted much material, without benefit of ellipsis points or other customary evidences of change. It is probably safe to say that all of his published diaries — including those for the vice-presidential years, reparations, the World War, and the McKinley period — will have to be compared carefully with the originals.)

pended in large degree for its success upon the suppressed horror of well-bred guests entirely uninformed in advance. I selected my guests with care — of friends who enjoyed a joke, and would not spoil it by telling their wives of my reprehensible plans for their discomfiture and subsequent resuscitation. They comprised the Infanta Beatrix of Spain who was the only woman at the table who knew what was coming. The Prime Minister [J. Ramsay MacDonald] and his daughter Ishbel. The Spanish Ambassador and his wife. The French Ambassador and his daughter Mme. Fleuriau. The Japanese Ambassador and his wife. Lord and Lady Astor. General Sir Hanbury-Williams and his wife. Mr. and Mrs. Ray Atherton. Charles Francis Coe.[2] My nephew Henry. Leon became a guest only during the last course of the dinner doing in the meantime what was one of the most terrible and yet artistic jobs of waiting ever accomplished. Soccer[3] was of course his accomplice, and kept his face straight through the most trying dinner experiences of history — a task made more difficult by the open-mouthed consternation of the two ladies between whom he sat, torn between sympathy for Mrs. Dawes and suppressed resentment and wonder at my non-interference. But it must not be inferred from this that any scenes were over-done. It was a most artistic performance. Leon moved in stately — if irregular — fashion. He made no unnecessary noise and it was only gradually that the guests fully awakened to his work. It was as much what they feared was about to happen as what did happen that kept them spellbound. The men had all been posted including the servants (of the dignified English type) who had been well-rehearsed and went through their part as if nothing unusual was occurring.

Poor Soccer was soon being watched by all the ladies. There was no spoon at his place to which he called Leon's attention. He was rewarded with a dozen spoons quietly laid before him. Then as he took his first spoonful Leon removed his soup plate as well as his spoons saying they were needed in the Kitchen.

2. Charles Francis Coe was a friend from Philadelphia. Ray Atherton was Counsellor of the Embassy. General Sir Hanbury-Williams was one of the assistants at Buckingham Palace. The Japanese Ambassador was Tsuneo Matsudaira; the French Ambassador, Aimé-Joseph de Fleuriau; the Spanish Ambassador, Alfonso Merry del Val.

3. Charles Francis Coe.

As he turned to go Leon dropped one of the spoons on the floor. Laying the rest on the table again, he took one of the high candles standing over the table, and, going down on his hands and knees, recovered the spoon, placing the candle on the table again directly in front of Soccer. He was extremely polite, with just the uncertainty of physical control combined with complete self-confidence and complacency that marks the inebriated when they are obsessed with a sense of duty.

The Princess Beatrice, desiring to add to the tenseness of the situation which she greatly enjoyed, asked Leon for a glass of sherry. His reply was admirable. "We don't keep it in the house Ma-am, but maybe I can get you some outside."

It would be impossible to recount the ridiculous happenings of the dinner, but all seemed so natural under the circumstances that not one of the ladies save Madame Matsudaira, who had heard Leon speak at a recent banquet in London, suspected anything.

Finally, when toward the end Leon, carrying two plates out dropped the first one by the table, the second one as he left the room and then was followed by a burst of china in the outer room — which by the way elicited a half-suppressed feministic scream . . . — I arose, went outside and returning expressed to the guests our mortification at the occurrences of the evening. "I have told this miserable waiter," said I, "that I would give him one more chance to see if it were possible for him to serve the Prime Minister with a glass of water without accident." Even this did not disillusion quite all the feminine guests, but as Leon the center of all eyes, indescribably dignified and ridiculous, made his uneven way to MacDonald — I said "Let me introduce to you all my friend Mr. Leon Errol." He then took his seat at the table next to the Prime Minister, a chair being placed for him by a real servant. There followed a period of universal unaccustomed mirth. Lady Astor rose from her seat as if to assault me. Her sufferings all the evening for Mrs. Dawes had been well-nigh unbearable. The latter had carried out her part so well as to deceive everybody. At one time even MacDonald sitting next to her and observing her apparent distress said in an undertone, "You understand this, don't you?" Fearing that Lady Astor who sat at the table nearby might hear her, she reassured him by poking his arm.

FRED GUSTORF

Frontier Perils Told By an Early Illinois Visitor

This is the second of two extracts from the journal of a German immigrant who traveled from Philadelphia to St. Louis in the 1830's for the purpose of inspecting the German settlements in Illinois and Missouri. Frederick Julius Gustorf's reactions were typical of those of the first German intellectuals who came to this area and were unable to adjust themselves economically or emotionally to backwoods living. Part I described his visit with George Flower and the Albion colony. Herewith is Gustorf's account of his impressions of Peoria and Belleville. The complete journal will be published by the University of Missouri Press.

Part II

HAVING TAUGHT German privately at the Universities of Harvard and Yale between 1819 and 1824, and petitioned the Mayor's Court of Philadelphia for American citizenship in 1822, Frederick Julius Gustorf returned to Germany and taught English in Frankfurt am Main for ten years. His annual applications for permission to reside and teach in the Free City of Frankfurt are preserved in the archives which survived Allied bombings during World War II. Family pressures, together with disappointment over his failure to obtain an appointment to the Harvard faculty on a permanent basis, are believed to have been the reasons for his sudden departure for Europe.

His return to the United States in 1834 was followed almost immediately by an appearance in the Philadelphia court where he was naturalized on September 27. When the canals opened in the spring of 1835, Gustorf began his

journey to the Illinois-Missouri frontier by the most convenient and economical means — the canal and river boats via Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, and Louisville. En route to St. Louis, the traveler stopped for ten weeks in the English colony at Albion, Illinois, as the guest of George Flower, its founder. There he endeavored to gain practical experience in farming. There, too, he met John Benson, a young English immigrant whose family had settled on Limestone Prairie near Peoria.

The Englishman invited the German to visit him on the Limestone Prairie farm. Gustorf proceeded first to St. Louis, however, where he became incapacitated by illness and was unable to do any traveling or make any entries in his journal for several months. In April, 1836, hoping to learn more about prairie farming and also to recuperate from his illness, he left St. Louis by river boat for Peoria and a visit with the Bensons. The traveler's impressions of Peoria and the people he met there, particularly John Benson's sister, Harriet, are reproduced herewith:

Trip from St. Louis to the Illinois River

Thursday, April 28th, 1836, on board the *Bee* on the Mississippi. What a long intermission in my diary, caused by suffering. From October 25th, when I wrote last, until a few weeks ago, nothing but suffering, disease, and inconveniences of all kinds; and the most horrible of all is that since last December I have been deprived of the use of my eyes. If I had been able to write or to dictate, then I wouldn't have been so depressed mentally. Good Heavens! I would have been able to describe all kinds of experiences with human beings at the Steffelbachschen House. Now, with the use of only *one* eye, my story must be postponed until later. Enough for now. My earnest desire to leave that miserable house was granted, and I breathe more freely in the open air.

At four o'clock this morning I left St. Louis aboard the *Bee* en route to Peoria on the Illinois River and in the state of Illinois. We went upriver and, after a few hours, reached Alton on the Illinois side. I cannot understand how anybody would build a town on such a low part of the river bank. Newly constructed

warehouses are now under water, and in the street (so far I can see only one) the inhabitants are wading through water up to their knees. With this and other disadvantages, Alton tries to compete with St. Louis commercially. Since the latter is much better located, it is *ridiculous*. Near the town the river bank is rocky, and in the distance are hills. The setting sun was on the water when we reached the 100-year-old French village of Portage des Sioux, inhabited only by Frenchmen who speak their own language and follow their own traditions.

April 29 Accidents in the West are very commonplace. We had proceeded only a few miles up the Illinois River last night, and everyone was gathered for a social hour in the cabin, when a blast was heard in the engine room, followed by hysterical screaming of the women passengers. Everybody was running around and we thought the steam boiler had burst. Luckily it was only a cylinder that was damaged. One woman was injured on her chest and arm. The boats on the smaller rivers are mostly bad, but this is one of the better ones. The negligence in management of these river steamers is demonstrated by the fact that there was no yawl aboard in order to reach shore in emergencies. A few boards hastily nailed together as a raft had to serve the purpose. If the accident had happened a few hours earlier on the Mississippi, where the current in springtime is very swift, this makeshift lifeboat would have been inadequate. Here we are now, tied to a tree on the bank, waiting for another boat that will be kind enough to carry us on our way. This finally happened on the 30th and everyone scrambled on board the *Helen Mar*. What congestion aboard this steamboat! Sixty passengers added to thirty in a cabin hardly big enough for eighteen! The first spot on this river to attract my attention is the so-called Point where a few hills rise above the bottom land and a few small huts are visible. On the whole, the banks of the Illinois are flat and without charm.

Toward Noon, April 30 Where Apple Creek runs into the Illinois there is a beautiful bend, enclosed on one side by hills on which are two or three log houses. It was pretty crowded during the meal today. Seventy-five people had to be fed, and there was barely room for twenty.

Sunrise, May 1 What a night! In the narrow space of the cabin they squeezed in fifty people. The whole floor was covered with sleepers. One could hardly step forward or backward. In Naples — yes, *Naples* — I walked for a few hours last night, not

surrounded by the shadows of gray antiques illumined by Italian moonbeams, but near a dirty grocery where the new Neapolitans drank their whiskey and made rough jokes. This Naples has existed for ten years but has not developed because of its unhealthy location, as with many of these western settlements. For this reason new towns are founded all the time. As soon as you set foot on shore, someone hands you a notice of lots on sale, describing the various advantages of the location such as health, view, and other features. Now I am writing in the upper room of the helmsman from where I can see Beardstown. Here I saw the following boat schedule on the wall:

OFFICE STEAMBOAT *Helen Mar*

Trip 18 Stoppages (as far as the Illinois is navigable)

Bushnells	Beards Landing	*Rome*
Meachums	*Havana*	*Allenton*
Naples	Copper Creek	*Columbia*
Meredocia	*Pekin*	*Hennepin*
Beardstown	*Peoria*	*Ottawa*

To the pilots

Clk (Clerk)

The italicized names are towns; the others are merely landing places named for the owners who live nearby.

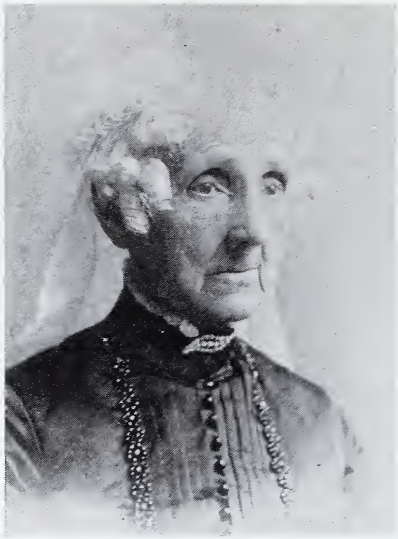
May 16 Again, fourteen days have passed in suffering! Not far from Pekin my eyes became much worse, so I had to remain in the cabin, and in this suffering condition I landed twenty-four hours later in Peoria. I was escorted to a guest house where I spent a whole day and a night. As elsewhere, I couldn't sleep because of bugs, even though I put my bedding on the floor. Not to mention the miserable food at the table where only bad pork and other undigestible stuff was served; I have learned to live without good food and clean beds. The young Englishman whose acquaintance I made in the house of Mr. Flower at Albion had invited me last summer to visit him. His invitation was helpful now in my pitiful circumstances. Therefore, I wrote him a few lines to tell him of my arrival and my condition. The next day, toward evening, he came in his wagon to pick me up. Here I am now on the farm of the Benson family, very friendly and good-hearted people. But how this family lives and what hardships they have endured during their two years in America!

Mr. Benson, the father, tempted by the brilliant descriptions of

American life in the West as related to him by a man named Stuart, left England with his wife and six children, three sons and three daughters. The children were well brought up in city life, in particular the two oldest sons and the oldest daughter, the latter an extremely charming Englishwoman whose careful education fitted her for life in the best London society. Mr. Benson left his family in Buffalo and traveled through the western states in search of a suitable site for a farm. After searching here and there, he decided to settle on a big prairie near Peoria. It was Congress land, which he acquired by claim. He then fetched his family, which, after arrival, had to live in a common log cabin until the frame house he was building for them was completed. Being a foreigner and unfamiliar with American customs, his construction of the house was a failure from the very beginning. He was sold faulty materials, and the workmanship on the house was poor. Everything had to be hauled a great distance, which was expensive. When the house was half finished, the family moved in. As the English style of living was about to begin, one hardship after another occurred. After they had lived in the house a few weeks, the father came home from hunting with a double-barreled gun in his hand. A detonation was heard, then a rolling noise on the floor near the entrance to the house. Mother and daughter hurried to the scene. Oh, horrible sight! The beloved husband, the dear father, lay on the floor, bathed in his own blood. No sound was heard from him. He had stepped into the Eternal Life. What lamentation! The desolate mother and children standing around the body of the beloved father.[1]

Later on, the mother became ill. She had never been happy there but had hidden her grief for the sake of her husband and the children. Now, in the depths of despair, the mother grew steadily worse, and no doctor was available. Finally, she decided to return with the girls to England, and they reached New York safely, having sold most of their personal property by public auction in St. Louis. In New York the mother died of a broken heart. The girls then rejoined their brothers on the farm near Peoria, their money gone. The impoverished orphans sought help from their relatives in England, but no help was offered since English pride is devoid of sympathy. At the moment they are living on the farm under the motherly care of the oldest daughter, an angel of

1. There is no suggestion here or in any other records that the elder John Benson's death was not accidental. Catastrophes of this nature were not uncommon on the frontier.



Harriet Benson Gustorf ("my Englishwoman") as she appeared a few years before her death in Chicago, June 24, 1894.

a woman, supported by a small amount of money received from England every month. Clad in deep mourning, they still cry over the loss of father and mother.

May 17 After my long illness in St. Louis, which forced me to remain indoors all winter, it would have been very stimulating for me to enjoy the wholesome country air, but the climate here is so harsh that it is impossible to stay outdoors. Here I live on the huge flat prairie, vast as the ocean. The glaring sun is nowhere interrupted by shade trees, and there are no hills to furnish protection against the wind, which blows endlessly. There is a sparse wooded area not far from here and a few clear springs, which cannot be approached by human beings because of swarms of mosquitoes and many deadly rattlesnakes. Speaking of privation, we have absolutely nothing and have to do without everything. Bad bacon, poor bread, baked in an iron kettle and only half done, some tea morning and evening. The greatest luxury is some cheese now and then and a tasteless pudding at noon. Milk is the main food for these people, and I often admire my Englishwoman when I see how she eats like a sparrow. Tea and a piece of bread, bread and a little tea! In deference to me as a guest, friend, and stranger, I see at breakfast two eggs, of which, out of politeness, I dare eat only one. Sadly I watch the second egg being carried away. And so lives not only this family, but others. How the men, who have to work in the fields under the hot sun, can live on such scanty fare the Lord only knows.

May 18 Riding in company of my Englishwoman and a

friend to Peoria.[2] This town of 1,200 inhabitants has existed for five or six years. There are only two streets — *Water* and *Main*. Other streets are found only on the projected plan of the town. The houses, with very few exceptions, are primitive and contain only one or two rooms. Already there are fifteen stores and a goodly number of taverns, of which the *Peoria Light House* is the most fashionable. Europeans think that the West is the newest of the New World and expect to find here the best manners, morals, and customs, but, to the contrary, these new frontier towns attract the excrement from the older cities of the East. Wherever a town is founded, groceries and taverns sprout like mushrooms from the ground. Lots and acreage are sold at high prices. On Jones Prairie, eight miles from town, all land except the military tracts is already in the hands of speculators. This prevents others from building homes and developing farms, and for this reason there are very few settlements to be found. To buy land at the government price, one must go upriver to Ottawa or even as far as the Fox River.

On our way back home we visited an Englishman, Captain Jones. Here I found a very brave family, and excellent tea was served. We were offered fresh meat, tasty radishes, and nicely prepared eggs — a luxurious meal indeed! The farm of this hospitable Englishman stands also in the open prairie, but it has the advantage of a few beautiful bluffs behind the house with very good bottom land between. Only a few fields are cultivated, the remainder being in their original state. His house, although small, is built in good taste. How different from those miserable log cabins of the emigrated Americans. When the tea table was set, I thought I was in London or Paris. Exquisite porcelain, beautifully polished silverware on a white tablecloth, a large, handsome samovar, and other extra things which add to the comforts of life and are indispensable to the cultured European. This Englishman lives on an income, without which he would be unable to exist. By thrift and rigid economies he can live much better here than he could in England on the same amount of money. The oldest son works very hard in the fields, which yield only potatoes and a little corn.

May 20 How differently my English family lives from those in England. The oldest daughter, about twenty-two years, cannot

2. The visitor's reluctance to mention Harriet Benson by name suggests an unwillingness at this time to acknowledge more than a casual interest in her. After returning to Philadelphia, he wrote her a letter proposing marriage and received an affirmative answer by return mail. They were

get adjusted to this kind of life. She seldom complains, but the lines of grief are plainly visible on her features. The youngest daughter, about seventeen, seems to fit better into this life of lamentation. Religion, or rather the firm belief in God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, sustains them. They are Episcopalians who believe that they will find their eventual Paradise in Heaven. In the morning, right after breakfast, a chapter from the Bible is read; then everyone kneels while the oldest son reads the prayers of the Church in a loud voice, always ending with the words: "The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost be with us all evermore, Amen."[3] But with all these prayers, which take place morning, noon, and night, the oldest daughter is not at all satisfied, and she reads during the day from the New Testament. Prayer is everything to her, and she thinks and speaks always of it. Often deep in thought, her head supported by her hand, I have heard her praying in a low voice. Frequently she would say to her sister: "Oh, that we could go to church next Sunday." You poor, good child, how modest are your desires!

The brothers go to their work in the fields, and the sisters to their domestic duties which are very primitive. Since they have no kitchen, they cook in the open where the smoke and the flame blow in their faces. When they bake bread in an iron pot, it often is not done. For their laundry they carry water a half mile to the house from the nearest spring in a ravine. In bad weather, cooking is done in the living room over a fire in the fireplace, which does not draw properly. At noon everyone gathers hungrily for a meal of bacon, bread, milk, and water in great quantity. The pudding on which the sisters worked all morning is a disappointment; nevertheless they eat it all. I always tried to comfort her by eating some of it and assuring her it was very tasty. Now the sons return to their work, and the sisters busy themselves with the cleaning of the dishes and the silver; when this is done, they start mending their brothers' trousers. So time passes toward evening, when teatime approaches and the kettle is put on the fire. Now the trials of my Englishwoman begin again. The kettle, resting on the burning wood, is frequently upset, and once the entire contents were spilled on the Turkish rug. Then sup-

married in the Benson home on Limestone Prairie in September, 1837. Frederick Julius Gustorf died at the home of his brother-in-law, John Benson, in June, 1845, survived by Harriet and three young children.

3. The younger John Benson became an ordained Episcopal minister in 1858 and was the first rector of Christ Church, Limestone, dedicated in 1845.

per is delayed, but all hands are helping. The table is not loaded with food, but rather with dishes and silverware, suggesting what might have been served had it been available. Three kinds of bread — dry, spread, and toasted — are eaten with typical English formality. Each asks the others what he can do to help. Then come prayers again, after which everyone retires, exhausted from the labors of the day. And so passes day after day.

May 21 Here on this prairie also are many settlers from Kentucky and Tennessee. Believe it or not, they are preparing to move farther to the west. An American feels no particular attachment to the soil he cultivates. He makes a few improvements and then sells his farm to the first person who comes along with a good price, and that is why they are starting to move again. Someone mentions a new piece of land, regardless of its distance, which offers the advantages of good timber and fertile soil, or perhaps the opportunity of opening a store for trading or swapping, or founding a new town, and at once he hitches the oxen to his wagon, loads his wife and children and all his belongings, and starts moving. As before, he eats his bacon, drinks his bad tea, sleeps in his wagon, until he has found a new location that suits his taste. There he builds another log cabin, and within a few days he feels already completely at home. For instance, yesterday I spoke to a few of these Americans, one of whom was heading for the headwaters of the Spoon River; another was on his way to the Fox River; a third man told me that "plenty of first-rate land and heaps of money" can be found on the Iowa River in Missouri, and he is going there. Everybody is talking of the many advantages of that place; but who can stand this nomadic life if he is not used to it from the beginning?

Sunday, May 22 Church and prayers, which words are constantly on the lips of my Englishwoman, prompted a ride to town and church this very day. A big four-wheeled wagon was loaded with chairs; my Englishwoman and I went on horseback; and so the cavalcade proceeded to town. On arrival, we were told there was no church service in the morning, but in the afternoon. We went to see a storekeeper named Grey, a deaf Irishman, where we obtained bread, butter, and a pie. For purely pious reasons, nobody cooks on Sunday. About two o'clock we went to church in a hard rain. A small, pitiful schoolhouse has to serve for this purpose. After waiting vainly for the minister to show up, I excused myself and went to see a German baker who runs a grocery. After reading an old German newspaper and listening

to the conversation of a few dilettante German farmers, I returned to my company at the schoolhouse, where preparations already were being made to go home.

On our way we again visited the hospitable Mr. Jones, where a tremendous dinner was awaiting us. I ate like a wolf, having had nothing more than bread and bacon for several days. Here we remained until sunset, and Mr. Jones helped pass the time during the pouring rain by recounting anecdotes of the Battle of Waterloo, where he had fought as a captain with the English dragoons. Going home, we tried to ford the Kickapoo River, which was swollen from the heavy rain. I and another man had to get out of the wagon and climb over a tree that had fallen into the water. Because of the darkness and my poor eyesight, I was momentarily in danger of falling into the stream, but luckily I reached the opposite bank, wet but unharmed, and we continued our journey. I worried constantly lest I break an arm or a leg on that terrible hay wagon. On our arrival at the farm, I felt dead tired from the church-going pleasure trip. The whole family was exhausted, and after saying a few prayers we all went to bed.

May 24 We sit indoors in front of a big fire in the fireplace as if it were the month of January. What climate on these huge prairies, swept by the four winds! It penetrates to the marrow of your bones. I chopped wood to warm myself. I realize now that because of the poor food my resistance is low and I am lacking in energy. I can understand why the poor immigrants, who were used to a better life, reached for the whiskey bottle as a stimulant. In this house there is not a drop of this American stimulant because my English family is too God-fearing, or they must be members of a temperance society. Pure, clear well water is what we drink here. I have to smile when at times my charming Englishwoman offers me a glass of fresh water as a special favor. The people of the West seem to agree with the poet Seume, who praises the virtues of pure water. If one visits a log cabin, a drink of water is offered at once out of a calabash, and your host says: "Stranger, will you have a *drink* of water?" In the beginning I used to ask for a *glass* of water, but everybody stared at me, so now I ask for a *drink*.

July 1 Still suffering from my eye trouble, I made up my mind several days ago to leave this big, tiresome, shapeless prairie and the nearby Peoria with its 1,200 inhabitants in order to return to St. Louis.

July 2 Here, waiting for the steamboat, I had an oppor-

tunity to observe the town and the inhabitants more closely. Never before have I seen such a rabble in beautiful clothing. Once they sight a stranger who is said to have a little money, they hunt him down and in a clandestine manner offer all kinds of real estate for sale — quarter sections, very well located, and town lots, to be subdivided at huge profits. It is like the bourse in Vienna and Frankfurt am Main, where people by the thousands carry on trade without having a dime in their pockets. People are referred to as being very rich when they have bonds or deeds to a few town lots. Just as the dear Frankfurters have nothing on their minds but metals, here in the West they talk of nothing but town lots. Out of ten people here, you can be sure that nine of them have one or more bonds or deeds for town lots in their pockets. Such lots are sold on credit, to be paid for in three, six, or twelve months. The buyer gets a bond which is exchanged for a deed when payment is made. By the time payment is due, the lot is sold to someone else at a higher price. If he cannot sell to his advantage and is unable to make payment, the owner takes off and the lot is sold at auction. Such speculation in land is not good for a newly founded, growing town, because no one would think of building houses on lots that are bought and sold in such a manner, and therefore it is not unusual to see a flagstaff in the center of all the sold lots with no buildings in sight. How else would anyone know that there is a town in that open prairie? The owner of a tavern sold it, and the lot on which it stood, for $20,000 under the condition that the buyer pay off a few hundred annually and in case he is unable to complete his payments, the property will revert to the original owner. The advantage to the seller in such a speculative transaction is obvious. The tavern owner was one of the big proprietors of lots. When the news of this particular transaction spread through the town, many people rushed to buy lots before it was too late, and therefore the tavern owner sold his remaining lots at a high price. During my stay here, people talked of nothing but town lots and the rich German from Strasbourg who bought many of them in a gigantic swindle, hoping to become rich fast.

July 3 At two o'clock in the morning I left Peoria on board the steamboat *Liberty* for St. Louis. Where the Illinois enters the Mississippi, I saw the romantically located town of Grafton. What a pleasant sight after my monotonous stay on the prairies. It is a relief to see hills and valleys again, interspersed with forests and meadows.

July 16, 1836 Belleville, seventeen miles from St. Louis. In the Hopkins boardinghouse in St. Louis, where I sought shelter after my return from Peoria, and where there were bedbugs, dirt, and inconveniences of all kinds, for which I had to pay five dollars per week, I stayed only one week; then came here to Belleville, partly to flee the pestilent summer air of St. Louis, and partly because I wanted to see with my own eyes this place which is praised highly by Frankfurters and Rhinelanders on account of its German settlement. I have been here six days in a guest house from which I can stroll in all directions through the village. Belleville is located on a nameless muddy creek, surrounded by small forests and a few prairies. It has well-built houses, several frame structures, and a courthouse with two wooden pillars. There is a haughty and arrogant German lawyer here who was a Councillor of War in Frankfurt am Main; because of his titles and the money he brought with him from Germany, he carries his nose very high and lives with his nieces and nephews in a charming brick house. There are many groceries here, and one German storekeeper who has made a great deal of money. There is also a brewery here, opened recently by two Germans, several steam and water mills, and a distillery owned by a cousin of the Councillor of War and another German.

Yesterday I went with a Mr. Rafauf, who lives in the Duden settlement in Missouri, to visit German farmers in the vicinity of Belleville. We started in the direction of the so-called Turkey Hill, and on our way we visited the home of Mr. Hilgarth, where a brave, hospitable woman served us a drink of apple wine. During our conversation she talked very praiseworthily about the German social life in Illinois, in contrast to the German social life in Missouri. However, I have my doubts about the truth of her statements if the Germans of Belleville, like the arrogant lawyer and the still operator, are considered typical examples of the German settlers in Illinois. Does she refer to well-to-do and related families who visit each other on Sundays, drinking coffee within the family circle and reminiscing about the past? If so, then she is right.

The people here own a beautiful, well furnished, roomy house surrounded by a romantically located farm. But what use are things when health is poor? The head of the family is ill with fever.

A few miles farther, over a brush-covered prairie and on the edge of a wood, we visited Baron Haxthausen. Here everything was weather-beaten and gone to seed — a true sow's life, as the

The Limestone Prairie home of Frederick Julius and Harriet Benson Gustorf as it looked in 1936, shortly before it was destroyed by fire.

doctor at St. Charles would have called it. The poor baron, here only a year, had too many irons in the fire at once; besides the farm he had a small and incomplete distillery, and now he is building a mill. He is unmarried, has four laborers and a peasant woman with children to keep house for him. We had a very poor lunch, prepared by the baron himself because his housekeeper was in bed with the fever. We then visited several other farms, German as well as American, all of them prosperous so long as the people did the work themselves and didn't have to depend upon hired help. In other words, those who are used to farm work from their youth are successful, whether they work their own farms or rent a piece of land. The wealthy Germans, to be successful farmers, must obtain experienced peasant tenants. Only in this way can they hold their own. To this group belong the families of Reis, Schott, and Engelmann. Everywhere we went on our way home, American farmers offered their land for sale at speculative prices. Speculation in land has become a pestilence throughout the West. They want ten to twenty dollars per acre, depending upon "improvements" and location. One American, who praised his soil to high Heaven, told me that "the Germans intend to have the entire county (St. Clair) to themselves, and that is the reason why we want to move on." I smiled and went on my way, but had to promise to visit him in order to admire his property.

July 18 Belleville has indeed the most beautiful wooded walks I have seen so far in Illinois. With a Doctor Tiensch, who recently began practicing medicine here, I walked along the Kas-

kaskia Road through the woods. On the left, near town, I saw a farm which belongs to Mr. Crane. It is the most beautiful farm I have seen so far as general appearance of land and buildings is concerned. The location is very romantic; the farmhouse stands on rising ground surrounded by cultivated fields, orchards, and meadows; there are six hundred fruit trees; the livestock appeared to be healthy. For the first time, I thought: this is the perfect farm life. Mr. Crane has busied himself for twenty years with the improvements on his farm, and one can see that everything is arranged efficiently and with good taste. Yesterday I met a farmer named Wolf who lives six to eight miles from here. He did not seem to be very enthusiastic over the produce from his land. If you inquire openly, one seldom gets the facts. But if one uses an indirect approach, then the situation comes to light in its true colors. For example, I said: "Since your farm is near St. Louis, a good market for your products, you must be doing very well." The answer: "Good Heavens, how mistaken you are! To drive to the market and sleep in the wagon, like the Americans, is out of the question. To spend money on a guest house is too expensive. I would rather stay on my farm and give my corn to the livestock." So I said: "Well, then you can sell the pigs you have fed and make a lot of money." He replied: "Those we eat ourselves." "Then you have a very easy life," I suggested. "A beautiful life," he exclaimed, "when you add $200 a year to the farm!" I asked him if he had been a farmer in Germany. His answer was no, and I had had enough.

July 27 In St. Louis. On the 26th I left Belleville in order to receive letters I was expecting in St. Louis. Here I want to mention that in Belleville and vicinity people talk about nothing but the founding of new towns and the purchase of town lots. A town recently founded by a lawyer near Occa or Kaskaskia was named Tamarawa; another town, founded by someone else, has the Scottish name of Waverly and the handbill advertising town lots reads as follows:

SALE OF LOTS IN THE TOWN OF WAVERLY

This town is on the main road from St. Louis to Shawneetown and on the railroad route from the latter place to Alton in Washington County, Illinois, about 15 miles west from Nashville, the seat of justice of said county, 20 miles east of Belleville, 18 southeast of Lebanon, 25 south of Carlyle, and five east of the Kaskaskia River.

WAVERLY

is situated in a high, rolling, beautiful prairie, surrounded by some of the finest groves of timber sufficient for every purpose, and inex-

haustible beds of stone coal and quarries of rock are in the vicinity. The rapidly augmenting population of the country seems to demand the location of a town at this place. The settlements now established are composed of enterprising and industrious farmers, and the certainty of the improvement of the navigation of the Kaskaskia River, with the advantages to be derived from the rail road warrants the belief that Waverly must soon become a point of considerable business and a desirable and safe place for the investment of capital. It is well known that the County of Washington can scarcely be excelled in point of fertility and agricultural advantages, and the public improvements now in contemplation will direct public attention to a section of the country that can no longer escape the attention of men of enterprise and capital.

Sale of Lots Will Take Place

on the premises on Saturday, the sixth day of August, on a credit of 6, 12, and 18 months, the purchaser giving notes with approved security.

W. Pensoneau
J. J. Chandler
S. B. Chandler

Waverly, July 23rd, 1836

I met a very original Englishman in Belleville; his name was Boscott. He seemed to be a very cultured man, having studied theology at Oxford, traveled through most of the European continent, and lived in the southern part of France, whence he came to the western states of America. Hearing of the easy and gracious way of farming in America, he made up his mind precipitately to become an American farmer. He came here two or three years ago, bought 240 acres of government land, lives in a shabby log cabin, and cultivates the soil. But now he regrets his decision for the same reasons I have mentioned previously and he is looking forward to selling his farm in order to return to southern France. There he can live as a gentleman for $300; whereas here he lives a miserable life, devoid of luxuries. He was not the type who starts something in a superficial manner; to the contrary, he went right to work with zeal and by early this year had, by himself, cultivated ninety-six acres of prairie and fenced one hundred acres. He estimates the present value of his farm as up to $2,500 but would be glad to sell for $2,000 in order to end his "life of misery and vexation of spirit." Boscott has a strong antipathy toward the Methodists because of their religious intolerance and their bad influence over those people whose lives are filled with uncertainty and superstition. He also talked of the local practice of going to court over the most trivial disputes and the

tendency of the courts to rule against strangers, particularly European immigrants. By the way, this man was very entertaining and was fond of jokes which the English people call "humor." For instance, one day Doctor Tiensch, who belongs to the long-suffering German community, passed our house dragging a small boy by the hand and looking very unhappy. Mr. Boscott said: "The doctor looks like patience on a monument and smiling at grief."

VIRGIL J. VOGEL

Indian Place Names in Illinois

Part III

MAROA (*city and township, Macon Co.*) See also TAMAROA

This name is a contraction of Tamaroa (*q.v.*), the name of one of the tribes of the Illinois confederacy.[336] The name appears on Marquette's map,[337] and other early maps.[338] Moreover, La Salle found, two leagues from the mouth of the Illinois, "a tribe called Tamaroas, or Maroas, composed of two hundred families."[339]

One writer claimed that the name of this place was artificially devised by picking letters out of a hat,[340] but W. K. Ackerman asserted that the Illinois Central railway station at this place was named for the Indian tribe.[341]

MASCOUTAH (*city and township, St. Clair Co.*)

The city was laid out April 6, 1837, under the name of Mechanicsburg, the name being changed to Mascoutah two years later.[342] This name, in various forms in different Algonquian dialects, signifies prairie, though some confusion has been caused by its similarity to the word for fire.[343] The name probably comes from the Illinois

336. Hodge, II: 682.

337 *Jesuit Relations,* LIX; Tucker, *Indian Villages of the Illinois Country,* Pl. V.

338. Franquelin's map of 1684 in *Jesuit Relations,* LXIII; D'Anville map of 1749 in Margry, *Découvertes,* III, and Audet, *Premiers Établissements,* 8-9.

339. *Discoveries and Voyages* (1901 ed.), 119. Cf. *Marouas,* De Gannes in Pease and Werner, eds., *French Foundations,* 342.

340. Richmond, *Centennial History of Decatur and Macon County,* 95-97.

341. Ackerman, *Early Illinois Railroads,* 147.

342. Brink, McDonough & Co., *History of St. Clair County, Illinois* . . . (Philadelphia, 1881), 353.

343. *Muskuta,* plain or meadow; *Moskehtu,* a meadow (Eliot), cited in Ruttenber, "Indian Names in the Valley of Hudson's River," 19; *Mush-koodeh,* meadow or prairie (Chippewa), J. H. Trumbull, "On Some Alleged Specimens of Indian Onomatopoeia," *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences,* Vol. II, Pt. I (New Haven, 1870), p. 181; *Maskută',* fire (Fox), William Jones, "Some Principles of Algonquian Word-Formation," *American Anthropologist,* VI (n.s., 1904): 409; *Mak u' tewi,* a Peoria word, according to Albert Gatschet, meant "prairie; really means land without trees," and, moreover, *Machcoutench,* "the original French name," properly

language, though one folk tale derives it from a German expression.[344]

MASCOUTEN (*Mascouten Reserve, Forest Preserve District of Cook Co.*)

MUSCOOTEN (*Muscooten Bay, in Illinois River, Cass Co.*)

Mascouten Reserve, in Cook County, is not known to have been occupied by the Mascouten or any other tribe in historic times, and is merely named in memory of that tribe.[345]

Muscooten Bay, or Lake, as it is sometimes called, an arm of the Illinois River near Beardstown, is said to be so named because La Salle found a camp of that tribe there, and according to tradition, it was the site of a battle between the Mascouten and the Miami.[346] Some Mascouten and Kickapoo wintered in the "bad lands" (Mauvaise Terre) some miles to the south in 1776-1777.[347] Charlevoix wrote that between the Sangamon and Macoupin rivers "and at an equal distance from either, is a marsh called *Machoutin,* precisely half way between Pimiteouy [Peoria] and the Mississippi."[348] This may have been Muscooten Bay, which is midway between Peoria and the Mississippi, though not half way between the Sangamon and Macoupin. At the latter point is Mauvaise Terre (bad land) Creek, which has borne this name since the eighteenth century,[349] a name believed by some to be a translation from *Machoutin* or some other Indian name.[350]

There is controversy over the identity of the Mascouten and the meaning of their name. By some they have been held to be a tribe, once residing in Wisconsin, which was absorbed by the Sauk, Fox,

signified "*terre déchargée d'arbres.*" "Peoria Lexicon," citing J. A. Cuoq, *Lexique de la Langue Algonquine* (Montreal, 1886), 195. The Kansas Historical Society gives "beautiful prairie" or "prairie of fire" as the meaning of Muscotah, Kan. "Origin of City Names," *Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society,* VII (1901-1902): 482. See also MASCOUTEN, MUSCOOTEN.

344. Jesse W. Harris, "Illinois Place-name Lore," *Midwest Folklore,* IV (Winter, 1954): 217.

345. Information, the late John B. Morrill, landscape architect, Forest Preserve District of Cook County, 1956.

346. Palmer, "Historic Landmarks," 57; others say the Iroquois were involved. Conger and Hull, *Illinois River Valley,* I: 61.

347. Edward Gay Mason, "Philippe de Rocheblave and Rocheblave Papers . . .," in *Early Illinois* (Fergus Historical Series, No. 34, Chicago, 1890), 261.

348. *Journal* (1923 ed.), II: 200.

349. C. W. Alvord, ed., *Cahokia Records, 1778-1790* (*Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library,* II, Springfield, 1907), 246-47.

350. Louise Kellogg in Charlevoix, *Journal* (1923 ed.), II: 200n.; John G. Henderson, *Early History of the "Sangamon Country"* . . . (Davenport, Ia., 1873), 12.

and Kickapoo in the eighteenth century.[351] The name has been used as a generic term covering a dozen tribes,[352] and has also been applied to the Iowa,[353] the Potawatomi,[354] and the Illinois,[355] though there is evidence of their separate identity as late as 1792.[356]

Father Marquette in 1673 wrote of the "Maskoutens" or "fire" nation,"[357] but Father Claude Dablon declared, "The Fire Nation is erroneously so called, its correct name being Maskoutenech, which means 'a treeless country.' "[358] Charlevoix, concurring, said the name of the "Mascoutins" properly signified an "open country" and that "Fire Nation" was an erroneous interpretation.[359]

MAUNIE (*village, White Co.*) See also MONEE

This name has been thought to be a corruption of Monee (*q.v.*),[360] the name of a Potawatomi or Ottawa woman. However, other origins may be possible. A Potawatomi who placed his mark on treaties at Vincennes, October 16, 1826, is listed as "Maunis,"[361] which by error, or by French pronunciation, could be rendered as Maunie. Also, Maunee is said to be Winnebago for "walk."[362]

351. Hodge, I: 810-12.
352. *Jesuit Relations,* LXI: 149.
353. Hennepin, *A New Discovery* (1903 ed.), I: 166.
354. W. D. Strong, *The Indian Tribes of the Chicago Region . . .* (Chicago, 1938), 16; Alanson Skinner, *The Mascoutens or Prairie Potawatomi Indians* (Bulletin of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, Vol. VI, 3 parts, Milwaukee, 1926-1927).
355. Swanton, *Indian Tribes of North America,* 254; Chouteau, "Notes on the Indians," 3.
356. George Morgan in 1788 mentioned an "old Muscouton Fort above St. Vincents [Vincennes]." Alvord, ed., *Kaskaskia Records,* 470; two Mascouten signed a treaty, the only one in which the tribal name appears, with Gen. Rufus Putnam at Vincennes, Sept. 27, 1792. It was never ratified by the Senate. Rowena Buell, comp., *The Memoirs of Rufus Putnam and Certain Official Papers and Correspondence* (Boston, 1903), 335-66. Cf. also Schoolcraft, *The American Indians,* 386, and *Indian Tribes,* IV: 244-45; Beckwith, *Illinois and Indiana Indians,* 117 ff., and *Vermilion County,* 158-59; Marest, in *Jesuit Relations,* LXVI: 237.
357. *Jesuit Relations,* LIX: 100-101.
358. *Ibid.,* LV: 198-99.
359. Charlevoix, *History of New France,* III: 183-84, *Journal* (1923 ed.), I: 271. Cf. *Muscatine,* Ia., called "fire island," in "Major William Williams Journal of a Trip to Iowa in 1849," 282; *Muscoda,* Wis., from Chippewa *mashkodeng,* "prairie," Verwyst, "Geographical Names Having a Chippewa Origin," 394.
360. Ackerman, *Early Illinois Railroads,* 123.
361. Kappler, II: 275. On the Treaty of Oct. 27, 1832, his name appears as Mo-nis. *Ibid.,* 374.
362. Caleb Atwater, *The Indians of the Northwest,* 77.

MAZON (*river, village, and township, Grundy Co.; Mazonia, village, Grundy Co.*)

These places perpetuate the Illinois Indian name of a species of nettle or wild hemp which grew along the river and which was used by Indians and pioneers for making twine and coarse thread.[363] The region below the confluence of the Kankakee and Des Plaines rivers, according to La Salle, was called *Massane* by the Indians, "because of the great quantity of hemp that grows there."[364] The De Gannes memoir speaks of *"la Riviere de Massane, qui veut dire la fillasse."*[365]

This name is probably also the source of the name of *Nettle Creek,* north of the Illinois River in La Salle and Kendall counties, and *Nettle Creek Township* in Grundy County.[366]

MENDOTA (*city, La Salle Co.*)

It is said that the name was given to this place because two railroads[367] cross at this point, from which one writer has claimed that the name signifies "the junction of two trails."[368] A county history declares that the place was formerly known as "The Junction" and that the Burlington Railroad gave to it the name Mendota, meaning "connection" or "joined to."[369] Elsewhere it is claimed that the name was suggested by a Mr. O. N. Adams, the owner of the Mendota Furnace, near Galena.[370]

Stephen Riggs's *Dakota Dictionary* gives *mdote* as the mouth or

363. Newton Bateman and Paul Selby, eds., *Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois and History of Grundy County* (Chicago, 1914), II: 715. Cf. Indian names for nettle: *Ma thàh nah* (Shawnee), Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes,* II: 475; *Muzam', Muh zon, Mus zan* (three Chippewa dialects), *ibid.,* 464; *Muz-zha-nusk-koan* (Ojibway, pl.), Tanner, *Narrative of Captivity,* 297.

364. Edward G. Mason, *Chapters from Illinois History* (Chicago, 1901), 137.

365. Pease and Werner, eds., *French Foundations,* 306.

366. Mazon River was called *Nettle or Mazon Cr.* on the Peck and Messinger map of 1836, and *Nettle Creek* on the Bradford and Goodrich maps of 1838 and 1846. It was called *Massane* by St. Cosme in 1699 (Quaife, *Development of Chicago,* 42), *Rainy Island River* by S. R. Brown in 1817 (*Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society,* Vol. II, No. 4 [Jan., 1910], pp. 77-79), *Massons R.* on A. Finley's map of Illinois, 1831, *Masons R.* on S. A. Mitchell's map of Illinois, 1837, and *Massan* in Ninian W. Edwards's *History of Illinois,* 98.

367. The Illinois Central, completed to Mendota in 1853, and the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy, which reached that point in Nov., 1854.

368. Gannett, *Origin of Place Names* (1905 ed.), 205.

369. H. F. Kett & Co., pub., *The Past and Present of La Salle County, Illinois* (Chicago, 1877), 314.

370. Baldwin, *La Salle County,* 479.

junction of one river with another, and *mendota* as the outlet of a lake (cf. Lake Mendota, Madison, Wisconsin[371]) and says the latter is

a name commonly applied to the country about Fort Snelling, or mouth of the Saint Peter's [Minnesota River, site of present Minneapolis-St. Paul]; also the name appropriated to the establishment of the Fur Company at the junction of the rivers, written Mendota.[372]

MENOMINEE (*village and township; Menominee Station; Menominee Slough; Big Menominee River, Little Menominee River; all in Jo Daviess Co.*)

The village is said to be named for the Menominee Indians,[373] a tribe now residing near Shawano, Wisconsin, whose name signifies "wild rice" people.[374] By the French, who found them near Green Bay, they were called *folles avoines* (wild oats Indians) because they harvested wild rice for food.[375]

While these Indians were not permanent residents of this state, William Keating found "Menomone, or wild rice eaters" camping in northern Illinois during his journey across the state in 1823.[376] Possibly the name in this state may commemorate the slaughter, by the Menominee and Sioux in 1830, of a small party of Fox Indians who were on their way from Dubuque to Prairie du Chien, or the vengeance slaying of some twenty-five Menominee by the Sauk and Foxes near Fort Crawford the next year.[377]

MERRIMAC (*village, Monroe Co.*) See also MARAMECH

So named because it is situated on the Mississippi opposite the mouth of the Meramec River of Missouri. Both names are variations of a word found in several Algonquian languages, which in this region

371. Alanson Skinner derived this from Potawatomi *Mäntóka,* "Snake-maker," because to his Potawatomi informants it *looked like* one of their words, whereas the meaning should have been sought in the Winnebago, a Siouan language. *The Mascoutens or Prairie Potawatomi,* Pt. III, p. 399.

372. Riggs, *Dakota-English Dictionary,* 313-14.

373. Ackerman, *Early Illinois Railroads,* 139.

374. Literally, good grain or seed people. Hodge, I: 842. "We were reduced to a few fish and some wild rice, or *menomon.*" John Long, *ca.* 1782, in Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels,* II: 155.

375. Dablon in *Jesuit Relations,* LV: 103; Marquette in *ibid.,* LIX: 93-95; Cadillac, in Quaife, ed., *Western Country,* 65; Charlevoix, *Journal* (1923 ed.), I: 270.

376. *Narrative* (1825 ed.), I: 177.

377. William T. Hagan, *The Sac and Fox Indians* (Norman, Okla., 1958), 117, 134-35.

signifies "catfish."[378] The Meramec River of Missouri has been mentioned in accounts since 1700 as Miaramigoua, Malameek, Marameg, Maralvec, Marramack, Marameck (or fish) River, Merameg, Merrimack, and Maramec.[379]

METAMORA (*village, Woodford Co.*)

This name, which occurs also in Michigan, Indiana, and Ohio, was coined by John Augustus Stone, a playwright, as the name for King Philip or Metacomet, in a popular play called "Metamora; or, the Last of the Wampanoags," which was first performed in 1829.[380] The name of the Illinois village was changed from Hanover at the suggestion of Mrs. Peter Willard, a woman of literary interests who was the wife of a prominent merchant.[381]

Metamora, wrote C. Henry Smith, has no meaning, being an "artificial rendering, for oratorical effect of the real name Metacomet."[382] The first portion of the name is, however, from the actual name of the Wampanoag chieftain, and may signify "heart."[383]

378. *Ma-no-maig* (Chippewa), "catfish," Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes,* I: 418; *Miyā'ni-mek* (Potawatomi), "catfish," Gailland, "English-Potawatomi Dictionary," 114; equivalent also to the Fox word for catfish, information, 1957, Chief Edward Davenport, Tama, Ia.; *Manumaig* (*Myänamäk,* "catfish"), a gens of the Chippewa, Hodge, I: 803; also *Marameg, ibid.,* 804; *Maramech* (Peoria), "catfish," Dunn, *True Indian Stories,* 275; *Muramik,* La Potherie, 1753, referring to Miami band on Kalamazoo River, in Blair, ed., *Indian Tribes,* I: 85; "Monimack, or Cat Fish," a Chippewa, signed treaty, July 4, 1805, Kappler, II: 78; "Winemege or Catfish" (Potawatomi), Forsyth, in Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers,* XVI: 261. See also MARAMECH, WINNEMAC, and YELLOW HEAD, herein.

379. In order given: Gravier, 1700, *Jesuit Relations,* LXV: 105; "Raudot" memoir in W. Vernon Kinietz, *The Indians of the Western Great Lakes, 1615-1760* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1940), 383; Charlevoix, *Journal* (1923 ed.), II: 202; La Gautrais, 1754, T. C. Pease and E. Jenison, eds., *Illinois on the Eve of the Seven Years' War, 1747-1755* (*Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library,* XXIX, Springfield, 1940), 897; McCarty, 1780, Alvord, ed., *Cahokia Records,* 619; Chouteau, 1816, "Notes on the Indians," 6; James, 1823, *Account of Long's Expedition,* I: 54; Lewis C. Beck, *Gazetteer of the States of Illinois and Missouri* . . . (Albany, N.Y., 1823), 290; H. S. Tanner, 1841, map of Illinois and Missouri.

380. Letter of C. Henry Smith in *Michigan History,* XXVIII (April-June, 1944): 319-20; Roy H. Pearce, *The Savages of America* . . . (Baltimore, 1953), 176.

381. Smith, *Metamora,* 8.

382. *Ibid.,* 16.

383. *Metah,* "heart." Trumbull, *Natick Dictionary,* 56. There are two incorrect explanations of Metamora: "mulberry bush," Boyd, *Indian Local Names,* 68, and alleged Spanish origin in Harold W. Bentley, *A Dictionary of Spanish Terms in English* . . . (New York, 1932), 227.

Metacom, Metacomet, or King Philip was the second son of the venerable New England chief Massasoit, or Osamequin. He became chief of his tribe in 1662, and was killed August 12, 1676, after leading the unsuccessful rebellion known as King Philip's War.[384]

METTAWA (*village, Lake Co.*)

Citizens of Mettawa (near Half Day), pop. 117, voted to incorporate on January 23, 1960.[385] The name, which is that of a lesser Potawatomi chief who had a village in the vicinity in the 1830's, was suggested by James Getz, president of the village and also of the Lake County Historical Society, who writes, "Since Mettawa's village was located about a mile south of our new village, it seemed appropriate to take his name as we wanted to avoid such appellations as Groves, Manors, Woods, etc."[386]

Getz was co-editor, with Paul M. Angle, of C. C. Benton's journal of 1833, which contains perhaps the only historical description of Mettawa and his village. "Me-tay-way," Benton wrote, was then about sixty years of age, and his village was situated near the junction of Des Plaines River and "a little creek."[387] [Indian Creek, *q.v.*] J. J. Halsey declared that "Metama" was at the Indian village of "Half Day" (*q.v.*) when Captain Daniel Wright of Rutland, Vermont, Lake County's first white settler, arrived in that vicinity, and that the chief and his Indians helped him build his house in June, 1834.[388]

Mettawa's name appears in various treaties with the United States as Meetenwa, May-ten-way, Me-tai-was, Mo-tie-ah, and Me-tai-way.[389] The name may be identical with that of Metea, another Potawatomi chief, who died at Fort Wayne in 1827. William Jones, defining Metea, wrote: "prob. for *Metawä,* 'he sulks.' "[390]

384. Hodge, I: 690-91.

385. *Chicago Tribune,* Jan. 25, 1960. A well-known resident of the new village is former governor Adlai E. Stevenson.

386. Letter to author, Feb. 6, 1960.

387. Colbee Chamberlain Benton, *A Visitor to Chicago in Indian Days: "Journal to the 'Far-off West'"* (Paul M. Angle and James R. Getz, eds., Chicago, 1957), 81-83.

388. *Lake County,* 31.

389. Kappler, *Treaties,* II: 168-69, 201, 296, 369, 404.

390. Hodge, I: 850. Keating met and described Metea in 1823, giving the bizarre translation of his name as "kiss me." *Narrative* (1825 ed.), I: 85 ff. Cf. *Mattawa,* tributary of Ottawa River and a town in Nipissing district of Ontario: "It is an Algonquin Indian word meaning 'where a river falls into another body of water,' 'a confluence.' This word is also written Matawa, Mattawan and Mattawin. It is a place name in both Champlain and St. Maurice, Quebec." Armstrong, *Place Names in Canada,* 183.

MIAMI (*Miami Woods, Forest Preserve District of Cook Co.*)

Named for the Algonquian tribe, closely related to the Illinois, which had a village at Chicago shortly before 1700,[391] and which later occupied Indiana, where about three hundred of their descendants still live near Peru.[392]

The name of the Miami, according to John Swanton,

is thought to be derived from the Chippewa word Omaumeg, signifying "people on the peninsula," but according to their own traditions, it came from the word for pigeon. The name used by themselves . . . is Twightwees, derived from the cry of a crane.[393]

Jacob P. Dunn believed Miami came from the Delaware We-mi-a-mik, by which they were designated in the Walum Olum,[394] and that this term signified "all beavers" or, figuratively, "all friends."[395] Miami has also been called the Ottawa word for "mother."[396]

The name of the Maumee River in Ohio is a variant form of this word,[397] but the Miami names in Florida are from a language indigenous to that peninsula.[398]

MICHIGAN (*Lake Michigan, Cook and Lake Cos.*)

All creditable evidence supports the view of La Salle's associate, Father Louis Hennepin, who declared of the lake, "It is call'd by the *Miami's, Mischigonong,* that is, *The Great Lake.*"[399] The late Milo M. Quaife believed that Lake Michigan was "Lake of the Stinking Water" to certain Indians living near it.[400] He based his view on a single letter (of 1648) by the Jesuit Paul Ragueneau, who apparently confused Lake Michigan with Green Bay, the Bay des Puants (Stinkers, Winnebagoes, *q.v.*).[401] The Indians could scarcely have given such an inappropriate name to Lake Michigan, nor does such a designation appear on any known map.

391. Gravier, *Jesuit Relations,* LXV: 53 ff.; Charlevoix, *Journal* (1923 ed.), I: 271-72.

392. Strong, *Indian Tribes of the Chicago Region,* 13-15; Hodge, I: 852-55; *Chicago Tribune,* Jan. 8, 1957.

393. *Indian Tribes of North America,* 237. Hodge, II: 85 (*supra*) lists eighty-six names by which the Miami have been designated.

394. *Walam Olum*: "The sacred tribal chronicle of the Lenape or Delawares." Mooney in Hodge, II: 898-99.

395. Dunn, "Indiana Geographical Nomenclature," 111-12, *Indiana and Indianans,* I: 92.

396. Mrs. M. E. Martin, "Origin of Ohio Place Names," *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly,* XIV (July, 1905): 276.

397. Dunn, "Indiana Geographical Nomenclature," 111-12.

398. Swanton, *Indian Tribes of North America,* 239.

399. *A New Discovery* (1903 ed.), I: 62.

400. Quaife, *Lake Michigan* (Indianapolis, 1944), 22-23.

401. *Jesuit Relations,* XXXIII: 148-51. See WINNEBAGO.

Another incorrect view advanced by both Governor John Reynolds and Henry R. Schoolcraft is that the lake was named for the Michigamea, a branch of the Illinois confederacy.[402] That tribe, however, was first discovered by Marquette in Arkansas,[403] and ethnologists believe they received their name from their residence at Big Lake, Arkansas, from which they moved north to their supposed Illinois kinsmen about 1700.[404]

J. H. Trumbull believed that Michigan might be a compromise between the name for great lake and *mitchikan,* a fence or weir erected in the water for catching fish.[405] Elsewhere Henry D. Thoreau observed that his Penobscot guide in the Maine woods spoke of "michigan fish," which were "soft and stinking fish and good for nothing."[406]

Against the above views is arrayed, in addition to Hennepin, the following evidence:

Great lake, *Kitchigamink.* Lahontan, *New Voyages,* II: 739.

Metchagami8i—grand lac [great lake]. Le Boulanger, "French-Illinois Dictionary," 108, 160.

Kitchigami, "large lake." Baraga, *Otchipwe Dictionary,* Pt. II, p. 248. From Algonquin "gan" (lake) and Chippewa "mitcha" (great). Paraphrased from H. B. Staples, "Origin of the Names of the States of the Union." *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society,* I (n.s., 1880-1881): 374-75.

"*-gān-* is another collective term for place. It refers especially to enclosures." William Jones, "Some Principles of Algonquin Word Formation," 410-11.

"Michigan is probably of Odjibwa origin; compounded of mi-shi, meaning 'great,' and sa-gie-gan, meaning 'lake.'" J. P. Dunn, *True Indian Stories,* 282. Cf. Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes,* IV: 379. Cf. also Lake *Michigamme,* Iron County, Michigan. Baraga calls *sâgaigan* a small or inland lake. *Otchipwe Dictionary,* Pt. I, p. 153.

402. Reynolds, *Pioneer History,* 6; Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes,* V: 191. Elsewhere Schoolcraft said Michigan was from Ojibway words for great lake. *The American Indians,* 303. The early French did for a time, however, call Lake Michigan "Lake of the Illinois." *Jesuit Relations,* LXVI: 283.

403. *Ibid.,* LIX: 151-53.

404. Hodge, I: 856. Charlevoix called the Michigamea a "foreign nation" adopted by the Kaskaskia. *Journal* (1923 ed.), II: 212-13.

405. J. Hammond Trumbull, "The Composition of Indian Geographical Names, Illustrated from the Algonkin Languages," *Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society,* II (1870): 17. Cf. *Mitchikan,* "fence, enclosure, hedge." Baraga, *Otchipwe Dictionary,* Pt. II, p. 254.

406. Thoreau, *The Maine Woods* (New York, 1950), 124, 338.

MINEOLA (*Mineola Bay, in Fox Lake, Lake Co.*)

This name could be of either Siouan, Algonquian, or composite origin. Other places called *Mineola* are on New York's Long Island, and in Georgia, Iowa, Kansas, and Texas, though some of these may be transfers from elsewhere. *Minneola* is the name of a village in Minnesota, defined as Siouan for "much water."[407] Mineola, Long Island, is not listed in the standard works on Indian place names of New York (Beauchamp, Ruttenber, Tooker), but Charles J. McDermott, of Westhampton Beach, Long Island, publisher of the *Long Island Forum,* wrote:

In the May, 1945, issue of the *Forum,* E. V. Baldwin, then historian of Mineola Village wrote "Official Records show that Mineola was originally known as 'Meneola-Gemaka' the name having its derivation from the language of the Algonquin tribe of Indians[408] and meaning a 'pleasant and palisaded village.' The Gemaka part of the name is said to have meant Jamaica[409] some miles away but in the days of foot and horse travel when Indians roamed Long Island, was possibly considered almost next door to 'Meneola.' "[410]

Mine or *mene,* an Algonquian word signifying "good," and having numerous applications,[411] may be the root of the first part of this name. The meaning of *ola* is harder to trace; if this is a manufactured, bilingual word, it could be from *oga,* an Iroquoian place suffix,[412] or *ola,* said to be Muskhogean for prairie.[413] If Mineola is monolingual, the *ola* may be equivalent to Natick *ayeu,* referring to location,[414] or Delaware *e-lah,* "warrior."[415]

MINONK (*city and township, Woodford Co.*)

This name appears on Thevenot's map of 1681 as the designation of a village or region in the vicinity of Arkansas River.[416] There is every

407. Upham, *Minnesota Geographic Names,* 207. He gives the same meaning for *Minneota* (pp. 262, 313) which may be due to dialectical differences. See NIOTA, herein.

408. The local tribe was the Canarsie, a branch of the Delaware stock. Paul Bailey, *The Thirteen Tribes of Long Island* (Amityville, N. Y., 1956), 5.

409. Equivalent to Delaware *tamaqua,* "beaver." See JAMAICA, herein.

410. Letter to Barbara Graymont, Jan. 25, 1960.

411. See MANHATTAN, MENOMINEE, MINONK, MINOOKA, and MOMENCE, herein.

412. Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes,* III: 507, IV: 383.

413. *Ibid.,* III: 509, in defining Tuscola, Ala., as "warrior prairie." In Byington's *Choctaw Dictionary, -ola* is defined as a ring or sound, as made by a bell (p. 303).

414. Trumbull, *Natick Dictionary,* 20.

415. Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes,* II: 472.

416. *Jesuit Relations,* LIX: 154.

indication, however, that the name is Algonquian. Haines thought the word meant either "an island" or "good place," "good locality," "good land," deriving from "*minno,* 'good,' and *onk,* a local termination, meaning in some Indian dialects 'place or locality.' "[417]

In Wisconsin are a town named Minong (Washburn County) and a lake called Minonk (Vilas County). According to Verwyst, the name is pronounced "mee-nong" in Chippewa and means "a good high place."[418] Early maps and accounts also give the name "Minong," "Minoncq," or variations thereof, to Isle Royale in Lake Superior.[419]

MINOOKA (*village, Grundy Co.*)

One derivation offered by Haines for this name was *minoake,* signifying "good earth."[420] The name of Minooka, Pennsylvania, has been called a corruption of the Delaware *mino,* "good," and *aki,* "land."[421] The name in our state could be a transfer from Pennsylvania, or it could be of local origin, related to Minocqua (Wisconsin)[422] and Man-na-wah-kee (good land), an older form of Milwaukee,[423] probably from the Potawatomi.

MISSISSIPPI (*Mississippi River; Mississippi Palisades State Park; Mississippi Township, Jersey Co.*)

Contrary to widespread popular belief, the name of the stream which drains America's heartland does not mean "father of waters,"[424] but rather it is Algonquian, or, precisely, Illiniwek, for "great river." An early authority is the Jesuit priest Julien Binneteau, who wrote in January, 1699, "I have recently been with the Tamarois, to visit a band of them on the bank of one of the largest rivers in the world

417. Haines, *The American Indian,* 753.

418. Verwyst, "Geographical Names Having a Chippewa Origin," 393.

419. Tucker, *Indian Villages of the Illinois Country,* Pls. I, II, III, VII, XI-B; Raudot memoir in Kinietz, *Indians of Western Great Lakes,* 375.

420. He also suggested the improbable *manukeke,* "maple forest." *The American Indian,* 753.

421. C. Hale Sipe, *Supplement to the First Edition of the Indian Wars of Pennsylvania . . .* (Harrisburg, Pa., 1931), 11. Cf. *Minaki* (Manitoba, Canada), "beautiful country." Armstrong, *Place Names in Canada,* 193. *Me-no au-ky,* "good land," Blackbird, *History of the Ottawa,* 113.

422. Kuhm, citing H. S. Smith, gives a different explanation for Minocqua. "Indian Place-Names in Wisconsin," 68.

423. Marston, in Blair, ed., *Indian Tribes,* II: 146; Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes,* III: 509; Henry W. Bleyer, "Derivation of the Name Milwaukee," *Magazine of Western History,* VI (Sept., 1887): 509-11.

424. This romantic but hoary canard is durable. Perhaps its earliest appearance is in Lewis Beck's *Gazetteer* (1823), 12. A recent repetition of it is in Walter Havighurst's *Upper Mississippi: A Wilderness Saga* (New York, 1944), 3, 11.

which, for this reason, we call the Missisipi or 'the great river.' "[425] Father Hennepin, concurring, declared that the river of the Illinois "falls into that of *Meschasipi;* that is, in the Language of the *Illinois,* the *Great River.*"[426]

Several erroneous interpretations are in print,[427] but the testimony of the best authorities seems conclusive:

"Mississipi, in the Illinois language, means 'the great river.' " Father Vivier in *Jesuit Relations,* LXIX: 207.

"*Mitchi-sipi,* 'the great river.' " *Jesuit Relations,* LI: 289.

"Mitchisipi ou grand Riviere." Thevenot's map of 1681.

"*Riviere, sipi8i; mitchisipi8i . . . grande r.* [great river]. Le Boulanger, "French-Illinois Dictionary," 160.

"Great river." Charlevoix, *History of New France,* III: 178-79 n.

Mississippi "is derived from two Chippewa words, *Meesee,* great, and *Seepee,* river." [Lewis Cass] "Indians of North America," *North American Review,* No. L (January, 1826), p. 70.

"Mississippi is almost pure Sac, signifying not Father of Waters, but *great* or *large water.* Ma-sha, *great,* and *se-po,* a stream." William Hamilton, "Names Derived from Indian Languages," 74.

"In the Musquakie tongue, *Messa sepo,* great river." Horace M. Rebok (Indian agent), "The Last of the Mus-Qua-Kies," *Iowa Historical Record,* XVII (July, 1901): 305.

"Great-great . . . river." Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes,* IV: 379.

See also Edwin James's *Account of Long's Expedition,* II: 243, for discussion of various names of this river.

MISSOURI (*Missouri Creek, Little Missouri Creek, Adams and Schuyler Cos.; Missouri Township, Brown Co.; Missouri Sister Island, Alexander Co.*)

425. *Jesuit Relations,* LXV: 71.

426. *A New Discovery* (1923 ed.), I: 141.

427. E.g., "great water" or "gathering in of all the waters." Haines, *The American Indian,* 753; repeated in Gannett, *Origin of Place Names* (1905 ed.), 210, and Lawrence, "State Names," 129. Possible source of this error is that master of contradiction Henry R. Schoolcraft: ". . . the term Mississippi appears to imply not simply a great river, but a mass of congregated waters." *Indian Tribes,* IV: 379. Earlier, attacking false etymologies of Heckewelder and Gallatin, he said "great river" was the correct definition. *Notes on the Iroquois,* 175. Another nonsense view, "the whole river," was advanced in 1880 by H. B. Staples, "Names of the States," 381. Schoolcraft (*supra*) traced this view to Gallatin and dismissed it. J. G. E. Heckwelder mistakenly derived Mississippi from the Delaware terms for "river of fish." *Indian Nations,* 47, an error since copied by at least one writer. For further discussion, see James's *Account of Long's Expedition,* II: 243; George Earlie Shankle, *State Names . . .* (New York, 1938), 76; and Botkin, *Mississippi River Folklore,* 513-14.

These places probably take their names from the state of Missouri or the Missouri River; at least there is no evidence to the contrary. The origin and history of the name Missouri, with discussion of various interpretations of it, has been previously published by this writer,[428] so here is only brief treatment.

When Father Jacques Marquette saw the Missouri River in 1673, he called it by the Illinois name Pekitanoui, which signifies "muddy."[429] Charlevoix, in 1721, was among the first to call the river by its present name: "I have just seen a Missourian woman who tells me, her nation is the first we meet with in going up the Missouri; from whence we have given it this name, on account of our not knowing its proper appellation."[430]

It was long assumed that Missouri was the equivalent, in some Siouan dialect, for the Algonquian term for muddy, while others thought it was Algonquian for big muddy.[431] The various Indian tribes living on this river have in fact given it names describing its turbidity, a characteristic observed by most early travelers. But the name it now bears is that of the Missouri tribe of Indians, and beyond all question the river was named for them. The name by which this tribe has become known is from the language of the Illinois, and literally signifies "boat or canoe" and by extension, "canoe (or boat) people." The oldest evidence is Le Boulanger's "French-Illinois Dictionary," which has this listing (p. 58): *"Canot, misso8ri"* [boat, missouri]. Gatschet's "Peoria Lexicon" gives *missúli* for "canoe" (Cf. Missoula, Montana) and *emässulia* or *amessúlia* (plural, *emässuliáki*) as "boatmen, canoemen."[432]

Further testimony was given by Thomas Forsyth, the Indian agent:

> Missouri is a corruption of the Indian word Miss-sou-ly *i.e.,* Canoe, and that nation of Indians were called by other Indians (particularly

428. Vogel, "The Origin and Meaning of 'Missouri,'" *Bulletin of the Missouri Historical Society,* XVI (April, 1960): 213-22.

429. *Jesuit Relations,* LIX: 141; definition by Marest, *ibid.,* LXVI: 225. Cf. PECATONICA, herein.

430. *Journal* (1923 ed.), II: 208.

431. Louise Kellogg, *ibid.,* 193 n.; Staples, "Names of the States," 376-77; J. A. C. Leland, "Indian Names in Missouri," *Names,* I (Dec., 1953): 269; Shankle, *State Names,* 77; Stanley Vestal, *The Missouri* (New York, 1945), 70.

432. Gatschet's "Lexicon of the Peoria Language," Bureau of American Ethnology, Cat. No. 2481, consists of five boxes containing about 5,625 cards, not numbered but alphabetically arranged by Peoria term. Linguistically, its vocabulary is closer to Miami than to the eighteenth-century Illinois vocabulary in Le Boulanger's "French-Illinois Dictionary."

the Nin-ne-ways [Illinois] Indians who resided east of the Mississippi) Miss-sou-li-au, that is "Canoe men," as they done [*sic*] all their travelling in canoes.[433]

MOCCASIN (*Moccasin Creek, Little Moccasin Creek; Moccasin, village and township, all in Effingham Co.*)

The village and township were named for Moccasin Creek, which was named by the pioneer Griffin Tipsword because he found moccasin tracks in the sand along its banks.[434]

Moccasin is an Algonquian word for the soft skin shoe worn by the Indians. According to A. F. Chamberlain, the word was adopted into English from one of the eastern Algonquian dialects in Virginia or New England, though the central Algonquian terms for it are nearly identical.[435]

MODOC (*village, Randolph Co.*)

Now famous among archaeologists for the nearby Modoc Rock Shelter, which contained Indian artifacts dating from 8000 B.C.,[436] this village takes its name from the Modoc, an Indian tribe (related to the Klamath) which resided in southern Oregon and northern California. A band of them made the name famous when, under the leadership of Kintpuash, or Captain Jack, they held off United States troops for months while resisting transfer to a reservation in 1872-1873.[437]

There is little support for Jacob P. Dunn's view that the name Modoc was conferred by the hostile Shasta tribe, and signified "enemies."[438] Livingston Farrand believed the name meant "southerners," from *Móatokni,* in their own language.[439] In agreement was the late A. L. Kroeber, the best authority on California Indians and their names, who flatly stated that

Modoc is the Klamath and Modoc word for "south" or "southern," written by Gatschet moatok, in another grammatical form moatokni, applied by the Klamath to their southern enemies the Modoc, though

433. Blair, ed., *Indian Tribes,* I: 171n. See also John P. Harrington, "Our State Names," *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, 1954* (Washington, 1955), 382.

434. William Henry Perrin, ed., *History of Effingham County, Illinois* (Chicago, 1883), Pt. I, p. 271.

435. "Algonkian Words," 248; Hodge, I: 916.

436. Thorne Deuel, *The Modoc Shelter* (Illinois State Museum, Report of Investigations, No. 7, Springfield, 1957).

437. Hodge, I: 918-19.

438. *True Indian Stories,* 284.

439. Hodge, I: 918.

never, in such application, without the addition of a word like maklaks, "people."[440]

MOHAWK (*country club and unincorporated residential district, both in Du Page Co.*)

The Mohawk were the most easterly tribe of the Iroquois confederacy, occupying the region about Albany, New York. The most certain thing about their name is that it comes from an Algonquian language. Hewitt believed it was "cognate with the Narraganset *Mohowaùuck,* 'they eat (animate) things,' hence 'man eaters.' "[441] Cotton Mather in 1699 wrote of the "Maqua's," "part of those Terrible Cannibals to the Westward."[442] Schoolcraft believed the tribal name was Mohegan for a bear, from Mauqua; but others, he added, traced the name "to mok wa, a wolf, and awki, a country."[443] They have indeed been called both "Wolf Nation"[444] and "Bear People,"[445] but their own name, *Kaniengehaga,* signified "people of the place of flint."[446]

MOKENA (*village, Will Co.*)

This is apparently a variation of the Algonquian word for turtle.[447] (Cf. MACKINAW.) Etienne de Carheil came close to this form in 1702 when he wrote the name of Mackinac Island as Michili*makina* (great turtle; italics added).[448] Later, Father Jean Mermet also used the -makina ending.[449] In the early nineteenth century the Mackinaw River of Illinois was called "Little Makina" by at least one traveler.[450]

MOMENCE (*city and township, Kankakee Co.*)

It is said that the city of Momence is named for Isadore Momence,

440. Kroeber, "California Place Names of Indian Origin," *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology,* Vol. XII, No. 2 (June 15, 1916), pp. 47-48.

441. Hodge, I: 921. Cf. A. F. Chamberlain: "they eat them." "Algonkian Words," 249.

442. "Decennium Luctuosum," in Charles H. Lincoln, ed., *Narratives of the Indian Wars, 1675-1699* (New York, 1952), 249.

443. *Notes on the Iroquois,* 44.

444. Simon Le Moine, S.J., 1654, in Edna Kenton, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* . . . (1 vol. selections, New York, 1954), 251-53.

445. Huron name. Gatschet, cited in Hodge, I: 926.

446. Hewitt, in Hodge, I: 921. Cf. *Ga-ne-ă'-ga-o-no',* "people possessors of the flint." Morgan, *League of the Iroquois,* I, flyleaf.

447. Haines, *The American Indian,* 754.

448. *Jesuit Relations,* LXV: 189. For a different interpretation of Mackinac, see *Mishini Makinago* in Baraga's *Otchipwe Dictionary,* Pt. II, p. 248.

449. *Jesuit Relations,* LXVI: 51.

450. Edwards, *History of Illinois,* 96.

half-breed husband of Jeneir, daughter of a Potawatomi chief.[451] (See GANEER.) A local writer, Burt E. Burroughs, believed Momence had a brother named Moness who was the husband of Janeir, or Jeneir.[452] There seems, however, to be no convincing evidence that Moness and Momence are not simply spelling variations for the name of one person. The Treaty of Tippecanoe, October 27, 1832, awarded lands to three brothers identified as sons of Pier Moran: Saw-grets, Isadore Momence, and Wa-be-ga. "Moness" was not mentioned.[453]

The meaning of Momence is difficult to ascertain. The terminal *ce* may be a diminutive suffix. Represented in the remaining portion may be *min, mon,* or *meen,* the last of which was described by John Tanner as "a word that enters into the composition of almost all which are used as the names of fruits or berries of any kind."[454]

MONEE (*village and township, Will Co.*)

Monee represents the Indian pronunciation of the name of Marie Lefevre (1783-1866), Indian wife of Joseph Bailly, or Bailey, a French trader.[455] It is said that the Indians, lacking an *r* sound, called her Maunee, which the treaty clerks wrote as Monee.[456] According to some, Monee was a Potawatomi, and she was so listed in the Treaty of Tippecanoe, October 20, 1832, which awarded two sections of land "for the five daughters of Mo-nee, by her last husband, Joseph Bailey." The treaty with the Potawatomi of Indiana and Michigan signed October 27, 1832, granted one section of land to "the wife of Joe Baily" and gave her Indian name as "Tou-se-qua."[457] According to her granddaughter, Frances R. Howe, however, she was of the Ottawa tribe.[458] Intermingling of members of these tribes was common.

Although two writers agree on the origin of the name Monee, it is worth noting that a Potawatomi named No-nee signed the Chicago Treaty of September 26, 1833.[459]

MONTEZUMA (*village and township, Pike Co.*)

For Montezuma II (1466-1520), surnamed Xocoyotzin (Sho-coy-ot-

451. Federal Writers' Project, *Illinois Guide,* 400.
452. Burroughs, *Tales of an Old Border Town,* 36-45.
453. Kappler, II: 373. Cf. "Momina" (possibly John Baptiste Momance), mentioned in a petition of Sept. 30, 1814. Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers,* XVII: 30.
454. *Narrative of Captivity,* 296.
455. For whom Baileytown, Porter County, Indiana, is named.
456. Haines, *The American Indian,* 755.
457. Kappler, II: 353, 374.
458. Ackerman, *Early Illinois Railroads,* 120-23.
459. Kappler, II: 404.

se'en) "The Younger,"[460] Aztec "emperor" of Mexico. The name has been converted to Spanish orthography and is elsewhere given as Moctezuma, Motecuhzoma, Moctheuzuma, Montecusumai, and other forms.

Mario Pei believed that the name of Montezuma was a Spanish contraction of *Montecuzumai Thuicamina,* signifying "when the chief is angry, he shoots to heaven."[461] A. H. Verrill claimed, however, that in Aztec pictographs the name of Montezuma was indicated by a mousetrap (*montli*), an eagle (*quauhtli*), a lancet (*zo*), and a hand (*maitl*), the first syllable of each word giving the name Mon-quau-zo-ma.[462]

MOOSE (*Mooseheart, a settlement, Mooseheart Lake, in Kane Co.; Moose Island, in Des Plaines River near Channahon, Will Co.*)

Mooseheart is a colony for children and widows of members of the fraternal organization Loyal Order of Moose, and the lake of the same name is on the colony grounds. The reason for the name Moose Island is obscure, since there is no record of the residence of this animal in Illinois.

The word moose is derived from one of the eastern Algonquian dialects,[463] and means "he strips or eats off," referring to the animal's habit of eating the young bark and twigs of trees.[464] Abnaki *moos,* Narraganset *móos,* wrote Trumbull, "was a 'smoother' or trimmer of trees, so called from his manner of feeding."[465]

MOUND (*Mound City, Mounds — village and township, all of Pulaski Co.; Mound Township, McDonough Co.; Mound Station, a village, Brown Co.; Cahokia Mounds State Park* (q.v.), *Madison Co.; Indian Mounds Park, in Quincy, Adams Co.; Lone Tree Indian Mound, Calhoun Co.; Dickson Mounds*

460. G. C. Vaillant, *The Aztecs of Mexico* (Garden City, N. Y., 1941), 104.

461. Mario Pei, *The Story of Language* (Philadelphia, 1949), 389. Cf. "the archer of the skies." Henry Bamford Parkes, *A History of Mexico* (Boston, 1938), 20.

462. *Old Civilizations of the New World* (New York, 1942), 164.

463. Bartlett attributed the word to the Abnaki, and found it first mentioned in 1642. *Dictionary of Americanisms,* 278.

464. Chamberlain, "Algonkian Words," 249; Hodge, I: 940.

465. "Indian Onomatopeia," 282. Cf. "*Moosum* — he cuts smooth." Trumbull's *Natick Dictionary,* 67; "Moose-men, wood-eaters the word is said to mean." Thoreau, *The Maine Woods,* 76. Cf. Ojibway *Mooze* or *Moonce,* Cree *Moon-swah,* Tanner, *Narrative of Captivity,* 302; Saginaw Bay Chippewa *Moose,* Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes,* II: 464; Ottawa *Mooz,* vocabulary in Blackbird's *History of the Ottawa,* 121.

State Park, Ogden Mounds, and Tampico Mounds, all in Fulton Co.)

The word mound is of course not Indian, but the places listed above either are Indian mounds or are named for nearby Indian mounds. Not listed are places named for natural hills, often incorrectly called mounds. We follow Bartlett's definition of a mound as "an artificial elevation made of earth of various forms for sepulchral and other purposes."[466]

Illinois has hundreds of Indian mounds, representing several prehistoric cultures. Some of the most important mound sites, including burial and ceremonial mounds, belong to the Middle Mississippi Culture which flourished from 1000-1500 A.D., though effigy mounds date prior to 500 A.D.[467]

Cahokia Mounds, previously described, include the world's largest prehistoric earthwork.[468] Dickson Mounds Park includes a museum containing over two hundred skeletons in their original postures, together with numerous artifacts.[469] Mound City, and Mounds village and township, in Pulaski County, are named for Indian mounds in the vicinity.[470]

MOWEAQUA (*village and township, Shelby Co.*)

According to Ackerman, this name was taken from Flat Branch, a small stream (one and a half miles south of the Illinois Central railroad station) that was called Moawequa by the Indians,[471] signifying either weeping woman or wolf woman.[472] Elijah Haines spelled the name

466. *Dictionary of Americanisms,* 282.

467. Deuel, *American Indian Ways of Life,* 34-41; Paul S. Martin, George I. Quimby, and Donald Collier, *Indians before Columbus* . . . (Chicago, 1947), 285-96; Dr. John F. Snyder, "The Effigy Mounds," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society,* Vol. I, No. 4 (Jan., 1909), pp. 31-40; "Sepulchral and Memorial Mounds," *ibid.,* Vol. II, No. 1 (April, 1909), pp. 47-65; "Temple or Domiciliary Mounds," *ibid.,* No. 2 (July, 1909), pp. 71-92.

468. A. R. Crook, *The Origin of the Cahokia Mounds* (Springfield, 1922).

469. For this and other Fulton County mounds, see Fay-Cooper Cole and Thorne Deuel, *Rediscovering Illinois* . . . (Chicago, 1937), 120-31 and Pl. XV.

470. Ackerman, *Early Illinois Railroads,* 138.

471. *Ibid.,* 148.

472. Flat Branch arises in northwest Shelby County and flows into the South Fork of the Sangamon, which was also once known as Moawequa, according to Ackerman. The John Melish map (1818) shows *Wolf's Head R.* as a tributary of the Sangamon [see Tucker, *Indian Villages of the Illinois Country,* Pl. XLVI]; and Lewis Beck (*Gazetteer* [1823], 141) called the South Fork *Mowawequa Creek.*

mowaequa, found it in both Ojibway and Potawatomi, and claimed that it meant "weeping woman" in the first and "wolf woman" in the latter.[473] (Cf. *Mowe,* "wolf," and *kwe,* "woman." Gailland's "English-Potawatomi Dictionary," 424-25.)

The reason this name was given to the stream is unknown, though on the east fork of "Mowawequa Creek," wrote Lewis Beck, was a large rock "to which the natives pay homage, by depositing on it some tobacco or paint."[474] Among possible name sources is "Chief Wolf," mentioned at Peoria in 1779,[475] and "Le Loup" (The Wolf), a Piankashaw chief, recorded in 1752.[476] Noweaqua, sometimes called Woweaqua, was the name of a seventeenth-century Mohegan Indian, the brother of chief Uncas.[477]

MUNCIE (*village, Vermilion Co.*)

This name, like that of Muncie, Indiana, and several other places, comes from a branch of the Lenni-Lenape or Delaware tribe, known as Munsees or Monseys, a portion of whom moved from Pennsylvania to Indiana in the eighteenth century and had a village on the site of Muncie, Indiana.[478] They were never resident in Illinois, though they crossed the state en route to their present homes in Oklahoma and Wisconsin.

Hewitt believed the name came from min-asin-ink, signifying "at the place where the stones are gathered together."[479] Brinton and Anthony gave the same definition, taken from min-achsin-ink, otherwise given in short as minsi.[480] By others the name has been rendered "people of the stony country."[481] Because they were of the wolf clan, their name has also been mistakenly supposed to signify "wolf."[482]

NAAUSAY (*township, Kendall Co.*)

A local minister wrote in 1877 that this township was named for

473. *The American Indian,* 576.
474. *Gazetteer* (1823), 141.
475. Alvord, ed., *Cahokia Records,* 31.
476. Pease and Jenison, eds., *Illinois on the Eve of the Seven Years' War,* 434.
477. Samuel G. Drake, *The Aboriginal Races of North America . . .* (15th ed., New York, 1881), 161.
478. Dunn, "Indiana Geographical Nomenclature," 112.
479. Hodge, I: 957.
480. *Lenâpé-English Dictionary,* 85. *Asin* (Delaware *achsin*) is one of several similar Algonquian words for stone. (Cf. SINISSIPPI, ROCK RIVER.) The syllable *ink,* according to Cass, is a Delaware suffix for the prepositions at, in, or on. "Indians of North America," 29. See also Ruttenber, "Indian Names in the Valley of Hudson's River," 221-22.
481. Dunn, "Indiana Geographical Nomenclature," 112.
482. Haines, *The American Indian,* 756.

an old Indian village on Aux Sable Creek, and that the name signified "head waters of the Aux Sable."[483] That it cannot signify, for most of the evidence seems to indicate that this term refers to a point of land, and may be related to Nashua (*q.v.*). Schoolcraft gives *Na-au-shi* and *Nai ah' shé* as Ojibway terms for "point."[484] Haines said Naausay was the name of a Potawatomi chief, translated as "he is walking and praying," but added that it might be from Ojibway "nayaushe," meaning "a point of land."[485]

"Nah-o-sah, (the Walker)" is listed as one of the Potawatomi signers of the Treaty of Council Bluffs, June 5, 1846,[486] though the definition is not supported by Gailland's dictionary.[487] Earlier, the Treaty of Prairie du Chien, July 29, 1829, listed a chief "Naw-geh-say," probably the same man, and awarded 960 acres of land "at the old village of Nay-ou-say, at or near the source of the Riviere aux Sables of the Illinois," to Waish-kee-shaw, a Potawatomi woman.[488] The name "Nay-o-say — his mark," is also appended to the Chicago Treaty of September 26, 1833.[489]

NACHUSA (*village, Lee Co.*)

This name also appears in "Nachusa House," the leading hotel in the city of Dixon,[490] which also has a Nachusa Home for orphans. The name is a contraction of Winnebago terms meaning "white haired," bestowed on an early white settler, John Dixon, at the time of his adoption into the Winnebago tribe, because of his patriarchal appearance.[491] Dixon, for whom the city of Dixon is named, bought a ferry on Rock River in 1830 from a half-breed Winnebago named

483. Hicks, *Kendall County,* 270.

484. Henry R. Schoolcraft, *Personal Memoirs of a Residence of Thirty Years with the Indian Tribes . . .* (Philadelphia, 1851), 670; *Indian Tribes,* V: 598.

485. *The American Indian,* 757.

486. Kappler, II: 559. Some of the Illinois Potawatomi emigrated there.

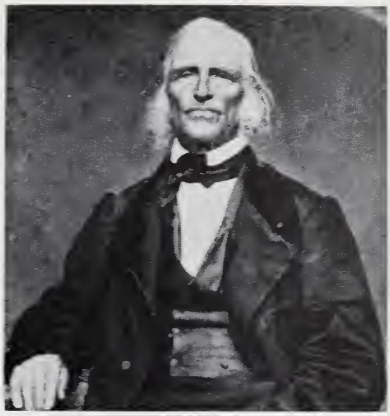
487. Walker — *pē'moset.* "English-Potawatomi Dictionary," 414.

488. Kappler, II: 298.

489. *Ibid.,* 404.

490. Katherine Loring, *Chicago Sunday Tribune,* Sept. 4, 1955.

491. Quaife, *Chicago's Highways,* 103; Frank Kurtz, comp., *History of Dixon and Lee County . . .* (Dixon, 1880), 45, which gives his name as *Nadah-churah-sah,* "Head-hair-white"; Frank E. Stevens, "Stillman's Defeat," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society,* VII (1902): 170; Barge and Caldwell, "Illinois Place Names," 259-60. Cf. *Narsoorar,* "head"; *Narshoorar,* "hair"; *skar,* or *skarar,* "white." John H. Kinzie, "Vocabulary and Grammar of the Winnebago Language" (MS, 1826, Chicago Historical Society), 11, 13, 18.



John Dixon, who gave his own name to the city of Dixon and his Winnebago Indian name to the nearby town of Nachusa.

Joseph Ogee and also operated a trading post at the site of Dixon, which became an important point on Kellogg's trail between Peoria and Galena.[492]

NAMEOKI *(township, Madison Co.; also the name of a village now absorbed by Granite City)*

The supposed manner in which this name was given is furnished by a local history:

> The word Nameoki is of Indian origin, and signifies smoky. It was first given to a station on the Indianapolis & St. Louis railroad by A. A. Talmadge, while a conductor on that road, and afterward to the township.[493]

The name does not, however, mean "smoky." It appears to come from some New England dialect, most probably Mohegan. J. H. Trumbull, who cited a number of New England place names of similar construction, believed it came from *nama-ohke* or *nama-auke*, and meant "fishing place."[494] The Indian form and meaning of the name would be nearly the same in our region.[495]

Like Metamora (*q.v.*) this name may be a result of the popularity of J. A. Stone's play, "Metamora, or the Last of the Wampanoags."

492. Quaife, *Chicago's Highways*, 102-3.

493. W. R. Brink & Co., pub., *History of Madison County, Illinois* . . . (Edwardsville, 1882), 500.

494. Trumbull, "Composition of Indian Geographical Names," 38, 42, 44. *Nameoke*, L.I., N.Y. (not on present maps) was defined as "fishing place" by W. W. Tooker, who called it the Indian name of New London, Conn. *Indian Place-Names on Long Island*, 150.

495. Fox: *Nemā*, "fish," *a'ki*, "earth," Truman Michelson, *Contributions to Fox Ethnology* (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 85, Washington, 1927), 78-79, 86-87; Potawatomi: *Nimē*, "Sturgeon (fish)," *ku*, "land," "soil," "earth," *kig*, "locality," Gailland, "English-Potawatomi Dictionary," 181, 338, 355.

In this drama, "Nahmeokee" is the wife of Metamora, or King Philip.[496]

NAMEQUA (*creek, tributary of Rock River, Black Hawk State Park, Rock Island Co.*)

This small stream is named for a daughter of Black Hawk (*q.v.*), whose home village of Saukenuk was located nearby.[497] The name literally signifies "fish woman," from *na-me,* "fish," and *equa,* "woman" (cf. NAMEOKI and MOWEAQUA, above).[498]

NASHUA (*township, Ogle Co.*)

Nashua, New Hampshire, or the Nashua River, a tributary of the Merrimack at that point, is the most likely source of this name. It was the name of a tribe which lived on upper Nashua River in Worcester County, Massachusetts, where they had a village of the same name. They were virtually decimated in King Philip's War.

James Mooney defined Nashua as "the land between."[499] J. H. Trumbull said the name came from *Nashaué,* or *nashaui* [nashaway], in the Massachuset dialect, and that it is a cognate of the Chippewa *nàssawaii* and *ashawiwi,*[500] meaning "midway" or "between," and with *ohke* or *auk* added, "the land between" or "the half way place." The name was given to several places, and the site of Lancaster, Massachusetts, because it was between the branches of the river, was called "Nashaway" or "Nashawake" (from nashaue-ohke), a name which was later transferred to the river itself.[501]

NAVAJO (*Navajo Hills, unincorporated residential area, Cook Co.*)

Named for the largest contemporary United States Indian tribe (*ca.* 80,000), occupying parts of Arizona, New Mexico, and Utah.

496. Pearce, *The Savages of America,* 177; Keiser, *The Indian in American Literature,* 79.

497. James D. Rishell, ed., *Black Hawk's Autobiography* . . . (Rock Island, Ill., 1912), 163; Thomas Ford, *A History of Illinois* . . . (Milo Milton Quaife, ed., Chicago, 1945-1946), note by Quaife, I: 253; Jackson, ed., *Autobiography of Black Hawk,* 181. Jackson describes Namequa as "handsome enough to compete with local white girls for the glances of young pioneer men."

498. Cf. *Nämä' sikwä°,* "fish woman." Alanson Skinner, *Observations on the Ethnology of the Sauk Indians* (Milwaukee, 1923), Pt. I, p. 25.

499. Hodge, II: 33.

500. Cf. Schoolcraft, *Nai ah' shé* (Chippewa), "point." *Indian Tribes,* V: 598. But the name of Nashua River means, he says, "the river with a pebbly bottom." *Ibid.,* V: 221. Trumbull is by far the preferable source on New England names.

501. "Composition of Indian Geographical Names," 33. See also Haines, "between the river," *The American Indian,* 757; Douglas-Lithgow, "between the branches of the river," *Names in New England,* 131.

The name comes, according to John Swanton, "from Tewa Navahú, referring to a large area of cultivated land and applied to a former Tewa pueblo, and by extension to the Navaho."[502] The Tewa are a Pueblo tribe of the Tanoan linguistic stock.[503]

NEBRASKA (*township, Livingston Co.*)

Named for the state of Nebraska, which is named for the former Nebraska River, now called the Platte. In the Dakota language, Omaha or Oto dialect, the name is held to mean shallow water, flat water, or broad water, all of which are descriptive of the stream. Its present French name means the same thing.[504]

NEKOMA (*village, Henry Co.*)

Haines believed that this name came from the Ojibway Nokomis (*q.v.*), "grandmother," or from the Cree word with the same meaning.[505] This writer has not found a better explanation, but suspects an obscure literary origin.

NEOGA (*city and township, Cumberland Co.*)

The railroad station was named Neoga in 1854 by the Illinois Central company.[506] The town laid out two years later was incorporated in 1869, but obtained a city charter in 1930.

Neo is Iroquoian for the supreme being,[507] and *oga* is a locative suffix, "place."[508] Several writers thus fairly conclude that this name is translated as "place of the deity."[509] There is no basis for the local tradition that the name is Kickapoo for "deer."[510] It is possible but

502. *Indian Tribes of North America,* 334.

503. Hodge, II: 737.

504. *Nebraska* — from French *Platte,* broad, "a translation of the Indian name signifying the same thing, Ne-brath-kae or Ne-prath-kae in Iowa and Ne-brath-kae in Omaha, or as some speak it, Ne-bras-ka." Hamilton, "Names from Indian Languages," 73. Cf. *Ne-bres-kuh* (Omaha), "flat water," James, *Account of Long's Expedition,* I: 203; *Ne-bras-ka* (Oto), "flat water," (name of the Platte River), *ibid.,* II: appendix, lxxx. See also Lilian L. Fitzpatrick, *Nebraska Place-Names* (Lincoln, 1960), 13.

505. *The American Indian,* 759. This name is also found in Kansas, North Dakota, and Oregon.

506. Ackerman, *Names of Stations,* 27-28.

507. Brinton, *Myths of the New World,* 54; Morgan, *League of the Iroquois,* I: 147; Francis Parkman, *The Jesuits in North America . . .* (Boston, 1896), lxxviii n.; Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes,* III: 501, V: 539.

508. *Ibid.,* III: 507, IV: 383, V: 594.

509. Ackerman, *Names of Stations,* 27-28; Barge and Caldwell, "Illinois Place Names," 261; Gannett, *Origin of Place Names* (1905 ed.), 221; Gemmill, *Romantic America,* 80; Haines, *The American Indian,* 759.

510. *The Story of Neoga* (centennial publication, 1956), [5].

not probable that Neoga could be a variant of Niagara, which has a different meaning.[511] Ne-o-ge-he was also one of several names applied to the Missouri tribe.[512]

NEPONSET (*village and township, Bureau Co.*)

It was first proposed, according to one source, to name the railway station at this point Leeponset, as a compliment to the agent, M. H. Lee, but he suggested, instead, the name Neponset, for the Massachusetts town, which was accepted.[513]

Neponset is the name of a former village of Massachuset Indians on Neponset River, near Stoughton, Massachusetts. John Eliot, who translated the Bible into the native tongue, was a missionary there in 1646.[514] Neponset is also the name of a modern town in Suffolk County, Massachusetts. Three possible meanings have been offered for it: "He walks in his sleep," "as he is rapid," and "it is a good fall" (easily passed over by canoes).[515] None of these has a plausible ring. A more likely meaning is J. A. C. Leland's "little summer place"[516] [*nepun,* n. (the latter part of) summer; *s,* a diminutive; and *et,* a locative suffix].[517] The name resembles that of Tom Nepanet, a Christian Nipmuc who aided the whites during Philip's War of 1676.[518]

NIANTIC (*village and township, Macon Co.*)

The Niantic were an Algonquian tribe (closely related to the Narranganset) which once resided in Rhode Island and Connecticut.[519] A town and a river in Connecticut were named for them, and the Illinois township and village took their names from the Connecticut town because some of the early settlers came from that place.[520]

Niantic, Nianticut, and Nayantaquit were variations of the same

511. Morgan, *League of the Iroquois,* II: 97-98.
512. James, *Account of Long's Expedition,* I: 339.
513. Kett, pub., *Bureau County,* 150.
514. Hodge, II: 56.
515. Douglas-Lithgow, *Names in New England,* 134.
516. *California Folklore Quarterly,* IV: 406, cited in Erwin Gudde, *California Place Names: A Geographical Dictionary* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1949), 233.
517. Trumbull, *Natick Dictionary,* 84, 222; Mooney in Hodge, II: 29. The locative suffixes *at, et, it, ut* are common in New England aboriginal names: Cohasset, Connecticut, Nantucket, Narraganset, Nauset, Pawtucket, Woonsocket, etc.
518. Hodge, II: 55.
519. *Ibid.,* 69; De Forest, *Indians of Connecticut,* 57, 60-62, 127, 384; Douglas-Lithgow, *Names in New England,* 375.
520. Richmond, *Centennial History of Decatur and Macon County,* 95.

word, meaning "at a point of land on a tidal river," according to Trumbull.[521]

NIOTA (*village, Hancock Co.*)

This village is on the Mississippi opposite Fort Madison, Iowa. Thomas Hutchins's map of 1778 shows two Iowa villages on the Illinois side of the river in this vicinity.[522] *Ni* or *ne* is Iowa dialect for "water,"[523] and *ota* has been translated in the related Dakota language as "mouth" (cf. MENDOTA), "much," and "many."[524] Niota then could mean "much water" or "water's mouth," from the outlets of the Iowa, Skunk, and Des Moines rivers on the opposite side.

"Much water" is the translation given for the Siouan name *Minneota* borne by a village and township in Minnesota.[525] *Miniota,* in the Canadian province of Manitoba, has been explained the same way.[526] The initial *mi* seems to be absent in Iowa.

NIPPERSINK (*creek, McHenry Co.; lake, Lake Co.*)

Probably taken from *nippisse* (diminutive of *nippi* or *nippe,* "water"), signifying small water, a pool or pond,[527] and *ink,* for "at" or "place."[528] Nippersink, probably of Potawatomi origin, is a cognate of Nipissing, the name of a lake in Ontario, defined by Mooney as "at the little water or lake." An Algonquian tribe living in that vicinity was called Nipisirienien, or "little water people."[529]

NOKOMIS (*city and township, Montgomery Co.*)

Nokomis, the Ojibway word for grandmother, is the proper name

521. J. H. Trumbull, *Indian Names of Places, etc., in and on the Borders of Connecticut* . . . (Hartford, 1881), 36; Douglas-Lithgow, *Names in New England,* 261-62.

522. Tucker, *Indian Villages of the Illinois Country,* Pl. XXIX.

523. Albert Gallatin, *A Synopsis of the Indian Tribes* . . . *in North America* (Cambridge, Mass., 1836), 337; Hamilton, "Names from Indian Languages," 74.

524. Riggs, *Dakota-English Dictionary,* 314, 316, 387.

525. Upham, *Minnesota Geographic Names,* 262, 313.

526. Armstrong, *Place Names in Canada,* 193.

527. Trumbull, *Natick Dictionary,* 85. "Nippe, nipi, and diminutives, nippisse and nips, were employed in compound names to denote WATER generally, without characterizing it." The name *nippis-ing* signifies "at the small lake." Trumbull, "Composition of Indian Geographical Names," 14-15. Cf. Haines: Nippersink, "small stream" or "little current water" (Alg.), *The American Indian,* 760; *nepesse(i)* — *petit lac* [small lake], Le Boulanger, "French-Illinois Dictionary," 108.

528. See MINONK, MUNCIE.

529. Hodge, II: 73. Cf. *Nippissong* (Alg.), "a lake," "a large body of water." Robert Rogers, *A Concise Account of North America* . . . (London, 1765), 153, 179.

applied to Hiawatha's grandmother in Longfellow's epic poem, *Hiawatha.* The name from the poem was suggested for this city by Mrs. Anasa Barry of Alton.[530] Related names are found in several Algonquian languages.[531]

NUNDA (*township, McHenry Co.*)

Probably named after Nunda, a town in Livingston County, New York, in territory formerly inhabited by the Seneca tribe. The name comes from *Nun-dă'-o,* meaning "hilly," according to Morgan, who declared that the Seneca called themselves *Nun-da-wä'-o-no,* or "the great hill people." This was the name of their oldest village, where, according to legend, they sprang from the ground.[532]

OCONEE (*village and township, Shelby Co.*)

This is the name of a former Cherokee village in South Carolina, of a river in Georgia, and of a small Creek tribe which lived on the Chattahoochee River.[533] Oconee is also the name of a county in South Carolina, and is said in that instance to be from an "Indian" word, Uk-oo-na, meaning "the water eyes of the earth" or "the place of springs,"[534] but this may be fanciful. For the Cherokee village, Hodge gives the form *Ukwû'-nĭ,* from which the county name probably came.

Towns named Oconee in Georgia and Oklahoma are said to have received their names from an old Muskoki (Creek) town, which was derived from Cherokee *okoni eknoni,* meaning "great big water."[535] Haines suggested "water course" and "small river" as possible definitions but also pointed out the similarity of the Shawnee word for "bone."[536]

530. *Centennial History of Nokomis, Illinois, 1856-1956* (1956), 7.

531. *Nôkomiss,* "my grandmother," Baraga's *Otchipwe Dictionary,* Pt. II, p. 309; *Nocomiss* (Ojibway), Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes,* II: 65; *Kokomoena* (Shawnee), *Kokomesenana* (Fox), "our grandmother," Truman Michelson, "Preliminary Report on the Linguistic Classification of Algonquian Tribes," in *Twenty-eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology . . . . 1906-1907* (Washington, 1912), 257 (phonetic symbols eliminated); but cf. *Kokomo,* Ind., named for a "Thorntown Indian, whose name was Ko-ka'-ma, or The Diver," Dunn, *Indiana and Indianans,* I: 90; *O-keemes-se-maw* (Ottawa), Blackbird, *History of the Ottawa,* 109; *ōkimisimā,* my grandmother: *nōkimìs* (Potawatomi), Gailland, "English-Potawatomi Dictionary," 134; *okummes* (Natick), Trumbull, *Natick Dictionary,* 270.

532. Morgan, *League of the Iroquois,* II: 130; I: 48-49.

533. Hodge, II: 105.

534. Federal Writers' Project, *Palmetto Place Names* (Columbia, S.C., 1941), 18.

535. Toomey, *Names from the Muskhogean Languages,* 14.

536. *The American Indian,* 562. Cf. Miami *Kaw ne,* Menominee *Oh konne,* Shawnee *Ok àn ee,* "bone." Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes,* II: 471.

Ackerman adopted the Shawnee term and added that Oconee was the daughter of an "Indian chief."[537]

The name of Oconee, Illinois, could have been transferred from the South, or perhaps taken from one of the Starved Rock legends published a century ago. According to one such story, Oconee was a young brave who eloped with Ulah (*q.v.*), the daughter of a chief named Nepowra. The fleeing lovers supposedly died on the summit of the rock when besieged by a pursuit party.[538] The story is fiction, but names from such sources are common. A village in Henry County perpetuates the name of the mythical Ulah. Both names are Indian, but not from the languages of this vicinity.

Ocoya (*village, Livingston Co.*)

This name may be taken from a Mexican place name, or from an Illinois Indian word. There is also an old legend about it. *Acayocan* is an Aztec word for a place full of canes, or rushes.[539] Pierre de Liette reported that *apacoya* was a word used by the Illinois Indians to designate reed mats used to cover wigwams and that it was "a generic term for all sorts of coverings," including bark.[540] Another possible origin is the Illinois word *chichicoya,* which De Liette described as a gourd from which the Indians made rattles.[541] For lack of evidence, however, these must be ranked as guesses.

The site of Ocoya was entered in 1854, and the village was platted and surveyed in 1869 by two Pontiac bankers, Jonathan Duff and A. W. Cown.[542] County Clerk Ira L. Boyer was unable to supply the origin of the name, but his publication of this writer's inquiry in the *Pontiac Daily Leader* brought a reply from Mrs. Milton J. Brown of Odell, on January 26, 1956. Some thirty years earlier Mrs. Brown had heard a legend about Ocoya (from Mrs. Mary Milloy, an elderly resident of Odell) which she summarized as follows:

It seems the first Indian family to settle there had girls but no sons; but the time came for a new birth. The Grandmother told father to leave them alone and go on with his work — she'd attend his wife.

537. *Early Illinois Railroads,* 149.

538. Abridged version published in Charles S. Winslow, ed., *Indians of the Chicago Region* (2d ed., Chicago, 1946), 51 ff.

539. Frederick Starr, *Aztec Place Names: Their Meaning and Mode of Composition* (2d ed., Chicago, 1920), 4. Cf. also *Coyoacan,* "place of coyotes," and *Ocoyoacac,* "entrance to pitch pine woods." "Mexican Place Names," *Amigos,* Aug., 1942, pp. 36, 38.

540. Quaife, ed., *Western Country,* 122.

541. *Ibid.,* 142.

542. Ira L. Boyer, information from Le Baron's *Livingston County,* letter of Jan. 17, 1956.

If it were another girl she wouldn't bother to call him, but: If a son was born she said "Ah' Co' ya'!" After some time there was great rejoicing, for the new born was a son! When asked to choose a name for his new born son the father said he'd always remember what his mother had said she'd do if it were a son — So the son was named "Ocoya" and also the small Indian village that grew up here was so called.

The story probably has no factual foundation at all, but it is a contribution to Illinois folklore.[543]

OHIO (*river; township, Woodford Co.; village and township, Bureau Co.; Ohio Grove, township, Mercer Co.*)

The last place listed was so named because the early settlers came from the state of Ohio,[544] and it seems reasonable to presume the others were so named for similar reasons.

Most writers, with one notable exception, agree that this name comes from the Iroquois. Hennepin, misunderstanding the geography of the region, wrote that the source of Lake Michigan "lies near a River which the *Iroquese* call *Hohio.*"[545] A leaden plate deposited at the confluence of the Kanawha with the Ohio by Pierre Céloron in 1749 was inscribed "la Riviere Oyo autrement Belle Riviere" (the river Ohio or beautiful river), and these names were used by Father Bonnécamps, the journalist of Céloron's expedition.[546]

Lewis Morgan gave the aboriginal form of the name as *O-heé-yo,* signifying "beautiful river," and said the Iroquois conferred it upon the stream known to the Delaware as Allegany (now Allegheny), one of the rivers which, to the English and American mapmakers, joined to form the Ohio at Fort Pitt. The Delaware name meant the same as the Iroquois name.[547] Schoolcraft shared Morgan's view,[548] as did J. H. Trumbull, citing the missionary Christian Frederick Post.[549] Jacob P. Dunn believed La Belle Rivière to be a literal translation of

543. Published in Vogel, "Some Illinois Place-Name Legends," 158.

544. Hill, pub., *Mercer and Henderson Counties,* 428.

545. *A New Discovery* (1903 ed.), I: 62.

546. *Jesuit Relations,* LXIX: 151 ff.; 296, n. 36; 298, n. 41. The upper Ohio appears late in French accounts because the French first visited the lower river, which they long thought to be an extension of the Wabash.

547. *League of the Iroquois,* II: 101.

548. *The American Indians,* 23.

549. "Composition of Indian Geographical Names," 13. A note to Post's journal for Nov. 9, 1758, says: "The Ohio, as it is called by the Sennecas. Alleghenny is the name of the same river in the Delaware language. Both words signify the fine, or fair river." Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels,* I: 245. Thwaites attributed this note to Charles Thompson, editor of the first edition of the journal.

the Indian name, which appeared on early English maps as "Ohio, or Fair river."[550]

The main dissenter from this view, John Heckewelder, gave several Delaware terms from which he thought Ohio might be derived, and several writers, relying upon his authority, have believed *Opeek-hanne,* supposed to mean "stream very white with froth" or "a stream abounding in white caps" (but really signifying merely "white river"), gave rise to the name Ohio.[551] Still other definitions have been given, including Iroquoian "great river,"[552] but full examination of all views is not possible here.

Okaw *(township, Shelby Co.; creek, Moultrie Co.; North Okaw Township, Coles Co.; West Okaw River, Moultrie Co.; Okawville, village and township, Washington Co.)*

Okaw is a common name for the Kaskaskia River (*q.v.*) among residents of the region. Although Okaw does not appear on early maps, a writer declared in 1837 that the lower course of the Kaskaskia "is known to the French people by the name of the Okau."[553] A later writer declared, "Numerous small streams flow through Okaw Precinct, and among them is one of considerable importance, namely, the 'Kaskaskia,' commonly known as the 'Okaw.' "[554]

The origin of the shortened name has been attributed to the pronunciation of the French words *aux kas* (or *au kas,* but more correctly it should be *a'kas*), a contraction for "to Kaskaskia."[555]

A different view, less reliable, is that Okaw came from the Algonquian word for porcupine.[556] "Okawea — or Porcupine" was a Miami Indian who signed the Greenville Treaty of July 22, 1814, while a Potawatomi named "O-kaw-wause" is mentioned in the Tippecanoe Treaty of October 26, 1832.[557] According to Governor John

550. "Names of the Ohio River," *The Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History,* VIII (Dec., 1912): 166 ff.

551. Heckewelder, *Narrative of the Mission of the United Brethren,* 548-49; Archer Butler Hulbert, *The Ohio River: A Course of Empire* (New York, 1906), 2-4; Hamill Kenny, *West Virginia Place Names . . .* (Piedmont, W. Va., 1945), 454-56.

552. August C. Mahr, "Indian River and Place Names in Ohio," *The Ohio Historical Quarterly,* LXVI (April, 1957): 137-39. See also R. E. Banta, *The Ohio* (New York, 1949), 8; Galloway, *Old Chillicothe,* 41.

553. Mitchell, *Illinois in 1837,* 32.

554. William Henry Perrin, ed., *History of Bond and Montgomery Counties, Illinois* (Chicago, 1882), 169.

555. Sidney Breese, *The Early History of Illinois . . .* (Chicago, 1884), 184; Beckwith, *Vermilion County,* 99; Palmer, "Historic Landmarks," 53.

556. Gannett, *Origin of Place Names* (1905 ed.), 230.

557. Kappler, II: 107, 368.

Reynolds, however, the Indians called the Kaskaskia "Raccoon River."[558]

OKLAHOMA (*hill, St. Clair Co.*)

This low eminence, near Dupo, can only be named for the state of Oklahoma. The name means "red people" in the Choctaw language (*Okla* — "people," *humma, homma,* or *houma* — "red").[559] Cf. *Houma,* Louisiana.

OMAHA (*village and township, Gallatin Co.*)

Probably named for Omaha, Nebraska,[560] which takes its name from a Siouan tribe of the Missouri Valley. The best authorities have defined the name as "those going against the wind or current."[561] Elsewhere it is translated "upstream people."[562] The name is said to recall the tradition that the ancestors of the Omaha camped upstream from their kinsmen, the Quapaw.[563]

ONARGA (*village and township, Iroquois Co.*)

Haines believed Onarga might be an Iroquois word meaning "a place of rocky hills."[564] Beauchamp listed Onaghe as the name of a Seneca town in New York, applied to Lake Canandaigua. He explained it as "a place behind some other."[565] Onarga might, however, be a corruption of Niagara. *Oniagara* as a name for Niagara appears at various places in the *Jesuit Relations.* That name, in its variants, has been held to signify "the neck," referring to the connecting stream between Lakes Erie and Ontario.[566]

There may be a long chance that Onarga is of Potawatomi origin. The town of Onaga, in Pottawatomie County, Kansas, is named "from Onago, a Pottawatomie Indian name, selected from the headrights book of the tribe by R. W. Jenkins, with final 'o' changed to 'a'

558. *My Own Times* (1879 ed.), 54.

559. Muriel H. Wright, "The Naming of Oklahoma," *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* XXXIX (Autumn, 1961): 335-37; Byington's *Choctaw Dictionary,* 297, 170.

560. But cf. *Omahouha,* "Wolf," a late seventeenth-century Illinois chief mentioned by Hennepin, *A New Discovery* (1903 ed.), I: 178.

561. Hodge, II: 119; David Bushnell, *Villages of the Algonquian, Siouan, and Caddoan Tribes West of the Mississippi* (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 77, Washington, 1922), 108.

562. Morgan, *Ancient Society,* 114.

563. Hamilton, "Names from Indian Languages," 77; Bushnell, *Villages West of the Mississippi,* 108.

564. *The American Indian,* 764.

565. *Aboriginal Place Names of New York,* 159.

566. Morgan, *League of the Iroquois,* II: 97, 132.

by Paul E. Havens, secretary Kansas Central railroad."[567]

ONECO (*village and township, Stephenson Co.*) See also OWANECO

Named for Oneco (*ca.* 1640-1710), also called Oneka, Oneko, Owaneco, and Oweneco, a Mohegan chief of Connecticut, the eldest son and successor of Uncas; also father of Mamohet (or Mahomet) I, and grandfather of Mamohet II.[568]

ONEIDA (*city, Knox Co.*)

Named for one of the tribes of Iroquois, or Six Nations, of New York, most of whose present members live near Green Bay, Wisconsin.[569] Hewitt said the name is a shortened and Anglicized form of an Iroquois word for "a rock that something set up and is still standing."[570] Beauchamp rendered it simply as "standing stone" and said the name referred to a large stone at one of their early villages, from which fact a stone became their national emblem.[571] Morgan called the Oneida "granite people,"[572] while Schoolcraft called them "stone people."[573] William Skenandore, a Wisconsin Oneida, informed this writer in 1955 that his tribal name is from Oneagha (my orthography), meaning "people of the stone."

ONTARIO (*village and township, Knox Co.; Ontarioville, village, Du Page Co.*)

At a meeting in 1850 the citizens of this settlement, many of whom "were formerly from the State of New York . . . named the township after the beautiful lake which forms a part of the northern boundary of that State."[574]

Hennepin reported that Ontario was Iroquoian for "beautiful lake."[575] The same meaning was given by Morgan to the Mohawk name for it, Ska-no-da-ri-o,[576] from which he believed Ontario was

567. "Origin of City Names," *Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society,* VII (1901-1902): 482.

568. Trumbull, *Indian Names . . . of Connecticut,* 41; Douglas-Lithgow, *Names in New England,* 322, 336; Drake, *Aboriginal Races,* 150; Hodge, II: 127; De Forest, *Indians of Connecticut,* 280, 283, 290, 304; Benjamin Trumbull, *A Complete History of Connecticut . . .* (New London, 1898), I: 340-49; George W. Ellis and John E. Morris, *King Philip's War . . .* (New York, 1906), 79, 201.

569. R. E. Ritzenthaler, *The Oneida Indians of Wisconsin* (Milwaukee, 1950).

570. Hodge, II: 123.

571. *Aboriginal Place Names of New York,* 139-40.

572. *League of the Iroquois,* I: 49, from *O-na-yoté-kä.*

573. *Indian Tribes,* IV: 384; *Notes on the Iroquois,* 47, 210.

574. Chapman, pub., *Knox County,* 495.

575. *A New Discovery* (1903 ed.), II: 559.

576. *League of the Iroquois,* II: 132.

derived. A. F. Chamberlain thought the original signification was "great lake."[577] Schoolcraft believed that the present name came from the Wyandot who once lived near the lake. According to him, the Mohawk called the lake Cadaracqui[578] and the Onondaga knew it as Oswego.[579] Schoolcraft concluded that Ontario "is descriptive of an extended and beautiful water prospect, or landscape."[580]

ONWENTSIA (*country club, road, in Lake Forest, Lake Co.*)

"There was magic in this country as one reflected upon the old days and thought of Indian names like Waukegan, Skokie and Onwentsia," Edgar Lee Masters has written.[581] Officials of the Onwentsia club failed to respond to an inquiry on the origin of this melodic name. The best guess is that comes from a Mohawk word, *Owhensia,* signifying "earth, land," according to Schoolcraft.[582]

OPOSSUM (*creek, Hamilton Co., Shelby Co.*) See also POSSUM

Named for the arboreal opossum, America's only marsupial animal. The name is said to come from Algonquian tribes of the Maryland-Virginia region.[583] John Smith described the "Opassom" in his *Description of Virginia.*[584]

The name is said to signify "white beast."[585] In Delaware, according to J. H. Trumbull, the name of the opossum meant "white face" or "great white face."[586] James Madison in 1792 gave *opussuun* as a Delaware word for "silver."[587]

OQUAWKA (*village and township, Henderson Co.*)

The section of Mississippi River shoreline from New Boston to

577. Hodge, II: 135.

578. Schoolcraft, *The American Indians,* 302. Cadarackui and Cataraqui are names for Lake Ontario in Cadwallader Colden's *History of the Five Indian Nations of Canada Which Are Dependent on the Province of New York* (New York, 1902), I: xlviii, II: map.

579. Oswego (*q.v.*) was also the Oneida name, according to information, 1955, from William Skenandore. But Colden's map (*Five Indian Nations,* II) has *Okswego* for Lake *Erie.*

580. Schoolcraft, *The American Indians,* 302. See also "sparkling or beautiful water," Armstrong, *Place Names in Canada,* 213; "very pretty lake," Beauchamp, *Aboriginal Place Names of New York,* 154-55.

581. *The Tale of Chicago* (New York, 1933), 227.

582. *Notes on the Iroquois,* 266.

583. Chamberlain, "Algonkian Words," 251-52.

584. Tyler, *Narratives,* 93.

585. Funk, *Word Origins,* 95; *Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language* (1954), 1028.

586. "Indian Onomatopeia," 183.

587. Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes,* III: 426. Cf. *O-ping-ho-ki* (Delaware), "opossum ground," Morgan, *Ancient Society,* 176.

Oquawka has long been known as "Yellow Banks,"[588] from sand bluffs located there. It has been supposed that "Yellow Banks" was the meaning of the name of the village of Oquawka, which was laid out in 1836 and incorporated in 1857.[589] The claim cannot be dismissed, though it fails to reveal how the *s* or *z* sound in the Sauk-Algonquian word for yellow was transformed into *q*[590] (though, admittedly, worse corruptions do occur).

The possibility is suggested that Oquawka may have been named for an individual Sauk or Fox Indian, for this place was in their territory. An "Outchequaka, or sunfish" signed the Sauk Treaty at St. Louis on November 3, 1804.[591] A Fox Indian called "Aquoqua, the Kettle" signed a treaty with Clark and Chouteau at St. Louis on September 14, 1815.[592] A local Sauk leader named Uc-quaw-ho-ko signed a treaty at Washington on February 18, 1867.[593] In a photo at Smithsonian Institution he is identified as Ukquahoko, and in another picture at Newberry Library he is identified as O-quaw-ho-ko, or Grey Eyes.[594]

OREGON (*city, Ogle Co.*)

The origin of this name is obscure. Jonathan Carver claimed that he learned from the Sioux of a great river (probably the Columbia) called "Oregan or the River of the West," which "falls into the Pacific Ocean at the Straits of Anian."[595] Carver did not say that this was an Indian name, nor did he define it. Hodge believed the word came from the Spanish *orejones,* "big eared people," a name bestowed on Indians of the area because of their wearing of lip, nose, and ear ornaments.[596] Major B. L. E. Bonneville, answering a query from Schoolcraft in 1854, declared,

588. Tucker, *Indian Villages of the Illinois Country,* Pl. XXXII-B; Reynolds, *My Own Times* (1879 ed.), 222.

589. Hill, pub., *Mercer and Henderson Counties,* 872, 887-88; Federal Writers' Project, *Illinois Guide,* 553.

590. Cf. *A-saw-we-kee* (Sauk, yellow earth), Forsyth (1827) in Blair, *Indian Tribes,* II: 183, from which comes *Ozaukee* County, Wis. Cf. *Ozaw-waw,* "yellow," *au-kee,* "earth." Blackbird, *History of the Ottawa,* 113, 123. See also SAUK.

591. Kappler, II: 76. Strangely, "the Sun Fish" is also the clerk's translation of *Au-ni-mo-ni,* the name of another Sauk who signed a treaty on Oct. 21, 1837. *Ibid.,* 498.

592. *Ibid.,* 122.

593. *Ibid.,* 951-56.

594. No. 401, IW. A notation indicates that the name was corrected from Ne-qua-ho-ko by a Mr. Sheetlightning.

595. Jonathan Carver, *Travels Through the Interior Parts of North-America, in the Years 1766, 1767, and 1768* (Dublin, 1779), 71, 507, vii, viii.

596. Hodge, II: 146.

The oldest mountain men say, that *Oregan* is the name given to the country by the Spaniards, from its growth of artemisia, absinthium, wild or bastard marjorum, called by us sage. . . . Supposing this derivation to be correct, it must have been given by their hunters in the interior, and not by their navigators, as there is not one stalk of this plant [sage] from the Cascade Mountains to the coast.[597]

Spanish origin of the name has been doubted because the Spanish never resided in that region; neither can the name be found in Indian languages of the area. Some have sought Oregon's meaning in the Shoshoni tongue, deriving it from words meaning "undulating water" in one case, and "a place of plenty" in another.[598]

The best opinion seems to be that the name comes from French-Canadian *ouragan,* spelled *ourigan* by Robert Rogers in 1765,[599] which is a corruption from *hurricane* (*q.v.*), a native word of the Caribbean area. The term *ouragan* appears, moreover, as a name for a flat dish or plate among some Algonquian tribes of the Great Lakes region.[600]

OSAGE (*township, La Salle Co.; village, Franklin Co.*)

The township was named for the Osage orange tree, which was once grown there in commercial quantities.[601] Because of its durability, this tree was long popular with farmers for hedges or fence posts, and with the Indians for bow-wood, whence its French name, *bois d'arc,*[602] which has been given to a township in Montgomery County.

The name comes from that of the Osage tribe, formerly resident in Missouri, who were once frequent visitors to Illinois.[603] Swanton declared that their own name for themselves was *Wazhashe,* corrupted to Osage by French traders.[604] This has been held to signify "war people,"[605] though others maintain that it is a Miami name, meaning "the neutral" or "the strong."[606] A Miami Indian named Osage signed several treaties with the United States, in one of which his name is translated as "the neutral."[607] Schoolcraft believed that Osage was

597. Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes,* V: 708-9.
598. Staples, "Names of the States," 378-79; Shankle, *State Names,* 87.
599. Harrington, *Our State Names,* 385.
600. *Jesuit Relations,* LXV: 43; Kinietz, *Indians of Western Great Lakes,* 375.
601. Baldwin, *La Salle County,* 474-75.
602. Mathews, ed., *Dictionary of Americanisms,* I: 156; Hodge, II: 159.
603. Charlevoix, *Journal* (1923 ed.), II: 208.
604. Hodge, II: 156.
605. Leland, "Indian Names in Missouri," 270.
606. From *Wa-cá-cĭ.* Dunn, *Indiana and Indianans,* I: 93; Haines, *The American Indian,* 765.
607. Kapper, II: 107, 119, 280.

a French translation "of the Algonquin term Assenjigun, or Bone Indians."[608]

Osceola (*village and township, Stark Co.*)

Named for the head of a band of Seminole (*ca.* 1803-1838), who led the resistance of his people against expatriation from Florida to Oklahoma in 1835. He died a prisoner at Fort Moultrie, South Carolina.[609]

Osceola's name has also been written Asseheholar, Asseola, Assiyahola, Assula, Hasseola, Oceola, Oseola, and Yo-so-ya-hola. Three writers declared that his name meant "rising sun."[610] William Read wrote that "the name *Osceola* is a war-title, derived from Creek Assiyahola, 'Black Drink Singer.' The Creeks brewed a black drink from yupon leaves, and used it during their councils and annual corn festival."[611] Cyrus Thomas gave the meaning as "Black-drink halloer,"[612] while another source takes the name from *Asi,* for the leaves used in brewing the drink, and *Yahola,* a Seminole name for God.[613]

Osco (*village and township, Henry Co.*)

This name comes from the Iroquois, signifying "a floating bridge" in the Onondaga dialect. It is the old Indian name for the site of Auburn, New York, and survives in its Oneida form, Owasco, as the name of a lake and a town in Cayuga County, New York. Owasco Lake, *Dwas'-co* to the Cayuga, was called "lake at the floating bridge" by Morgan.[614] See also Wasco.

Oshkosh (*Oshkosh Woods, Forest Preserve District of Cook Co.*)

Named for Oshkosh (1795-1850), head chief of the Menominee Indians of Wisconsin. The name is generally held to mean "hoof," "claw," or "nail," though Lyman C. Draper believed that it meant "brave."[615]

608. *Indian Tribes,* IV: 304; not supported by his own vocabularies in *ibid.,* II: 470 ff.

609. Hodge, II: 159; E. C. McReynolds, *The Seminoles* (Norman, Okla., 1957), 203-4.

610. Haines, *The American Indian,* 765; Capt. Mayne Reid, *Osceola the Seminole* (fiction, New York, 1858), 144; Toomey, *Names from the Muskhogean Languages,* 15.

611. *Louisiana Place-Names,* 45.

612. Hodge, II: 159.

613. Federal Writers' Project, *The Seminole Indians in Florida* (Tallahassee, n.d.), 57-58.

614. Morgan, *League of the Iroquois,* II, table facing p. 61, also pp. 133-34; Beauchamp cites A. Cusick as calling Osco "bridge over water," *Aboriginal Place Names of New York,* 36.

615. Hodge, II: 160; H. W. Kuhm, "Indian Place-Names in Wisconsin," 95.

Active in the British forces in the War of 1812, Oshkosh participated in the capture of Mackinaw and the attack on Sandusky. His name appears as Oskashe in the Treaty of Butte des Morts, August 11, 1827, and Osh-kosh in the Treaty of Cedar Point, September 3, 1836.[616]

OSKALOOSA (*village and township, Clay Co.*)

This name, also spelled Ouscaloosa, Ouscauloosa, and Ouskaloosa, is that of one of two wives of the Florida Seminole chief Osceola (*q.v.*).[617] The city of Oskaloosa, seat of Mahaska County, Iowa, also bears her name, causing some wag to invent the myth that she was married to the Iowa chief whose name that county bears.[618] Elsewhere she has been called a "Creek princess."[619]

In Choctaw, which is related to Seminole in the Muskhogean linguistic family, *ishki-lusa* would signify "black mother."[620] A fanciful definition, "last of the beautiful,"[621] seems to be a product of the romanticism attached to Indian names.

OSWEGO (*village and township, Kendall Co.*)

This is named for the city in New York, an ancient trading post in the Iroquois country. Oswego was also the Onondaga and Oneida name for Lake Ontario (*q.v.*). Beauchamp calls this one form of "a well known name, meaning *flowing out,* or more exactly *small water flowing into that which is large.*"[622] Morgan gives four dialectical variations of the name and also translates it as "flowing out."[623]

OTEGO (*township, Fayette Co.*)

According to a local history, "when the name was changed from Cumberland, it was ordered to be called Otsego, after a county in New York but through carelessness on the part of the clerk, it was written Otego."[624] The name of Otsego Lake, New York, was said by Morgan to come from a Mohawk word of unknown meaning,[625] but

616. Kappler, II: 282, 465.
617. Fulton, *Red Men of Iowa,* 429; J. W. McSpadden, *Indian Heroes* (New York, 1950), 225-29.
618. Gannett, *Origin of Place Names* (1905 ed.), 233.
619. Phil Hoffmann, *Oskaloosa . . .* (Cedar Rapids, Ia., 1942), 10.
620. Byington, *Choctaw Dictionary,* 200, 395. McSpadden (*Indian Heroes,* 228) says she was part Negro. Cf. Okaloosa, La., Choctaw, "black water." Read, *Louisiana Place-Names,* 44.
621. Federal Writers' Project, *Iowa: A Guide to the Hawkeye State* (New York, 1949), 515.
622. Beauchamp, *Aboriginal Place Names of New York,* 171.
623. Morgan, *League of the Iroquois,* table facing p. 61.
624. Bateman and Selby, eds., *Fayette County,* II: 651.
625. Morgan, *League of the Iroquois,* II: 138.

elsewhere it has been said to signify "clear water,"[626] "welcome water,"[627] and "place of the rock."[628] However, there are also a town and a creek in New York named Otego, identical with the Illinois township name, and this may be its true protonym. Called Atege, Wauteghe, and Otago in older accounts, Beauchamp thought it might come from the Mohawk word for "fire."[629]

OTTAWA (*city, La Salle Co.; Ottawa Trail Woods, Forest Preserve District of Cook Co.*)

The city of Ottawa is apparently named for the Ottawa Indian tribe, which, despite one claim to the contrary,[630] never occupied this or any other site in Illinois in historic times. Some of them, however, lived among the Potawatomi.[631] Ottawa Trail Woods is named for the road to Ottawa, which once crossed that tract, past Laughton's trading post on the Des Plaines River, leading from Chicago to Ottawa.[632] At Laughton's post a number of Potawatomi were confined under government supervision during the Black Hawk War.[633]

The Ottawa tribe, whose principal home was in Michigan, received its name from the term *adawe,* signifying "to trade," from the fact that they were noted intertribal traders and barterers.[634]

OWANECO (*village, Christian Co.*) See also ONECO

Owaneco is a spelling variation of Oweneco, or Oneco (*q.v.*), the name of a Mohegan sachem of Connecticut who died in 1710. It has been claimed that a Winnebago Indian living on Rock River once bore this name,[635] but there is no reason to suppose that the name in Christian County came from him.

Sources on Owaneco give no clue as to the meaning of the name. The nearest related terms in Trumbull's *Natick Dictionary* are *ouwan* — "mist, vapor," and *owonogkuog* — they 'have holes', they burrow."[636]

626. *Ibid.,* 211.

627. Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes,* IV: 384. Elsewhere he said the name meant "bodies of water," *ibid.,* V: 594. *Os-se-go,* said he, meant "beautiful view," *ibid.,* III: 509.

628. Beauchamp, *Aboriginal Place Names of New York,* 174.

629. *Ibid.,* 173.

630. Conger and Hull, *Illinois River Valley,* I: 58.

631. Chouteau, "Notes on the Indians," 10.

632. George P. Jensen, *Historic Chicago Sites* (Chicago, 1953), 95-98; Quaife, *Chicago's Highways,* 76.

633. Blodgett, "Recollections Concerning Ap-ta-ke-sic (Half-Day)"; Indian Office letters, Chicago Agency, July-August, 1832.

634. Hodge, II: 167.

635. Barge, *Early Lee County,* 77; H. H. Hill & Co., pub., *History of Lee County* . . . (Chicago, 1881), 154.

636. P. 111.

OWEGO (*township, Livingston Co.*)

Owego, from the Iroquois language, is the name of a town and a creek in Tioga County, New York. It was the name of an Iroquois village burned by Sullivan's troops in 1779. Beauchamp said that the name was equivalent to *A-o-we-gwa,* a river eighty miles east of Niagara mentioned by Hennepin, which signified "where the valley widens."[637] Morgan had the same definition, but gave the name in Onondaga dialect as *Ah-wa'-ga.*[638]

OZARK (*village, Johnson Co.; Illinois Ozarks*)

The Illinois Ozarks are an extension of the Ozark hills of Arkansas and Missouri. The village takes its name from its location atop the main ridge of these hills.[639] According to Mooney, Ozark is a term once applied to a local band of Quapaw because of their residence in the mountains of that name. The spelling was an American phonetic rendering of the French *Aux Arcs,* a contraction which designated an early French post among the Arkansa or Quapaw Indians.[640] Another view holds that *Aux Arcs* signified "at the bends," on account of the river, or derived from *bois aux arcs,* "wood for bows," *i.e.,* the Osage orange tree.[641] Schoolcraft called the Arkansa tribe "bow wood Indians," and derived their name from French *arc* and *Kansaw* (Kansa), the tribe from which they separated.[642]

637. Beauchamp, *Aboriginal Place Names of New York,* 115. Haines, *The American Indian,* 767, thought this name meant "swift river," but Beauchamp (p. 230) called this an erroneous derivation from Canawaga.

638. *League of the Iroquois,* II: 134.

639. Clarence Bonnell, *The Illinois Ozarks* (Harrisburg, Ill., 1946), 131.

640. Hodge, II: 180. The Jesuit Paul du Poisson headed a letter "aux Akensas" on Oct. 3, 1727. *Jesuit Relations,* LXVII: 277. This probably referred to the river.

641. Von Engeln and Urquhart, *Story Key to Geographic Names,* 43-44.

642. *Indian Tribes,* IV: 562.

Out in History's Left Field

By Clyde C. Walton

The Civil War, Its Music and Its Sounds, Volume 1, is a most unusual phonograph record album. It may be in left field for record collectors, but certainly not for historians. The music is played by the Eastman Wind Ensemble, directed by Frederick Fennell, and the battle sounds are by the reactivated Civil War unit, Battery B, Second New Jersey Light Artillery; narration is by Martin Gabel.

Why is this album different from other recordings of Civil War music? First of all, the Confederate music is taken from the original manuscript band book of the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Regimental Band; the Union music is from the original manuscript band books of the Port Royal Band (Third New Hampshire). Furthermore, the music is played on original Civil War band instruments, from an over-the-shoulder E-flat sopranino cornet to an over-the-shoulder E-flat bass. The result is the closest we will ever come to the instrumental music of the Civil War; the music is mellow, harmonic, and sometimes exciting.

Side 1 is Band Music of the Union; Side 2 is Band Music of the Confederacy; Side 3 is Field Music of both armies; Side 4 is sounds of weapons and a kind of audio reenactment of parts of the Battle of Gettysburg. I liked the field music and bugle calls best of all; the sounds of the weapons and the rest of Side 4 are wasted on me. I would rather have had more music. Anyway, I recommend this album wholeheartedly. It is expensive ($11.96) but well worth the price. Ask for Mercury album LPS2-501 (it's also available in stereo).

Those of you who attended our spring meeting at Quincy will remember folk singer Win Stracke. He has a record out called *Songs of the War between the States* (Golden Records GLP50, $1.95). Win does a fine job on this record, and I think you will enjoy the way he handles Civil War songs.

In the summer issue of this *Journal* I mentioned three books from the University of Nebraska Press. Now I want to tell you about a paperback reprint series called Bison Books which this energetic press publishes. These are all reprints of interesting or important books (and sometimes both) about the West, at prices one can afford to pay. The six titles I have before me were all published in 1962, are variously priced, and with two exceptions are literal reprints: the magnificent *Old Jules* by Mari Sandoz (B.B. 100, $1.60), the standard

Our Landed Heritage: The Public Domain, 1776-1936 by Roy M. Robbins (B.B. 125, $1.95), the interesting *Plenty-Coups, Chief of the Crows* by Frank B. Linderman (B.B. 128, $1.50), the informative *Blackfoot Lodge Tales* by George B. Grinnell (B.B. 129, $1.50); Edgar B. Bronson's *Reminiscences of a Ranchman* (B.B. 127, $1.50) with a good and new introduction by William D. Aeschbacker, director of the Nebraska State Historical Society; and E. Douglas Branch's *The Hunting of the Buffalo* (B.B. 130, $1.40) with an introduction by J. Frank Dobie, titled "E. Douglas Branch, Singularisimo," an affectionate short study of the tragic life of Branch.

These are all good books, offered at reasonable prices. I hope the University of Nebraska Press expands Bison Books. I like them.

No one interested in history can afford to neglect the many fine titles available as paperbacks. A series which particularly impressed me is the American Experience Series, published by Corinth Books under the consulting editorship of Henry Bamford Parkes. This series is designed to put into print new editions of quality paperback books which "mirrored and shaped our Nation from earliest times to the present." Each title has a new introduction which places the book and author in historic perspective; they are priced realistically and are, as the publishers intended, quality books. The five I have before me are *American Communities* by William Alfred Hines (AE 10, $1.25), the standard early (1878) study of American communal societies; the *League of the Iroquois* by Lewis Henry Morgan (AE 12, $2.95), the first (1851) scientific study of an Indian tribe; *My Captivity among the Sioux Indians* by Fanny Kelly (AE 13, $1.75), one of the good late (1864) captivity narratives; *Joutel's Journal of La Salle's Last Voyage* (AE 14, $1.50), a republication of the first English translation of 1714, with notes from the Caxton Club edition; and *The Discovery, Settlement and Present State of Kentucke* by John Filson (AE 15, $1.25), a reprint from the first edition of 1784 of a book that was the "most famous and important frontier book of the period."

Both of these series — Bison Books and the American Experience Series — are excellent examples of the best in paperback publishing in the field of history. I recommend them both to you.

Finally, two single paperback titles I liked were *The Mississippi River Reader,* edited by Wright Morris (Anchor Books, Doubleday and Company, Inc.: Garden City, N. Y., 1962, $1.45), a good collection of pieces about the river from De Soto to Richard Bissell, and *The Frontier in American History* by Frederick Jackson Turner (Holt, Rinehart and Winston: New York, 1962, $1.95), back in

print in this inexpensive edition, with a fine foreword by Society member Ray A. Billington. For any of you unfamiliar with Turner's work (if there be any such!) read the first sentence in Billington's introduction: "No one volume has done more to reshape the writing of American history or to recast the popularly held image of the American past than this collection of thought-provoking essays."

Southern Illinois University Press has come up with a good title: *The Constant Captain — Gonzalo de Sandoval* by Clinton Harvey Gardiner (Southern Illinois University Press: Carbondale, 1961, $4.50). Gonzalo was Cortés's right-hand man, and this is a book replete with stories of courage, danger, and high adventure. It reads like a novel (and better than many I have plowed through) even though it is soundly founded on original manuscript sources. Perhaps we will be able to persuade Professor Gardiner to be one of our speakers when the Society meets in Carbondale next year. But until we can hear him, read about Cortés and Gonzalo in *The Constant Captain.*

Many of the reprints I have mentioned are scarce or rare in their original editions, and often quite expensive — much too expensive for most of us to consider buying. The publishers who are making important and desirable books available to us at reasonable prices deserve our thanks. Among those to whom I think we owe a word of thanks is the firm of Minneapolis booksellers and publishers Ross and Haines, Inc. I wish I had all of their reprints; I do have these two: *Forty Years a Fur Trader on the Upper Missouri: The Personal Narrative of Charles Larpenteur, 1833-1872,* edited, with many critical notes, by Elliott Coues (1962, two volumes in one, $8.75) and *Dahcotah: or, Life and Legends of the Sioux around Fort Snelling* by Mary Eastman (1962, $6.75). The Larpenteur volumes have been standard since they were first published in 1898 and are essential to anyone interested in the fur trade. Mrs. Eastman's volume and her husband's drawings, which illustrate it, are not regarded as entirely accurate, but, even so, with judicious use they are valuable.

These publishers also issue original material, and I have *Ojibwa Myths and Legends* by Sister Bernard Coleman, Ellen Frogner, and Estelle Eich (1962, $4.50). This interesting volume consists of traditional Ojibwa stories collected in the late 1950's on eight Ojibwa reservations in northern Minnesota by the authors. These stories — with variant versions — are authentic remains of the tribe's mythology collected at a time when their lives and legends are being greatly modified. I thoroughly enjoyed this one.

A trip across prehistoric Ameri-

ca with the half-human–half-animal Bear family, with interwoven folk tales and myths, beautifully written with poetic overtones — this is *Indian Tales* by Jaime de Angulo (Hill and Wang: New York, 1962, $4.50). First published in 1953, this edition is illustrated by the author's drawings and has an excellent foreword by Carl Carmer; truthfully I do not know what this book is — fiction, folklore, anthropology, history, literature. It is, I guess, a little of each, and this makes for an unusually rewarding reading experience.

Report on the Lands of the Arid Region of the United States by John Wesley Powell, edited by Wallace Stegner (The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press: Cambridge, Mass., 1962, $5.00) is one of the volumes of the John Harvard Library Series, a series whose intention is to "create a Library that will, in time, cover the full range of cultural achievements in this country — a source of accurate knowledge and of pride for all American readers." John Wesley Powell, who lived and worked in Illinois, and who led his first expedition to the West under the auspices of the Illinois State Natural History Society, created in 1878 a report that, in the words of Wallace Stegner, "would ultimately be recognized as one of the most important books ever written about the West." It is good to have this fine edition with its excellent introduction made available by Harvard.

Dee Brown, a thorough student, talented writer, and a librarian at the University of Illinois, has just written *Fort Phil Kearny: An American Saga* (G. P. Putnam's Sons: New York, 1962, $4.95). When one thinks of Fort Phil Kearny, one inevitably thinks of the so-called Fetterman massacre, a disaster to American arms in the West second only to the Custer (also so-called) massacre. To see what Mr. Brown thinks of the Fetterman "massacre" and to read a good biography of one of our important western outposts and the soldiers who manned it, take a look at *Fort Phil Kearny.*

In the last issue of the *Journal* the "Americana Classics" of Quadrangle Books, in Chicago, was discussed. Their latest is Richard Henry Lee's *An Additional Number of Letters from the Federal Farmer to the Republican . . .* (1962, $5.00). This is an important book, first published in 1788 and never reprinted until now; it is a powerful statement of the anti-Federalist position and was extremely influential in its day. But this reprint is an ugly book, very hard to read since it reproduces exactly the printed pages of the original edition. True enough, an important book is back in print, but I dare you to try to read it! Let's hope Quadrangle will in the future give us the exact text in books with modern dress.

Recent Acquisitions Of the Historical Library

The papers of prominent Sangamon County residents of the nineteenth century are recent additions to the files of the Illinois State Historical Library.

Miss Annie Springer of Springfield has donated several folders of official and personal papers of her grandfather, Rev. Francis Springer, for the period 1828 to 1892. This material is a substantial addition to the original Springer manuscripts already on file. The papers deal with Springer's education and with his duties as a Lutheran minister and as a teacher at Hillsboro and Carthage colleges and Illinois State University. His service with the 18th Illinois Infantry and the 1st Arkansas Infantry during the Civil War is also described. Springer was a neighbor of Abraham Lincoln's. In a letter dated April 13, 1864, Lincoln describes him as "one of my best friends, & than whom there is no more reliable man."

Further information regarding another Springfieldian, Ozias Mather Hatch, is provided in a series of 280 family and political letters dating from 1843 to 1872. The letters add much to the knowledge of political affairs of the period, particularly Republican Party affairs for 1858-1865. Cornelia Hatch, O. M. Hatch III, and Mrs. Samuel P. Goddard, Jr., donated the material to the Library.

Also acquired recently were the business papers of the Fletcher family, who resided in Sangamon County. Dating from 1823 to 1865, these documents include probate records, land transactions, insurance policies, and income tax receipts.

Philip L. Shutt of Paris, Illinois, a vice-president of the State Historical Society, has performed a most useful task by compiling a name index of the *History of Edgar County, Illinois* published in 1879. Compiled by W. H. Perrin, H. H. Hill, and A. A. Graham and published by William Le Baron and Company, the original work consisted of 798 pages. Shutt has made readily available the information contained therein with this typewritten index of 179 pages. In addition, he has compiled a new table of contents more accurate than the original. He has even designated early settlers (those from 1817-1845) by underlining their names. The index is preceded by a short sketch of Edgar County and a map. The other copy of this index is on file in the Paris Public Library.

Bernard Wax

Book Reviews

LARGELY LINCOLN

By David Chambers Mearns. Introduction by Earl Schenck Miers. (St. Martin's Press: New York, 1961. Pp. xiv, 227. $6.00.)

The first paragraph of the first essay in this sprightly collection by the Lincoln scholar-bibliophile David C. Mearns, of the Library of Congress, suggests the character and spirit of the whole enterprise. It reads:

> Washington in the District of Columbia is a Lincoln village. If any doubt the statement let them look to their telephone directory. There a man may dwell in the Lincoln Apartments, lunch at the Lincoln Cafe, tipple at Lincoln Liquors, array himself from Lincoln Clothiers, send his wife to the Lincoln Clinic for Women and treat her with medications from the Lincoln Drug Company, decorate his home from the Lincoln Furniture Company, fill his larder from the Lincoln Market, purchase sundries from the Lincoln Five and Ten Cent Store, borrow money from the Lincoln Loan Company or deposit it in the Lincoln Bank, find diversion in the Lincoln Theater and at last seek eternal rest in the Lincoln Memorial Cemetery. There can be no doubt about it; in Washington Mr. Lincoln has attained celebrity; indeed, he appears to be inescapable.

Notwithstanding all this attention to the name of Lincoln in the District of Columbia and elsewhere, Librarian Mearns presents his ideas in this first essay under the heading "The Inexhaustible Story." By way of illustration of what he has in mind, he cites an article in the *Lincoln Herald,* written by Joseph George, Jr., and titled "The Night John Wilkes Booth Played before Abraham Lincoln." Before he leaves his illustration, he pretty well convinces the reader "that the Lincoln story is inexhaustible; that much fresh work needs to be done; and that ancient witnesses should be cross-examined and occasionally impeached."

While this essay is more or less representative, the fourteen range widely over the Lincoln field and in several instances out of it. A particularly successful effort is "Great Day in 'Ottaway,' " which is really a supposed headline with the subheading "The Debates Begin; Douglas and Lincoln Face to Face." For this is a "Special to the Washington Post and Times-Herald," dated from "Ottawa, Ills., August 21, 1858." Here the librarian turns political correspondent and reports the first of the debates as if he were in the press box. Among the unusually interesting facts noted is this: "To-day, for the first time, short-

hand reporters have recorded a political debate. The stenographers respectively represent the *Chicago Times* (Democratic) and the *Chicago Press and Tribune* (Republican)."

Readers of this *Journal* will recall having seen in its pages part of the piece titled "The Scalping of Abraham Lincoln." Other articles are taken from the *Journal of the New Jersey Historical Society,* the *Simmons College Books and Publications,* the *Journal of the Manuscript Society,* and yet other magazines, and deal with such things as Lincoln's connections with the charming Princess Salm-Salm, the numerous locks of Lincoln's hair, and the speculation as to how good an actor Lincoln might have been had he turned to the stage.

The title is intended to suggest that Lincoln does not take over the book exclusively. Two outsiders who come into the Mearnsian pages are a pair of New Englanders. One is Calvin Coolidge, who is described as "A Neglected Bookman" in a most amusing account of the doings of the young emissary from the Library of Congress at the White House in the 1920's. (And were it not that the author pays special attention to unreliable recollected history in his opening essay, the Coolidge story would make the reader wonder!) The second New Englander is "Soap Man" D. P. Gardner, whose recounted goings-on are side-splitting.

This is not the main highway of history but detouring along by-paths that are both intriguing and pleasant. Closing his sensitive and appreciative introduction, Earl Schenck Miers writes: " . . . in an earlier age Lincoln had another great admirer named Walt Whitman who said so much better all that I have tried to say:

Camerado, this is no book,
Who touches this touches a man.

A slight amendment would be to say that he who reads this book touches the genial personality of David Chambers Mearns as well.

IRVING DILLIARD
Collinsville

THE POET AND THE PRESIDENT: WHITMAN'S LINCOLN POEMS
By William Coyle. (Odyssey Press: New York, 1962. Pp. 334. $1.95.)

This compilation was evidently made for use in literature classes — perhaps the author's own at Wittenberg University — but it is also valuable as a source book. The variorum text of the four poems which Walt Whitman published in 1865 in *Sequel to Drum-Taps* under the title "Memories of President Lincoln" is followed by Whit-

man's lecture on Lincoln's assassination, selections from his diaries, and other excerpts from his work dealing with Lincoln; and then by seventeen selections from other writers dealing with the relations between the two men, including Clarence A. Brown's article originally published in the Summer, 1954, issue of this *Journal.* These selections deal chiefly with two questions: Did Lincoln read aloud in his Springfield law office from Billy Herndon's copy of *Leaves of Grass*? And did he look out of a White House window one day at Whitman, coming along the street, and say, "Well, *he* looks like a *man*"?

The rest of Coyle's book consists of five selections having to do with the Lincoln funeral train, and seventy-one critiques and analyses of the Lincoln poems — particularly "When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd" and "O Captain! My Captain!" — chronologically arranged from William Dean Howells, Henry James, and an anonymous *New York Times* reviewer in 1865 to James E. Miller's "The Mysticism of Whitman" (1961). Finally there is the text of four poems often referred to as comparable to "Lilacs" — Whitman's "Out of the Cradle Endlessly Rocking," Milton's "Lycidas," Shelley's "Adonais," and the Lincoln section of Lowell's "Commemoration Ode" — and eleven pages of exercises.

The Poet and the President is an anthology pure and simple. Coyle allows his writers to state their interpretations, however diametrically opposed to each other, without any editorial attempt at explanation or reconciliation. There is no bibliography and no index, but in this type of book the table of contents serves both purposes. Anyone who owns the book, whatever his own attitude on the subject may be, can consult it either to bolster his own opinion or to find it contradicted. It should accomplish its object — to provoke thought. J.N.A.

CONSCIENCE IN POLITICS: ADLAI E. STEVENSON IN THE 1950'S

By Stuart Gerry Brown. (Syracuse University Press: Syracuse, N.Y., 1961. Pp. 313. $4.50.)

Adlai E. Stevenson, the former governor of Illinois, has won the respect and admiration of men and women throughout the world. This book deals with the crises in the 1952 to 1960 era which tested his mettle and that of other political leaders. Despite his losses in the presidential campaigns, Stevenson made a "definable and lasting impact on public policy," according to Professor Stuart Gerry Brown of Syracuse University.

Brown contends that as a can-

didate and opposition leader Stevenson steadily grew in stature and that his statesmanship became more apparent as time progressed. On several issues he compares and contrasts the attitudes and actions of Eisenhower and Stevenson, and he concludes that Stevenson was more admirable and effective when dealing with "McCarthyism," civil rights, foreign policy, defense, and disarmament. Brown's judgment of Eisenhower is best exemplified by his statement regarding the action taken at Little Rock: "The lesson for responsible American citizens may well be that popularity born of detachment from vital issues cannot safely be confused with leadership, and that when divisions are allowed to drift into crises for lack of a committed leader, extreme measures deplored by every one may be necessary to fill the vacuum left by wasted opportunities" (page 110). Here, as elsewhere, however, the author apparently fails to see the invalidity of comparing words with deeds.

The book is to a large degree an uncritical panegyric; no man is such a paragon that his every major action for eight years can be completely rationalized. Although the book is well written, Stevenson's national and international policies deserve a more detached and judicious treatment.

BERNARD WAX

SERVICE WITH THE SIXTH WISCONSIN VOLUNTEERS
By Rufus R. Dawes. Edited by Alan T. Nolan. (State Historical Society of Wisconsin: Madison, 1962. Pp. xv, 330. $5.00.)

This is an exceptionally well-written book about significant and exciting events. It is thus superior to most regimental histories and, let it be said, most current monographs about the Civil War. Even though written long after the event, the book is fairly accurate because Rufus R. Dawes relied heavily on his own wartime letters and diary and, more important, checked his memory against the *Official Records*. This, added to his verve, imagination, and insight, makes *Service with the Sixth Wisconsin Volunteers* a book well worth reprinting.

Dawes' Civil War career was outstanding. When the war began he raised a company of volunteers in Juneau County, Wisconsin, and was soon elected captain of the "Lemonweir Minute Men." Upon arrival at Madison the company joined the Sixth Wisconsin, which was sent to Washington to join the famous Iron Brigade, composed of the Second, Sixth, and Seventh Wisconsin and the Twenty-fourth Michigan. Dawes rose rapidly in the service — he was acting regimental commander at Gettysburg — and in July, 1864, became regimental commander. A month later, tired and worn from incessant conflict, he was

mustered out of the service.

The brigade of which the Sixth Wisconsin was a part was the most illustrious in the Union Army. It suffered greater casualties than any other Federal brigade; at Gettysburg, where it fought a holding action, 1,212 of its 1,883 men were casualties. The Sixth Wisconsin also suffered heavily; it stood tenth on the list of all Federal regiments in number of men killed and died of wounds. Small wonder that by 1864, when Dawes left the service, the Iron Brigade hardly existed as a fighting unit.

Even if Dawes had not served with so outstanding a brigade, his book would be an important one, for in an exemplary fashion he relates the almost universal story of a Civil War regiment. In the beginning the volunteers were composed of an equal mixture of boundless enthusiasm and utter incompetence ("The Captain of the neighboring Company appeared to be much gratified that a Captain had come in [Dawes], who knew less than he did about military matters"). In the next stage the men learned the rudiments of drill and discipline while they lost their enthusiasm and found that the main ingredient in army life was boredom (McClellan issued a general order declaring that he would not begin any movements on Sunday; Dawes commented: "As he did not inaugurate them on any other day, it was not of much importance"). Finally, after numerous bloody engagements, the men became hardened veterans, ready and able to do almost anything (at Antietam, "Men, I cannot say fell; they were knocked out of the ranks by dozens. But we jumped over the fence, and pushed on, loading, firing, and shouting as we advanced").

Alan T. Nolan has written an adequate introduction to this reprint, but unfortunately he has not annotated it. Dawes made frequent minor, but irritating, mistakes — Sumpter for Sumter — and Nolan should have corrected them in footnotes. The format is excellent.

Stephen E. Ambrose
Louisiana State University in New Orleans

STATE RIGHTS IN THE CONFEDERACY
By Frank Lawrence Owsley. (Peter Smith: Gloucester, Mass., 1961. Pp. 290. $4.50.)

This is a reprint of a work originally published by the late Professor Frank Lawrence Owsley in 1925. At that time it stirred a great deal of controversy, especially in the South where it was offensive to many who held to a romantic view of the War between the States. To this reviewer the book seems to have stood

the test of time and is well worth reprinting.

Basically its theme is that the Confederacy lost the war not because of its smaller supply of manpower and material but because of the selfishness of the various states which rationalized their actions on the basis of state rights. The various states of the Confederacy built up armies for their own defense, thus making a great many men and guns unavailable to the parent organization since the home guard units were forbidden to fight outside their own states.

The organization of the state armies was brought about by the danger from the long and unprotected seacoast as well as the perennial fear of slave revolts. It seems also that political jealousy between the state governors and the Confederacy may have had a part in the matter. There was a constant tug-of-war between President Jefferson Davis and the governors, particularly Brown of Georgia and Vance of North Carolina, to gain control of these armies. To justify their position the governors used the already moth-eaten fabric of state rights which had already been used to resist the United States and which reactionary southern politicians still use to resist national authority.

Owsley insists that these state troops were worthless to either their states or the Confederacy. They were, for the most part, undisciplined and undependable. He quotes General Brandon of the Confederate Army as saying that these home guard units were mostly "composed of men who have been skulking from the service."

On these facts, then, Owsley makes the claim that the Confederacy lost the war because of state rights. He makes a convincing claim. Technically the book is a good clean job of printing. The index is inadequate.

Donald F. Tingley
Eastern Illinois University

THE CIVIL WAR CHRISTMAS ALBUM

Selected and edited by Philip Van Doren Stern. (Hawthorn Books, Inc.: New York, 1961. Pp. 128. $4.95.)

Here is a collection of Civil War Christmasiana in a very attractive volume. Included are stories, poems, letters, reminiscences, and pictures which reveal what Christmas was like 100 years ago.

In the field, Civil War soldiers were between battles. "Very little actual fighting was done on Christmas Day. This was not because of religious or sentimental reasons. Major Civil War campaigns usually began in the spring and went on until cold weather closed in, when bad roads and severe weather forced the armies to suspend activities for the winter."

Meanwhile at home, the children were awaiting the arrival of Santa Claus, there were holiday balls, and Christmas tree "dressing" was begun: "Strings of bright berries, small bouquets of paper flowers, strings of beads, tiny flags of gay ribbons, all homemade . . . made a brilliant show at a very trifling cost."

Pictures showing holiday and winter views include "The Lone Sentry," a bleak snowy scene depicting an armed soldier standing ankle deep in snow; "Christmas Snow," a lively Currier and Ives print showing Christmas trees being cut and dragged by three smiling boys; and a Winslow Homer drawing of a gay dancing group with a Christmas tree in the background. There are two pages of Civil War Christmas advertisements describing a music box, a sewing machine, and watches.

Among the interesting prose pieces is a story with regional dialect, "A Conscript's Christmas" by Joel Chandler Harris; a maudlin entry, "Holly Berries — A Confederate Christmas Story"; and a pleasant item, "Santa Claus Visits the New York *Herald* Office (Christmas Eve, 1864)." The Christmas recipes from the December, 1862, *Godey's Lady's Book* are delicious to read.

During these Civil War Centennial years, it might be a good idea to observe an old-fashioned American Christmas. Using this *Album* as a guide, one could make tree ornaments, give homemade gifts, plan an authentic holiday menu, or just enjoy reading American Christmas stories.

HELENE LEVENE

HISTORICAL ESSAYS

By Charles H. Coleman. (Eastern Illinois University: Charleston, 1962. *Eastern Illinois University Bulletin,* May, 1962, Special Number. Pp. 67.)

This collection of five essays was issued by the Department of History at Eastern Illinois University as a tribute to Dr. Charles H. Coleman on the occasion of his retirement from the staff. The text is preceded by a foreword by Kevin Guinagh, head of Eastern's Foreign Language Department, and a letter from Allan Nevins.

All of these essays concern Abraham Lincoln and the Civil War era — the period that interests Dr. Coleman most. Three of them are about Lincoln, one is a two-page note on "The Use of the Term 'Copperhead' during the Civil War," and the last and longest is titled "The Election of 1868, 'Democratic Despondency: The Votes Are Cast.'" Those about Lincoln are "The Half-Faced Camp in Indiana — Fact or Myth?", "Sarah Bush Lincoln, the Mother Who Survived Him,"

and "The Matson Slave Case."

Why these particular essays were selected is not stated, but it was possibly because they definitely bear the Coleman imprint — meticulous and thorough research lucidly presented. They are the definitive word on subjects that would probably have gone uninvestigated had they not intrigued his inquisitive mind.

H.F.R.

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF CARCAJOU POINT: WITH AN INTERPRETATION OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF ONEOTA CULTURE IN WISCONSIN

By Robert L. Hall. (University of Wisconsin Press: Madison, 1962. Volume 1: pp. viii, 200. Volume 2: pp. xii, 148, and 83 plates, 15 tables. $8.00.)

This book, in two volumes, is an account of archaeological investigations of the Carcajou Point site in Jefferson County, Wisconsin, and its relation to all similar or somewhat similar sites in the middlewestern United States plus an analysis and synthesis of what archaeologists call the Oneota culture. Volume 1 contains all of the text and Volume 2 has all of the pictures, maps, tables, and captions. This is a useful arrangement because one can keep his place in the text while turning to any needed plate or table.

Dr. Hall's presentation of the excavation and content of the Carcajou Point site is a model of organization and clarity. His alteration of the concept of Oneota culture (attributed to Chiwere Sioux tribes by most archaeologists) seems reasonable and proper. But what was most interesting to me in the context of this brief review was the relationship between history and archaeology at this site.

The Carcajou Point site is also known as "White Crow's Village," so named because White Crow's band of Winnebago lived in the area in the 1820's. Surface collections from the site produced brass kettle fragments, iron axes and knives, glass beads, gun fragments, and other trade materials as well as artifacts of aboriginal manufacture, including shell tempered pottery similar to that from previously defined Oneota sites in Wisconsin. Since the site was a historic Winnebago village, it had been tentatively concluded that the aboriginal cultural remains of Upper-Mississippi type found there were attributable to the Winnebago.

Dr. Hall's excavations at the site showed that the aboriginal cultural remains, including the pottery, were not associated with the trade materials and that the

site contained two independent components, one historic, the other prehistoric. These conclusions could not confidently have been inferred from the evidence of surface collections or uncontrolled excavation alone.

It is a strange coincidence, however, that the prehistoric component at the Carcajou Point site, beginning shortly after 1000 A.D. was probably the product of ancestral Winnebago culture; thus the site is the location of one of the earliest as well as one of the last Winnebago villages in southern Wisconsin.

GEORGE I. QUIMBY
Chicago Natural History Museum

(Dr. Hall has been at the Illinois State Museum for the past year making a special study of prehistoric and early historic remains from Starved Rock. He will remain at the Museum as Curator of Anthropology.)

BEST PHOTOS OF THE CIVIL WAR

By Hirst Dillon Milhollen and James Ralph Johnson. (Arco Publishing Company, Inc.: New York, 1961. Pp. 144. $2.50.)

The photographs in this collection were selected by the curator of photographs at the Library of Congress, Hirst Dillon Milhollen. Major James Ralph Johnson of the Marine Corps supplied the text.

The book is an attractive one, filled with familiar photographs by Mathew B. Brady and colleagues. It differs from its many picture-book relatives in that it is of an easily handled compact size.

Civil War leaders, battles, soldiers, and weapons are depicted in words and pictures. Particularly interesting are the sections on the siege of Petersburg and naval warfare. Although there is something disturbing about looking war in the face, nothing but photographs such as these so clearly reveals the fact that the Civil War was not a bookseller's dream, but a gruesome reality in which men fought and died.

For the Civil War addict who requires large doses of military pictures and text, this volume is a must.

HELENE LEVENE

Fourteen-Year-Olds Win Top Historian Honors

Four fourteen-year-olds, two boys and two girls, were the winners of top honors among the state's student historians at the fourteenth annual Award Day ceremonies held in the Illinois Building auditorium on the State Fairgrounds in Springfield on May 11. Each of them received a hand-lettered parchment certificate and a cash prize of $25.

The awards were given for the excellence of articles published during the past school year in *Illinois History* magazine, which is sponsored by the Illinois State Historical Society.

In addition to the teen-agers who were honored, two teachers also received parchment certificates and $25 cash prizes in recognition of their support of the Student Historian program.

Before these awards were announced Governor Otto Kerner presented Student Historian of the Year award certificates to twenty-six teen-agers.

Following the presentation ceremonies at the Fairgrounds the award winners, their fellow students, teachers, and parents were guests at a reception held at the Governor's Mansion.

The four top Student Historian prizes and their winners were:

The John H. Hauberg Memorial Award (sponsored by the Illinois State Historical Society) for the "year's article of greatest historical interest." Won by Joanne O'Connor, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Charles O'Connor, and an eighth-grade student at Washington School, Dixon. Her article, titled "The Little Giant" (a biographical sketch of Stephen A. Douglas), appeared in the March, 1962, issue of the magazine.

The Harry E. Pratt Memorial Award (sponsored by Friends of the Lincoln Shrines) for the "best article about Abraham Lincoln in the February issue." Won by Peggy Adams, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Adams, and a ninth-grade student at Chiddix Junior High School, Normal. Her article, titled "Bloomington Remembers," was about Lincoln's friends in that city.

The King V. Hostick Award, for "the best article in an issue chosen by the sponsor" (King V. Hostick, Springfield and Chicago dealer in historic manuscripts). Won by Robert Skelly, Jr., son of Mr. and Mrs. Robert F. Skelly, 403 Edison, Elgin, and a ninth-grade student at Abbott Junior High School. His article, "Zouave Elmer Ellsworth," appeared in the December issue of the magazine, which was devoted to the first year

Governor Otto Kerner receives a leather-bound copy of the eight issues of Illinois History *magazine for 1961-1962 from Mrs. Olive Foster, director of the Student Historian program.*

Joanne O'Connor, left, displays the parchment certificate she received with the John H. Hauberg Memorial Award. The presentation was made by Mrs. Doris P. Leonard, president of the Illinois State Historical Society.

Peggy Adams sheds tears of joy and surprise when Richard S. Hagen, treasurer of the Friends of the Lincoln Shrines, presents her the Harry E. Pratt Memorial Award.

Donald F. Manahan, left, and Walter E. McBride admire the hand-lettered Hauberg teacher's award. McBride, a past president of the Rock Island Rotary Club, made the presentation.

Photos by Bill Calvin, State Photographer

State Historian Clyde C. Walton presents the Elsie O. and Philip D. Sang Award to Miss Maud Irene Nelson, history teacher at Schurz High School, Chicago.

of the Civil War. Ellsworth was a protégé of Lincoln's and the first Union officer killed in the conflict. Robert also received two large prints of Lincoln photographs made from the original negatives which are owned by Hostick.

The Ralph E. Francis Award (sponsored by Francis, a resident of Kankakee and a past president of the State Historical Society), for the "best-written article of the year." Won by Bruce Kelsey, son of Rev. and Mrs. Ridell A. Kelsey, 507 Broadway, Sterling, and an eighth-grade student at Sterling Junior High School. His article appeared in the Lincoln issue of the magazine and was titled "No Scoffer at Religion."

The two teachers' awards and their winners were:

The John H. Hauberg Memorial Award (sponsored by the Rotary Club of Rock Island), presented to the "teacher who has made the most significant contribution to *Illinois History* during the year." Won by Donald F. Manahan, social studies teacher at Chiddix Junior High School, Normal.

The Elsie O. and Philip D. Sang Award, for "outstanding service to *Illinois History* over a

period of years" (the Sangs are history-minded residents of River Forest; he is a director of the State Historical Society). Won by Maud Irene Nelson, history teacher at Schurz High School, Chicago. The Sangs also gave memberships in the State Historical Society to the twenty-one teachers whose students had award-winning articles published during the school year.

Each of the twenty-two students who did not receive a cash award was presented copies of two historical volumes — *Lincoln and Herndon,* by Joseph Fort Newton (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1910) and *Lincoln's Kalamazoo Address against Extending Slavery,* annotated by Thomas I. Starr (Detroit, Michigan, 1941). These books were given by Ralph G. Newman, proprietor of the Abraham Lincoln Book Shops in Chicago, Springfield, and New Salem State Park, and a past president of the Illinois State Historical Society.

These students were:

Aurora: Edward Martens, Jefferson Junior High School.

Bloomington: DeAnne Hilfinger, Gene Loftin, and Norman R. Martens, Bloomington Junior High School; and Holly Rust, Bloomington High School.

Carbondale: Mark Dare, Lincoln Junior High School.

Carmi: Phil Stocke, Carmi Township High School.

Chicago: James Johnson, Lane Technical High School; Marcia Kay Bruce, Schurz High School; Jeffrey Moro, Senn High School; and James Fio Rito, Quigley Preparatory Seminary.

Des Plaines: Linda Meyer and Chris Rukas, Thacker Junior High School.

Dixon: Pamela Lidinsky, Washington School.

Elgin: Ellen Lundeen, Abbott Junior High School.

Normal: Ronald Frink and Steve Temple, Chiddix Junior High School; and Rogers Freedlund, Jr., University High School.

Rockford: Linda Tallacksen, Washington Junior High School.

Springfield: Richard Gunning, U. S. Grant Junior High School.

Sterling: Barbara Jones, Sterling Township High School.

Urbana: Cheryl Mae Vansickle, Urbana Senior High School.

Two of these 1962 Student Historians of the Year, Barbara Jones of Sterling and Steve Temple of Normal, were award winners in 1961. Holly Rust of Bloomington was an award winner in 1960.

For the first time in history the twenty-six Student Historians of the Year were divided equally between boys and girls; previously the girls had far outnumbered the boys. They attended eighteen schools in thirteen communities throughout the state. The win-

ning articles were chosen by a panel of ten judges from sixty-two student articles published during the school year. These, in turn, had been selected from 303 submitted to the magazine.

Activities of Local Historical Societies

John Gustafson, author-artist and one of the founders of the Batavia Historical Society, was named Batavia Citizen of the Year by the Chamber of Commerce at its banquet in May. The award is given annually to a Batavian who has made a notable contribution to the community. Gustafson is the author of a "History of Batavia" which is being published under the sponsorship of the Historical Society, and he also writes a column titled "The Batavia Historian" for the weekly *Batavia Herald*. He has carved linoleum block illustrations for his history, and his oil paintings of early Batavia landmarks can be found in many of the homes of the city and in the public library.

Plans for making an old-fashioned Victorian Christmas the theme for the 1962 season for Holiday House at Magnolia Manor were discussed at the June meeting of the Cairo Historical Association. Mrs. Dallas Wood is the Holiday House chairman.

Mrs. Lucille Woodward was re-elected director of the Association at the same meeting. Serving as co-directors will be Mrs. Charles W. Stewart and Jane Solomon. Wolffe Berbling, Clayton Boone, Rev. Bascom E. Hopkins, and Earl L. Jewell were elected first vice-presidents; and second vice-presidents are Miss Solomon, Mrs. James E. Williams, and Mrs. Fay Comer. Mrs. Winnie Roche was named treasurer and Mrs. Henry Moreland, secretary.

Two Urbana High School students and their teacher, Robert Waller, were honored at the May 28 meeting of the Champaign County Historical Society. The students, authors of articles published during the school year in *Illinois History* magazine, were Nancy Booth and Cheryl Vansickle. The latter also was the winner of a Student Historian of the Year award. The principal part of the program for the evening was a "History of Chanute Air Force Base," presented by A. D. McLarty, an instructor at the base. Also, the Society's officers for the current year were installed. They are Karl B. Lohmann, president; Mrs. Carl Creamer, vice-president; Vereta McGuire, treasurer; and Marian T. Estep, secretary.

The Chicago Historical Society on May 1 officially opened a new and extensive exhibit showing the

development of American firearms over a period of 350 years. The displays were arranged in chronological order and spanned the period from the matchlock guns of the Puritans to the sporting guns of today. Notable single items were George Washington's hunting rifle (1790); a .44 caliber carbine (1886) owned by Sitting Bull; and a .44 caliber repeating rifle used by "Buffalo Bill" Cody in his wild west shows. One case was devoted to the .45 caliber Kentucky rifle and included tools and accessories used by early Smoky Mountain gunmakers. Other cases showed the changes from flintlock to percussion, to the breech-loading and bolt-action stages in the development of American firearms. A series of prints from the Society's collections showed the various types of arms as they were used in battles from the Revolution to the time of World War I.

A desk that is thought to have been a part of the equipment at the old statehouse when Vandalia was the capital of Illinois has been acquired by the Effingham Public Library. It was one of seven desks replaced in the city council chambers; the others were sold. The library desk will be refinished and identified by a plaque containing its history, which will be based on research by members of the Effingham County Historical Society.

Officers elected by the Effingham Society at its spring meeting are: Lowell Lewis, president; Eldon Ooton, vice-president; Mrs. Hilda Feldhake, secretary-treasurer; Bessie Barbee, archivist; and Mary Burtschi and Austin Dyke, directors.

Four bus tours of Evanston's historic landmarks were held on the last two Saturdays in May and the first two in June, under the sponsorship of the Evanston Historical Society. Each tour began at the Evanston Historical Society Museum at 10 A.M. and lasted for approximately an hour and a half. Two routings were offered: on the first and third Saturdays the bus visited sites in the central and east part of the city; and on the second and fourth Saturdays it covered the central and western sections.

Five directors were elected to three-year terms at the June 11 meeting of the Galena Historical Society. They are Dr. D. J. McNamara, Robert Altona, Robert Murphy, Edward Perleth, and Mrs. Ross Wise. Louis A. Stemm, president, announced in his annual report that Holman J. Swinney, director of the Idaho State Historical Society, had offered his services in cataloging the Society's museum collection during the summer months.

Members of the Geneva Historical Society voted unanimously at a May 20 meeting to construct

a museum to house their historical collections as soon as plans can be approved and the remainder of the required funds raised. The building, which will have approximately 15,000 square feet of exhibit space, will be erected on a plot in Wheeler Park to which the city council has granted the Society a long-term lease.

Officers of the Society, who were reelected at this meeting, are Dr. Charles H. Lyttle, president; Frank R. Jarvis, first vice-president; Oliver J. Adamson, second vice-president; Margaret A. Allan, secretary; and Jeanita Peterson, treasurer. In view of the increasing importance of the Society in civic affairs the members voted to make the mayor, the president of the park board, and the president of the school board ex-officio directors.

The Greene County Historical Society held a historic homes tour combined with a style show on May 17. Ten homes in Carrollton and one in White Hall were made available for the occasion. The style show, which was held at the Damon Driver home in Carrollton, was introduced by several members of the Society in costumes of the 1880's. The homes were open from 10 A.M. to 3 P.M., and the tourists could visit them in any order they wished. Tickets were $1.50 each.

Historic mementos, principally from the pioneer and Civil War periods, were put on display this summer on the second floor of the Grundy County courthouse in Morris by the Grundy County Historical Society. The articles ranged from a six-foot ox-yoke to a china plate painted with a scene of the main street in Mazon about 1913 and included early paper money, household utensils, and a collection of fossils.

Elmer Hart was installed as president of the Historical Society of Hartford (Madison County) at its third annual banquet in May. The other new officers were Rev. R. E. George, vice-president, and Thelma Benson, secretary-treasurer. The banquet speaker was W. D. Luening, whose subject was "The Oil Industry Relative to the History of Our Country and Our Community."

The Jefferson County Historical Society has been making an intensive search for articles of historic interest with which to start a museum. Five display cases have been donated by a group of civic-minded Mt. Vernon business organizations, and space has been provided for them in the council room on the second floor of the Mt. Vernon city hall.

Members of the Knox County Historical Society sponsored a bus tour of historic sites in the Galesburg-Knoxville area on the afternoon of May 20. At the office of James Norton the tourists saw

his collection of the letters of all the Presidents; at the Dale Clay farm they were shown a large Civil War collection; at the Carl Sandburg Cottage they were addressed by Loren Goff; at the restored Knoxville courthouse Jesse R. Peck explained the exhibits; and a representative of the railroad acted as guide through the Burlington's old Engine 3006.

When the Land of Goshen Historical Society begins its 1962-1963 season this autumn, it will have a new president — Willard G. Flagg, who took office at the closing meeting of the past season on May 6. Other officers for the new year are Lesley Marks, vice-president; Mrs. Louise Ahrens, secretary-treasurer; Harold Kriege, program chairman, with Mrs. Wendell Browning, Mrs. V. J. Mindrup, and Jessie Springer as cochairmen.

The Civil War centennial supplied the theme for the Society's May meeting. Mrs. Albert Kriege presented a history of Illinois' part in the war and read excerpts from letters written by her father and an uncle while they were serving in Company F of the 117th Illinois Infantry. Mrs. C. E. Vorwald, who was dressed in a costume of 1861, gave a brief history of the Daughters of Union Veterans organization and then played several Civil War songs, which the group joined in singing. Dora Bohm, a guest at the meeting, exhibited a number of Civil War mementos, books, and posters.

At the close of the meeting Robert C. Lange, vice-president for the past season, presented each of his fellow officers a copy of Inglis Fletcher's *Pay, Pack, and Follow,* the autobiography of an author who spent her early years in the Alton-Edwardsville area.

Directors of the Lawrence County Historical Society have accepted the offer of the Lawrence County Public Library of a room to house the group's papers and books. The offer also included the use of vault space for very valuable documents.

Dr. John S. Gray, chairman of the department of physiology at the Northwestern University Medical School and an amateur historian, was the speaker at the dinner meeting on May 16 that marked the seventieth anniversary of the McLean County Historical Society. Dr. Gray's particular historical interest is in the American frontier as seen through a study of the army scouts in the Indian wars. The title of his talk was "Adventures in Do-It-Yourself History." He told, among other things, of the fun he had had "in digging up information on 'Lonesome Charlie' Reynolds, an Illinoisan who served as General Custer's scout."

Preceding Dr. Gray's talk the Society elected the following of-

ficers for the current year: Dr. Kenneth M. Calhoun, president; Dr. James W. Grubb, first vice-president; Verner W. Kurth, second vice-president; Fred H. Young, third vice-president; Elias W. Rolley, secretary-treasurer; and Dwight Bracken, museum curator. Twelve directors were also elected.

Members of the Madison County Historical Society were guests of Monticello College in Godfrey for their meeting of May 13. The purpose of the meeting was "to review the history of Monticello College and give recognition to the presidency of Harriett Newell Haskell, 1867-1907." The principal speaker was Dr. G. E. Meyers, vice-president of the college. His talk was preceded by "Remarks in Commemoration of the Land Grant Act of 1862 with a Salute to Jonathan Baldwin Turner" by Irving Dilliard, of Collinsville, a past president of the Illinois State Historical Society. Following this program students acted as guides for a tour of the college.

The historical resources of the Henry Public Library were the subject of a program given by Mrs. Helen Raffensperger, the librarian, at the May 15 meeting of the Marshall County Historical Society. Much of her talk was based on the original minute book of the Marshall County Agricultural Association, which organized the Farmers and Mechanics Institute, as the Marshall-Putnam county fair was then known. Some of the details disclosed by this early record were disputes over the judging of mule races, a prize of $6.00 for the best sample of locally manufactured brick (1867), and the fact that the 1866 fair had a deficit of $873. Following the program and an inspection of the library's exhibits the group adjourned to Herry's Ice Cream Parlor, where they had old-fashioned ice cream sodas as the guests of Haws Otto, the evening's program chairman.

The Monroe County Historical Society held a hobby and antiques show at the SS. Peter and Paul Grade School in Waterloo on June 1 and 2. The purpose of the show was to help raise funds for the Society's proposed museum building.

Members of the Ogle County Historical Society were guests of the home economics extension units of Polo at a meeting in the town hall on May 14 for a local history program. Slide pictures were shown of many of the county's sites, and Russell Poole gave the historical background of each. Merle Haselton, president of the Ogle County Society, presented a brief history of Rochelle; and Mrs. Edna Buelke told of the early days of the village of Haldane. The

Home Economics Extension Office in Oregon has compiled a ten-page mimeographed pamphlet, "Historical Spots in Ogle County," as a part of its observance of the centennial of the Land Grant College Act.

The Palos Historical Society (Palos Park) sponsored Memorial Day services on May 30 at Palos Oak Hill Cemetery. The program was centered about the centennial of the Civil War; and the principal speaker, Rev. Paul Lundell of the Palos Park Presbyterian Church, chose as the title of his talk, "They Died for Something, What Are We Living For?" Rev. Chester Hand of the Church of the Transfiguration and Rev. Paul T. Sanders of the Community Center Foundation, president of the Palos Historical Society, also took part in the services. The program was followed by a pot-luck picnic.

State Senator Hudson R. Sours, chairman of the Civil War Centennial Commission of Illinois, was elected president of the Peoria Historical Society at its meeting on May 21. Vice-president for the current year is Robert Crombie, columnist for the *Peoria Journal-Star*. Mrs. Wilbur D. Ulrich was reelected secretary, and Joseph B. Adams, Jr., was named treasurer. Bernard Wax, field services supervisor for the Illinois State Historical Library, was the speaker at the annual meeting, which was held at the Bradley University Student Center.

Announcement of plans to redecorate the master bedroom, the coachman's room, and the curio room of the Governor John Wood Mansion, home of the Historical Society of Quincy and Adams County, was made by George M. Irwin, president, at the annual meeting in June. In her report Mrs. Jane Bowman, curator, said that the mansion had approximately two thousand visitors during the year. All incumbent officers of the Society were reelected. In addition to President Irwin they are James W. Carrott, first vice-president; Oliver B. Williams, second vice-president; Mrs. William Wessels, recording secretary; William J. Dieterich, corresponding secretary; Harvey Sprick, treasurer; and W. Edwin Brown, William F. Gerdes, Jr., and Edward P. Lannan, trustees.

A "Clothespin" Art Fair — so named because clothespins were used to attach the pictures to a fence — was held on June 10 under the sponsorship of the Randolph County Historical Society at a Sparta school playground. The fair was so successful that the Society was able to pay for a new roof on its octagonal Charter Oak Schoolhouse near Schuline — and another show has been planned

was an exhibit of the work of thirty-five students who had studied in an adult extension course at Southern Illinois University under Roscoe Misselhorn. They displayed 370 woodcuts, charcoal sketches, water colors, and oil paintings, with the latter predominating. There were portraits, still lifes, and landscapes. Members of the Randolph County Society, attired in their by-now traditional outfits — calicos and bandanas — served the visitors punch and cookies, for which they accepted voluntary contributions. They also received a commission on the art work that was sold.

Tape-recorded interviews with two ninety-year-old lifelong residents of the area were features of the annual meeting of the Rock Island County Historical Society held at the Buffalo Prairie Presbyterian church in April. The recordings had been made by Rev. Donald Cooper, pastor of the church, and were later presented to the Historical Society.

Officers of the Society reelected at the meeting are Colonel Carl A. Waldmann, president; G. Hollister Boardman, first vice-president; Mrs. Virgil Simpson, second vice-president; Mrs. Stephen R. Spencer, secretary; F. E. Muller, treasurer; Helen Marshall, archivist; and Charles Ainsworth, curator. Mrs. Charles Deere Wiman was elected a director.

The newly formed Rockford Historical Society completed its organization at a meeting on April 29 by electing its first full slate of officers. Ray F. Lichtenwalner was named president; Frank G. St. Angel, first vice-president; William H. Barrick, second vice-president; Mrs. Blanche E. Alden, third vice-president; Harry Andreen, treasurer; and Mrs. Barbara Nilsson, secretary. Twenty-four directors were named for terms of one, two, and three years. Clyde C. Walton was the speaker at this meeting.

The St. Clair County Historical Society has inaugurated a program of presenting citations to the owners of old homes for "their faithful maintenance of the fine architecture of the period the homes represent." The owners of three Belleville homes were accorded these citations, and four others were cited for "the restoration and adaptation which faithfully maintain the important architectural features of the period." Plans call for the issuance of the citations annually.

The Richard Bartholdt Unit 28 of the National Council of the Steuben Society of America thought so highly of this program that it passed a resolution stating, in part, "The St. Clair County Historical Society has undertaken to stem the tide of needless destruction of living monuments to America's historic development."

Edward G. Pree, Springfield attorney, was elected president of the year-old Sangamon County Historical Society at its May meeting. Dr. Floyd S. Barringer was named vice-president, and Robert E. Hatcher was reelected secretary-treasurer. Elected to three-year terms as directors were Mrs. Betty Andruskevitch, Stephen Bartholf, George L. Cashman, Mrs. Ernest E. East, Dr. Emmet F. Pearson, and Charles Trimble.

The White County Historical Society sponsored a successful House and Garden Tour on May 19. Sixteen houses and gardens, all of them in or near Carmi, were on the route which began at the old Ratcliff Inn at 10 A.M. and ended at 5 P.M. Approximately three hundred went on the tour.

The Society also sponsored a "Silver Tea" on June 19 at what is called Carmi's "living museum" — the home of Miss Mary Jane Stewart. The house, built in 1815, once served as the courthouse and was acquired in the 1830's by U. S. Senator John M. Robinson, Miss Stewart's grandfather. The seven hostesses at the tea were dressed in wedding gowns and other costumes some of which dated back 132 years.

Quincy College Historian Dies

Rev. Francis Borgia Steck, O.F.M., Ph.D., L.G.J., Quincy College historian, died on July 5, at St. Mary's hospital, Quincy, where he had been a patient since June 29. He was famous for his studies and extensive writings on the Marquette explorations, his best-known books being *The Jolliet-Marquette Expedition, 1673* and *Marquette Legends.*

Father Francis was born July 11, 1884, at St. Louis, the oldest of five children of Bernard A. and Mary Schwietering Steck. He studied at St. Joseph Seminary, Teutopolis (Effingham County), Illinois, and received the Franciscan habit on June 22, 1904. After further study in Quincy, Chicago, Cleveland, and St. Louis he was ordained to the priesthood on June 29, 1911.

He spent two years at country parishes in Nebraska before returning to St. Joseph Seminary to take up his career in the classroom, which occupied him as a priest and Franciscan for the next thirty-four years. During his six years (1913-1919) at the seminary he assisted in editing the *Franciscan Herald* and wrote a number of essays which later appeared in book form as *Franciscans and the Protestant Revolution in England.* In 1919 he went to Santa Barbara, California, where he stayed two years and helped to write the history of twenty-one California missions. Thence he went to Chicago and

spent a year as literary editor of the *Franciscan Herald* before returning to Quincy. There he became interested in Jolliet and Marquette. This interest led, in 1924, to further studies at the Catholic University in Washington, D.C., where he received his Ph.D. degree in 1927.

For the next twenty years he taught Spanish and Spanish-American history courses at Quincy College and at the Catholic University. He retired from teaching in 1947 because of failing health and since then had lived at Quincy College, where he continued his writing. At the time of his death he was preparing another book on Marquette.

State Takes Title Again to the Old Capitol

In brief ceremonies in the offices of Governor Otto Kerner on the morning of June 29, the old State Capitol in Springfield, which for more than ninety years had been owned by Sangamon County, again became state property. The Governor presented Sangamon County representatives the state's check for $975,000 and received a deed to the courthouse square. Representing the county on this occasion were Robert Watson, chairman of the Sangamon County Board of Supervisors; John Hendricks, chairman of the board's courthouse committee; Robert L. Terrell, Sangamon County state's attorney; and Joseph E. Thoman, county clerk. Governor Kerner was assisted by Warren D. Moyer of the state attorney general's office.

Thus was one more step taken toward the goal of making the old Capitol a national historic shrine and the home of the Illinois State Historical Society.

A recent earlier step had been the reactivation of the famed Abraham Lincoln Association by a history-minded statewide group, including Governor Kerner, to provide the leadership and supervision needed in rehabilitating the old building. The Association will have charge of fund raising and will determine the policy to be followed. Oliver J. Keller, Sr., manager of radio station WTAX, Springfield, is president of the organization, and State Historian Clyde C. Walton is executive director.

The picture of the old Capitol on the front cover of this *Journal* is from a painting by Robert W. Cassidy, background artist on the staff of the Illinois State Museum. For several Saturdays during March and April of this year he set up his easel at the corner of Sixth and Adams streets, and the result was this view of the south side, the side of the original main entrance, of the old building. The painting is owned by the State Historical Library.

Journal
OF THE
ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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The *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* is published by the Illinois State Historical Library for distribution to members of the Illinois State Historical Society. Individual dues are $5 a year; sustaining membership, $10 minimum; student membership, $2.50; and life membership, $50. Business firms may support the Society as sustaining members ($10 a year) or as contributing members ($25 a year). Membership is open to all.

In addition to the *Journal,* which is published four times a year, members of the Society receive publications sponsored by the Society which are printed by authority of the State of Illinois. The latter include occasional books and pamphlets on Illinois history.

The Society's annual meeting is held in October. In May the Society visits some historic area. Both the meeting and the tour are open to all members and to the public.

Manuscripts for the *Journal* should be submitted to Clyde C. Walton, Illinois State Historical Library, Centennial Building, Springfield, Illinois. The editors do not assume any responsibility for the personal opinions expressed by the authors of articles published.

The Society's purpose is to collect and preserve data relating to the history of Illinois, to disseminate knowledge of the state and the story of its citizens, and to encourage historical research.

To preserve historical data in all possible completeness many types of material are needed. These include books about Illinois or Illinoisans, family histories, state and municipal publications, reports of Illinois institutions of all kinds, manuscripts, letters, diaries, newspapers, magazines, maps, prints, and photographs. The Historical Library specializes in Lincolniana and materials related to the Civil War and has large holdings in these two categories.

Although the Historical Library purchases a few items, its funds are limited by appropriation. Therefore it must depend in large measure on the public-spirited generosity of the people of Illinois, including members of the State Historical Society.

Materials which pertain in any way to Illinois and its history will be gratefully received and carefully preserved. All gifts will be suitably acknowledged. Donors may be assured of the appreciation of future generations of Illinois citizens.

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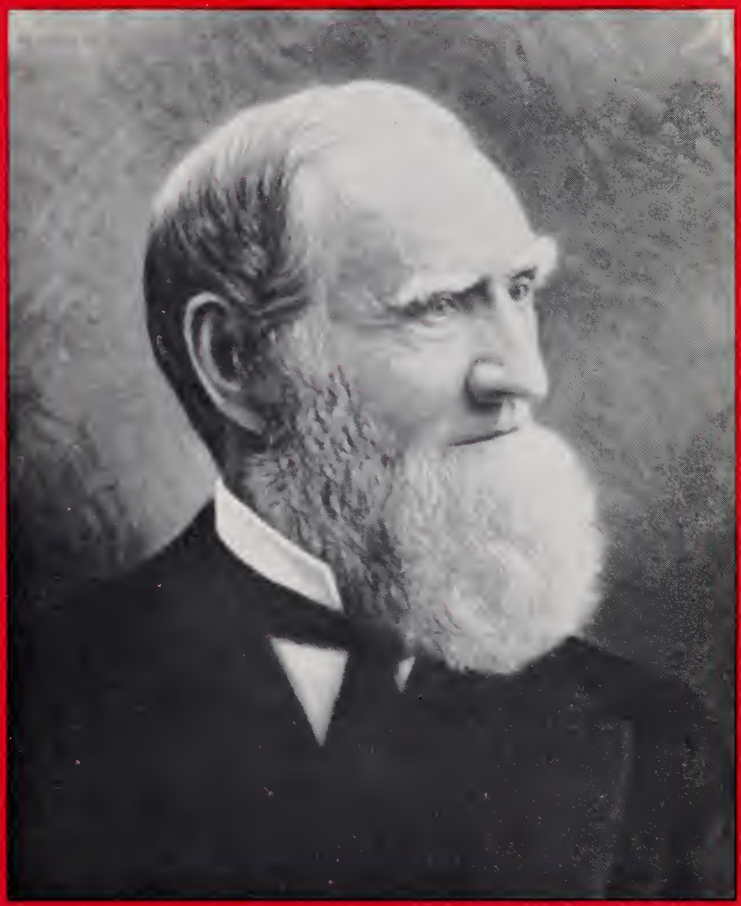

JONATHAN BALDWIN TURNER *(See page 370)*

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W. CAMERON MEYERS

Henry Horner and Richard Finnegan— Footnote to a Friendship

W. Cameron Meyers is associate professor of journalism at Michigan State University. He has also taught at Pennsylvania State University and Northwestern, where he received his M.A. and Ph.D. degrees. Before joining the academic community, he was a newspaperman on the West Coast. This article is adapted from a forthcoming biography of Richard J. Finnegan.

HENRY HORNER had crisscrossed the breadth and length of Illinois visiting villages and towns, speaking in high school auditoriums, in church basements, to outdoor gatherings uncomfortable in the crisp October air. He remembered the faces he had seen — forlorn miners at Carbondale, grim-faced farmers at Bloomington, thousands of fearful city dwellers at Chicago's Riverview Park, a bewildered young widow with three small children at Oregon, and always the dispirited elderly couples wherever he spoke.[1]

In the autumn of 1932, Horner was on the campaign trail seeking the governorship of Illinois; and he knew the mood of his state. There was little to look forward to, no hope. Signs of the Great Depression were everywhere. National income, $87.4 billion in 1929, had declined with the value of the dollar to $41.7 billion. The numbers of unemployed in the nation ranged from eight and a half million to twelve million, depending on the definition of

1. Horner to Richard J. Finnegan, Oct. 15, 1932, in Richard J. Finnegan Papers. The personal and business papers of Richard J. Finnegan are in two collections — one made available to the author by Mrs. Lucile Adams Finnegan, Chicago, and the other by the *Chicago Sun-Times*. Correspondence, messages, memoranda, speeches, and telegrams referred to in this article are included in the papers.

"unemployment."[2] The bounty of the breadlines and soup kitchens was limited; many Americans went hungry. Nearly one out of every four workers in the country was seeking a job.

In the cities of Illinois, Horner saw an army of jobless men and women march from office to office and from factory to factory, seeking any kind of work. But offices and factories were ridding themselves of old employees rather than adding new ones. Plants were shut down, store buildings were vacant, office buildings were half filled; and in the streets some citizens openly begged for money or food. One of every two workers in Chicago was without a job.[3] Horner also watched rebellion growing among farmers in the state. Mortgages on farm property were foreclosed in increasing numbers. Farmers were stripped of their livestock, equipment, houses, and even land. America witnessed the bitter irony of a situation in which farmers were compelled to withhold their crops from cities to keep up prices temporarily, while in the cities people without jobs or money went without food.[4]

Against this backdrop of resentment and despair, Henry Horner sought the gubernatorial nomination of the Democratic Party. He had entered the April primary election at the urging of an old friend, Richard J. Finnegan, editor of the *Chicago Daily Times* and the "original Horner-for-Governor advocate."[5] When Horner won the party's nomination, Finnegan wrote jubilantly in the *Daily Times,* "The people knew they had a man with motive power, and not

2. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, 1789-1945: A Supplement to the Statistical Abstract of the United States* (Washington, 1949), A 117, A 118, D 65.

3. Mauritz A. Hallgren, *Seeds of Revolt: A Study of American Life and the Temper of the American People during the Depression* (New York, 1933), 123.

4. Theodore Saloutos and John D. Hicks, *Agricultural Discontent in the Middle West, 1900-1939* (Madison, 1951), 435-51 *passim.*

5. Ednyfed H. Williams to Finnegan, Nov. 12, 1932. Williams, a Chicago lawyer, served as chairman of the Independent Horner for Governor Committee.

Henry Horner, Illinois' depression-era governor.

merely a man anxious to squat down on any available job."[6]

Horner had been a practicing lawyer until 1914, when he was elected judge of the Probate Court of Cook County, a post to which he was reelected four times. Finnegan first met the Judge when he covered Horner's court as a reporter for the *Chicago Journal.* Both men had strong personalities and keen minds, leavened by good humor. Horner, a Jew, had developed in his years on the bench a quick sympathy for, and a sensitivity to, the needs of people.[7] He was a baldish man of medium height, whose iron-gray mustache and rimless pince-nez added a dignity to his appearance that his easy smile belied. Finnegan, an Irish Catholic, was perhaps the gentlest austere editor who ever presided over the Chicago scene. Subdued and dignified in manner, he had, however, a quality of perpetual youth-

6. *Chicago Daily Times,* April 14, 1932.

7. Interview with the Most Rev. Bernard J. Sheil, Chicago, Aug. 27, 1957; Lloyd Lewis, "Give Him Peace, Oh Ye Prairies," in *Henry Horner, Governor of Illinois: A Tribute, 1878-1940* (Chicago, 1941), 10-13.

fulness. He was shy; but if he believed strongly in a cause, he could speak out forcefully. Both men believed in the essential goodness of the people, their wisdom, and their ability to govern themselves wisely. A mutual interest in Lincoln, Irish literature, and the Democratic Party provided a base on which they built a genuinely warm friendship.

Politically, they were party men to the extent that they believed the Democratic Party was the one in which their ideals and principles would be most at home; but neither was blindly partisan. They worked to help the party make the best possible choices of candidates, and they supported the candidates who were chosen.[8]

Finnegan was not a political novice. In 1910 he ran for Congress in the Illinois Tenth District and was caught up in the fervor of midwestern Progressivism. He talked to neighborhood gatherings and groups of farmers, spreading the philosophy that the great promises of American democracy still were unfulfilled and that government should be more representative, more efficient, and more responsive to popular control. He lost the election, but later, in looking back upon his defeat, he often said that it was a fortunate experience because it taught him that a newspaperman should not be in politics but in a position where he could censure public officials if the need arose. He could not do that properly if he himself were in public office. Finnegan also believed that newspapermen should not sit down with politicians and frame slates of candidates. They should have no more to do with politics than they were willing to print in their newspapers. And if men in public life were creatures of a newspaper, he asked, how could the

8. Robert E. Kennedy, "Finnegan of the Sun-Times," *Bulletin of the American Society of Newspaper Editors,* No. 377 (June, 1955), pp. 12-13; Robert J. Casey, *Such Interesting People* (Indianapolis, 1943), 75-81; Barratt O'Hara to author, March 31, 1958. O'Hara, now a member of the U.S. House of Representatives from the Second Congressional District of Illinois, was a Hearst editor in Chicago from 1900 to 1912, and was well acquainted with Finnegan and Horner.

newspaper be an honest critic and censor?[9] This philosophy would ultimately cause a serious rupture in Finnegan's friendship with Horner.

In the summer of 1932, however, the two men were staunch friends and allies, and Finnegan encouraged Horner "to go downstate to meet and talk with editors and businessmen and community leaders,"[10] prior to opening his campaign against former Governor Len Small, of Kankakee, the Republican nominee. Small's campaign was being managed by William Hale "Big Bill" Thompson, former mayor of Chicago, who had been known as the "bad boy" of Republican politics for almost two decades.[11] Early in August, Horner moved into the St. Nicholas Hotel at Springfield, which he made the base of operations for his campaign in central and southern Illinois.[12]

"My itinerary keeps me going so continuously that I get no opportunity to break away to St. Louis to visit with newspaper people," Horner wrote Finnegan from Springfield. "Some time ago," he recalled,

> you and Mr. Thomason talked with me regarding the religious question. At the time you stated that you would think it over and then determine what you would suggest in the handling of it. I do not meet it at all, and the reports are astoundingly encouraging. However, the other side — Thompson and Small — is pressing very hard and using every prejudicial suggestion it can make. They seem to be champions in spreading poison. That seems to be the only campaign they are making, other than their reckless and abundant employment of promises of jobs, roads, and other things which I am sure they have no intention of making good.
>
> You will excuse me if I do not write you as often as I would like, but time goes mighty swiftly. I get little opportunity to do anything else but meet people throughout the state. This seems to

9. MS copy of "Remarks of Richard J. Finnegan at News Clinic, Inland Daily Press Association, Sponsored by the Medill School of Journalism, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois," Nov. 7, 1949, pp. 11-13.

10. Finnegan memorandum to Samuel Emory Thomason, Aug. 2, 1932. Thomason was publisher of the *Chicago Daily Times*.

11. *Chicago Daily Times,* April 6-8, 12-13, 1932, *passim.*

12. Horner to Finnegan, Aug. 8, 1932.

take up most of the hours of the day, except the six or seven I try to reserve for sleeping. However, I do not want you to think, "Out of sight, out of mind." For I think of you frequently and take unto myself the conceit that you think of me occasionally.[13]

Thompson was indeed overstepping the bounds of propriety and taste in his attacks on Horner. When speaking to farm audiences, Thompson would remark in a jocular vein that if Horner were elected governor, the market price of pork would drop still lower.[14] After Thompson had introduced the religious issue into the campaign, a group of Jewish friends called on him to protest. "You know I've been a friend to Jews," Thompson told the delegation. "Look at the record of my appointments. I'm saying what I've got to say to make Small win. That's the only thing that's important here. Len Small has got to win!"[15] And Big Bill continued his anti-Semitic attacks, hoping to appeal to sectional, religious, and nationality prejudices. Such attacks were usually made only outside Cook County, because there they might lose, instead of win, votes for the Republicans.

"We get a few reactions from your visits in the state," Finnegan wrote the Judge in Springfield:

One is that your political friends are inclined to take up too much of your time, making it impossible for you to meet editors, businessmen, and others whose judgments would create a better understanding of your character and ability among their Republican and independent friends and neighbors.

I know how hard it is for you to control a situation of this kind, but perhaps if I mention it this way, you can pull a few wires to keep your trip more in line with your original plan. Of course, my information may be entirely wrong and you will know whether I am barking at the wrong tree.

Our additional reports are that the religious question is being used, and I suspect it is only natural that you personally would not

13. *Ibid.*

14. William H. Stuart, *The Twenty Incredible Years* (Chicago, 1935), 496-97.

15. Lloyd Wendt and Herman Kogan, *Big Bill of Chicago* (Indianapolis, 1953), 340-41.

meet with it. Just at this juncture, I am of my original opinion that others can do more about it than you can.

I consider it very important that you meet the publishers, editors, managing editors, city editors, and political writers of the St. Louis newspapers. Those newspapers circulate widely in southern Illinois. From my own experience in meeting candidates from the southern part of our state, I know how important it is for a newspaperman who is up against the task of deciding between two candidates to shake hands with the man he wants to be for. The big circulation that these papers have in the southern counties with their assistance to you cannot be over-estimated.

We talk about you and the campaign a great deal in the office and at home, and constantly ask about anything pertaining to you. From the inside of my family, I am sending you an admonition again to be careful of your health.[16]

Horner returned to Chicago on September 2. Topping the news in Chicago papers was the story that a Cook County grand jury was expected to return an indictment for embezzlement against William Hale Thompson's close friend, Samuel Insull, utilities magnate who for years had dominated that city's political, financial, and social circles. Three months earlier Insull had departed for Europe; his Middle West Utilities holding company had crashed, forcing him to resign the directorship of eighty-five corporations, the presidency of eleven others, and sixty-five chairmanships. The collapse of this labyrinth of holding and investment companies, serving 4,741 communities in thirty states, had impoverished thousands of investors.[17]

In late September when Horner was touring the solidly Republican agricultural counties in the northeastern section of the state, Finnegan wrote that he was troubled by reports that machine politicians had taken over the Judge's campaign. He had heard also that Horner had been advised to avoid the Insull-Thompson-Small issue. Most political campaigns did not "just grow like Topsy," Finnegan wrote. "The best campaigns are reared." It was a hard job, he

16. Finnegan to Horner, Aug. 12, 1932.
17. *Chicago Daily Times,* June 14, Sept. 1-2, 4-9, 12, 14, 1932.

said, in the midst of all the excitement, but no harder than the job would be after Horner was governor. "You have complimented me in your last letter by saying that I was the first to suggest the hand-to-hand campaign downstate," he said. "Whether that's true, I am going to be bold enough to make a few suggestions which I hope will help you."

When the Judge returned to Chicago, he did "not have to be racing around shaking hands or attending all the meetings that were advertised." His health simply would not stand it. "You are overwhelmed with details now," said Finnegan, "and I can tell you are groggy." He had been assuring his friends, he wrote, that if Horner were elected governor, he would become known as one of the greatest governors in the country. He based that judgment, he said, on the Judge's ability to analyze situations and then take the necessary action at the necessary time. "In other words, watch for an opening for a good punch and deliver it." Finnegan advised the Judge not to fritter away his energies on "too many little punches." The game was "going to depend on head work and not foot work. You've got to take some time off, Henry, to do some thinking."

He also advised Horner to write a series of speeches, "well thought out by and written by Henry Horner, the man and future governor." There were some things the man Horner could not leave to anyone else. Whether the speeches were put out over the radio or printed in the newspapers, every word must count, "just as every word in the Lincoln-Douglas debates meant something." Finnegan said he referred particularly to the Insull incident, now splashed across the front pages of the city's and nation's newspapers. Did Horner realize this was probably the "most colossal failure and the most enormous financial gambling fraud ever perpetrated on the public in the history of the world?" The foundation for this financial catastrophe was laid, Finnegan said, when Insull "had in his pocket" William Hale Thompson as mayor of the city, Samuel Ettleson as corporation

counsel, and Thompson's chief adviser, Len Small, as governor, and Frank L. Smith, former chairman of the state utilities commission and now Republican national committeeman. Insull's friends "are now found as receivers and attorneys to clear up the garbage," Finnegan wrote. In most cases, the men who were supposed to have been carrying on in the interests of investors and the public had been the beneficiaries of Insull's largesse.

Insull had fled, Finnegan wrote, "the brazen Thompson had the unmitigated gall to get out on the stump for his friend Len Small," and Frank Smith had the nerve to act as campaign manager for Small. The whole circumstance was a challenge that could take Horner to a "leadership of public opinion" that had been available to few men in the thirty years Finnegan had watched Illinois politics. "No one else can see this the way you can see it," he said. "It is beyond the grasp of most men because it needs a spiritual depth which few men in politics have and which, unless I misread you, you possess. So this letter is just for your eyes. It is written rather hurriedly and you will probably read it hurriedly. But stop, look, and listen. You have gone this far and you cannot now turn back."[18]

As the campaign, often harsh and acrimonious, drew to a close, the *Daily Times* commented editorially that its straw vote, reflecting the newspaper's sampling of public opinion, indicated a "tide of independence, even in Republican Evanston," running as never before in Illinois. Two factors that had contributed to bring the revolt against the Republican Party to "white heat," the newspaper observed, were the personality of "Henry Horner, the sensation of the campaign," and the "power of Horner's appeal to the voters' intelligence." Illinois needed Horner to right the wrongs that had continued "unchecked for almost a decade."[19]

The *Times's* opinion poll was prophetic. Horner swamped

18. Finnegan to Horner, Sept. 20, 1932.
19. *Chicago Daily Times,* Oct. 23, 1932.

Small on election day, rolling up a plurality of 566,000 votes, even topping Illinois' popular vote for the Democratic presidential candidate, Franklin D. Roosevelt.[20]

Triumphant Democracy descended January 9, 1933, on Springfield; the party had returned to head the state government, again under the leadership of a judge. Judge John P. Altgeld had been inaugurated as governor in 1893; Judge Edward Fitzsimons Dunne had become governor in 1913; and now another judge, Henry Horner, was to become chief executive of the state. Twenty years lay between each Democratic gubernatorial victory.[21]

"Dear Henry," Finnegan wrote the Governor the day following the inauguration,

> it was nice of you to invite us to a midnight supper last night but really, we couldn't impose on you on such a day as yesterday.
>
> It was a grand day for you and all your friends. I mixed around with the crowd outside the mansion for nearly two hours, and you can take it from me that not in many years has a man had as much good will among the people as you have.
>
> I have just one worry about which I constantly remind you — your propensity to overdo and overtax your personal strength. Above all things, please take care of your health. When you are tempted to pile the last straw on the camel's back, remember old Doctor Finnegan's advice.[22]

When Horner assumed office, the state was on the verge of bankruptcy. With the Democrats in control of both houses, the General Assembly approved the Governor's proposals to meet the emergency. The new legislature adopted a sales tax (which would produce increased revenues) and reduced governmental appropriations. The state cooperated with the federal government in relief measures and was able to restore thousands of citizens to public and private payrolls. Horner also initiated a program of legislation which resulted in increased aid to public schools, extension of the

20. *Ibid.*, Nov. 11, 1932.
21. *Ibid.*, Jan. 9, 10, 1933.
22. Finnegan to Horner, Jan. 10, 1933.

state's secondary road system, and modernization of public charitable institutions and mental hospitals.[23]

Meanwhile, the Democratic-controlled Congress, at the suggestion of President-elect Roosevelt, approved legislation to prepare the way for the states to repeal the Eighteenth Amendment to fulfill a party pledge. It was believed that repeal of prohibition would help stimulate economic recovery, provide substantial new federal and state taxes, and curb flagrant abuses of law enforcement. In early summer Illinois became the ninth state to vote for repeal.[24] Nearly four months passed, however, before Governor Horner seriously turned his attention to the problem of liquor control legislation. The legislature had sat for 179 days in its regular session, and then returned to the capital in early October for more than a month to consider ways of providing money for unemployment relief.[25] The assembly opened its second special session November 23 to prescribe for the regulation of the lawful sale of liquor. Resolution of the problem, which many other states handled with relative dispatch, bogged down in haggling as a result of failure of the Governor's commission to make unanimous recommendation of control measures. The commission produced two bills, one for wide-open home rule, another for home rule under state supervision. The bills differed at so many points it was apparent that reconciliation would be lengthy and heated.[26]

The prohibition experiment of nearly fourteen years came to an unlamented end on December 5, when the thirty-sixth state ratified the Twenty-first Amendment, repealing the controversial Eighteenth. There was a new law of the land, and in Springfield the General Assembly continued its wrangle over the procedures of liquor control.[27]

23. Theodore Calvin Pease, *The Story of Illinois* (Chicago, 1949), 242-60 *passim*.
24. *New York Times,* June 4, 6, 1933.
25. *Chicago Daily Times,* Nov. 10, 1933.
26. *New York Times,* Nov. 26, 1933.
27. *Chicago Daily Times,* Dec. 6, 1933.

In Chicago, at four o'clock the morning of December 19, a Christmas-basket party for the needy in one of the city's wards ended in a shooting match in front of a beer tavern owned by the alderman of the ward. Two policemen were wounded, one of them shot down as he stood a few feet from the sheriff of Cook County, a guest of the alderman. At the Hudson Avenue police station, the alderman admitted he had taken part in the shooting. He told police that after distributing baskets to the poor, at a party in the Plaza Theater, he and a number of friends — including deputy sheriffs, politicians, and Mayor Edward J. Kelly — had adjourned to his tavern. Late in the afternoon an assistant state's attorney announced that the alderman would be charged with assault with intent to kill.[28]

On the day after the shooting, in a front-page editorial in the *Daily Times,* with pictures of Mayor Kelly and Governor Horner inserted in the text, Finnegan voiced his anger about the incident:

> Four o'clock in the morning.
>
> A Chicago alderman, quick on the trigger, proprietor of an "inn." The sheriff of Cook County among a group of all-night celebrants in the "inn," with the doors locked. Two thirsty policemen and their woman companion drive up in search of another "li'l' drink." The policemen are refused drinking companionship. Two are wounded, one a member of the Chicago police force, the other a first deputy to the sheriff.
>
> The alderman . . . admits he shot the policeman in what the whole city regards as a typical brawl of the saloon days.
>
> There has been a lot of shooting of policemen in Chicago lately. Police have orders to get the men who shoot the police. But following the shooting of a policeman by an alderman who owns a saloon there was a noticeable lack of interest on the part of law-enforcing officers of the city and county.
>
> If the average householder shot a policeman under the same circumstances, he would have been arrested immediately. With the alderman, it's different.[29]

28. *Ibid.,* Dec. 19, 1933. The *Daily Times* reported that Mayor Kelly had "left the party two hours before the shooting took place."

29. *Ibid.,* Dec. 20, 1933.

Why, asked Finnegan, did the police wait twelve hours before detaining and booking the alderman? Because, he wrote, within a fortnight of the repeal of prohibition, politics and liquor traffic were back at "their old game." Once more in Chicago the repugnant conditions and the social and political evils against which President Roosevelt had warned the nation when he proclaimed repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment had returned. The attitude of the *Daily Times* against the evils of prohibition was well known. Every newspaper in the city had worked for enactment of the Twenty-first Amendment; each had agreed the old-time saloon must not return.

With few exceptions, Finnegan wrote, every responsible leader of the Democratic and Republican parties, every member of the legislature, and every member of the city council had pledged that he would not tolerate the return of the old saloon. Both party platforms had banned the saloon; but it was back in Chicago, running until four in the morning.

The *Daily Times* had taken Governor Horner, Mayor Kelly, the legislature, and the city council at their word. They had said "no saloon." Now "let them prove that they mean what they say," Finnegan said. "They have been pussyfooting up to now." The old saloon had been a political saloon. So was the new "inn" or "tavern," he wrote. The saloon and politics had to be separated. The Governor knew that; so did the Mayor. The *Times* demanded that they lead a movement to separate the saloon from politics, and suggested a way they could do it. The legislature should include in the new liquor law a provision that no license to engage in any form of the liquor business should be issued to any public official, elected or appointed, or to any officer of a political party. And no one connected with the liquor traffic, said Finnegan, should be allowed to run as a candidate for public or party office.

Less than a month earlier, the editor recalled, the Chi-

cago City Council had passed a liquor ordinance; yet the old saloon had returned to many sections of the city. The state senate now was considering more than one hundred amendments to a house bill under a program agreed upon by Horner and Kelly. But the Horner-Kelly program would not do the job. The one hundred amendments could be discarded, and replaced by one amendment forbidding public officials to own liquor taverns and barring saloonkeepers — all who might be engaged in the liquor business — from holding public office.

> Sad, but true, there is not in Illinois [said Finnegan] a conspicuous public man who sees the liquor problem as President Roosevelt sees it. . . . He personally asked the Chicago City Council and the Illinois General Assembly to remove those evils of the liquor traffic which "harm good government, law, and order."

That was a fine appeal from a high-minded President, the editor observed. But at a Chicago alderman's inn the answer to the President was: "To hell with law and order." Did Governor Horner and Mayor Kelly want to go along with that answer? Chicagoans should insist that the Governor and the Mayor line up 100 per cent with the President.[30]

Finnegan mailed a copy of the *Daily Times* to Horner, and by telegraph sent him a copy of the editorial that had been published on page one.[31] At 4:15 that afternoon, Finnegan received this telegram from the Governor:

> Dear Dick: The amendment your refer to in your telegram today has been introduced in the senate even though your editorial writer seems to think that there is not "a conspicuous public man in the state who sees the liquor problem aright." You ought to know that no one desires the divorce of politics and the liquor problem more than I do. Please read the bill and all the amendments proposed. Et tu? Henry Horner.[32]

The next day the *Times* published an exclusive story by one of its reporters that a police officer, one of the men

30. *Ibid.*
31. Finnegan memorandum, Dec. 20, 1933.
32. Horner to Finnegan, Dec. 20, 1933.

shot by the alderman, owned a tavern on the city's North Side. The newspaper also printed an interview with Kelly, who said he agreed with the editor of the *Daily Times* on the liquor question, and then announced he would bring the issue before the city council at its next meeting. A third news story, with a Springfield dateline, reported that the Chicago bloc in the senate wanted to adjourn until January 3 but that Horner demanded action of party leaders and the return of the senate after Christmas.[33]

On the night of December 21, Finnegan received a second telegram from the Governor, delivered to him at his home:

Dear Dick. Notwithstanding your issue of December twentieth and the front page photograph and comment, an amendment was today adopted at my request in the senate embracing your suggestion to me. I am at a loss to know what your editorial means by its reference to a Horner-Kelly program. Do you know of such a program and are you familiar with the Horner program? I assume you have read the editorial but I can't believe you wrote it. My heartiest felicitations to you and your lovely family. Henry Horner.[34]

Within a few minutes, Finnegan's reply was flashing over the wires to the Governor at the Executive Mansion:

To make me and others more familiar with the Horner plan, I urge you to prepare carefully a statement of it in 1,500 words addressed to the people of the state using Lincolnian language to reach me early next week and I will undertake to have the press associations carry it widespread to newspapers. Also invite you to discuss it over the radio at your convenience but before the legislature meets again.

Hope you will get really angry before any radio talk. Wrote part of a letter to you today. Thanks for holiday greetings and family sends same to you. Dick Finnegan.[35]

"You must have worn the famous smile when you added 'Et tu?' to your sparkling telegram in answering my wire of the 20th," Finnegan wrote it his letter to the Governor.

33. *Chicago Daily Times,* Dec. 21, 1933.
34. Horner to Finnegan, Dec. 21, 1933.
35. Finnegan to Horner, Dec. 21, 1933.

"The editorial writer was myself. I do believe that before the legislature gets through something is going to come from getting you thoroughly aroused." It had been his fervent hope, he said, to see the Governor not just as a "judicially-minded executive who is conscious of public sentiment on the saloon question" but as a zealous protagonist, out in front

so definitely that sparks will fly if any selfish interest monkeys with the buzz saw.

You say I ought to know "that no one desires the divorce of politics and the liquor problem more than I."

The trouble is, Henry, that the average man on the street does not know for sure that you even desire it. You think he ought to know but you haven't been organized so that he is compelled to know. It is a long way from your office to the corner of State and Madison streets. You may be surprised to hear it, but a lot of folks have the idea that you and Mayor Kelly may be shadow-boxing and that you have an agreement to do some feinting. Of course, this isn't my idea, but some one must help create such a public crisis of public interest that when you do get very angry and speak right out, everybody will be listening and will learn that your desires have given place to determined action against which nothing can stand.

You are the Gibraltar on which the people of the state tied their anchor lines a year ago in November — you and President Roosevelt. It was not the Democratic party so much as you may think. Or at least as some of the Democratic leaders still think it was. The party in this state is going around in a fog. If you don't lead the donkey where he may not want to go, but where his health will be better, there just isn't going to be any grass for him after a while.

It is on your record that the party will have to depend. The job is a difficult one, I know, but it isn't made any easier for you, or for those most interested in you, if you get too sorry for yourself, or think *events* have made you a martyr. You are misunderstood because you talk too much to politicians and not enough to all the people.

After writing the above, I had your telegram at home commenting on our editorial after you had read it, and telling about the adoption of the amendment.

I was glad that your request to the senate put through what was adopted. Of course, the amendment should be stronger. It should

include officers of political parties and all public officials. I admit it may be hard to make it stick on constitutional officers. No precinct captain or ward committeeman should be in the business. Nor should the state or national committeemen or delegates to conventions.

As to the Horner-Kelly program — whether there is one or not is not so important as the fact there are 8,300 places spilling liquor in Chicago, that some of them are terrible joints, selling terrible booze, and that this is what the legislature, Horner, and Kelly have let come upon us. The language fitted what is running in the mind of the reader and not so much what may be running in your mind or the mayor's or the legislative commission's.

The public doesn't know all that you know about it. Generally speaking, the average man understands that the state of New York had its laws and regulations all ready for enforcement the day that liquor came back, and in general he thinks that Albany and New York City got together and did something about it, while in Illinois he thinks of Springfield and Chicago and naturally of Horner and Kelly.

We have to think of our readers. You have to think about the citizens of the state. We were strong for repeal and so were you. You cannot let the Democratic organization make a martyr of you. If the thing doesn't work, you will be blamed more than the party or any individual. And you are going to do more justice to yourself if you get a little hint of criticism from a friendly source beforehand. It hasn't made you as angry as I thought it might. I may have the wrong idea but I think I am doing my small part to steer you from withering criticism later on, if you let the pressure slip you back a few notches.

You are young enough and have enough young friends to appreciate what new ideas are permeating social, industrial, legal, educational, and legislative thinking of the country in this metamorphosis from a dying philosophy. The old men don't see it. Even some of those with young physiques nowadays are old men. Unfortunately, the ideas of old men have too much weight. . . .

Heaven protect you from the hang-overs. Heaven send you some close colleagues who are not hang-overs.

My holiday wish for you is one of such sentimental personal regard that I can endure even your temporary displeasure, and if I can arouse you to the understanding of what I have told you personally and written you — namely, that Henry Horner must look out for Henry Horner. Nobody else will look out for him.

To do this properly, he must have very close to him folks that are aware of far more than the routine. I still think you need some idea hunters, men that aren't in politics. My wish for you this eventful Christmas is that you can find some. Certainly I hope that the surging affairs of 1934 will see a lightening of your personal burdens by a small corps of progressive horsemen who can ride with you any place and tell the professional politicians to go to blazes.[36]

As the year came to a close, the Illinois Senate was deadlocked on reaching an agreement for a liquor control law.[37] In late January, a week before a control bill was passed by the General Assembly, a *Daily Times* reporter, attending a White House press conference, asked President Roosevelt his opinion of party leaders, such as national committeemen, who serve as legislative agents for special interests in connection with government business. "I think it's most improper," snapped the President. "It's deplorable." The *Daily Times* gave the President's remarks special display in an editorial sharply critical of the pending liquor control legislation before the assembly.[38]

On the last day of January, the senate reached a compromise and the liquor control bill was sent to the Executive Mansion for Horner's signature. The Governor, confined to his bed by an attack of influenza, signed the bill. Law-enforcing public officials, mayors, aldermen, members of city councils or commissions, members of village boards of trustees, or presidents or members of county boards were prohibited by the new law from taking part in the manufacture, sale, or distribution of liquor, directly or indirectly. But there was no provision to restrict party leaders or members of the legislature from participating in liquor traffic.[39] If Finnegan was disappointed by the Governor's seeming vacillation and reluctance to persuade the General Assembly to pass more restrictive liquor control legislation, he did not

36. Finnegan to Horner, Dec. 23, 1933.
37. *Chicago Daily Times,* Dec. 29, 1933.
38. *Ibid.,* Jan. 24, 1934.
39. *Ibid.,* Jan. 31, 1934.

express his feelings either in print or to those who were closest to him.

By 1935 another issue had arisen over which the editor was to chide the Governor. Millions of Americans, deeply shaken by the experience of the depression, began to question, privately and publicly, the deficiencies of a money, banking, commercial, industrial, and agricultural system of production and distribution that seemed out of step with the ideals of American democracy. Such criticisms were regarded as "foreign," "un-American," "communistic," "false and disruptive to the American way," by some groups. They found a willing and able ally in the Hearst newspaper chain to engage in fights against free speech and public assembly, against the child labor amendment, and for loyalty oaths by teachers.[40]

When Charles Walgreen, Chicago chain drugstore magnate, withdrew his niece from the University of Chicago, he charged that "communistic teachings" had become part of the university's curricula. The *Chicago Tribune* and the Hearst-owned *Chicago American* and *Herald and Examiner* demanded a legislative inquiry into the charges.[41] On April 18, 1935, the state senate received a bill passed by the house, requiring all teachers in the state to take oaths of allegiance to the state and federal constitutions. The bill included provisions for an "investigation of all tax-supported schools and privately endowed institutions enjoying partial tax exemption" to stamp out the teaching of subversive doctrines.[42] Immediately, Finnegan lashed out editorially in the *Daily Times* against the proposed legislation. "Let us hope that the teachers will pay more obedience to their oath, if this bill passes," he wrote, "than some of the mem-

40. George Seldes, *You Can't Do That: A Survey of the Forces Attempting, in the Name of Patriotism, to Make a Desert of the Bill of Rights* (New York, 1938), 110-27, 144-52 *passim;* Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Politics of Upheaval* (*The Age of Roosevelt,* III, Boston, 1960), 69-95 *passim.*

41. See *Chicago American, Chicago Herald and Examiner,* March-June, 1935; *Chicago Daily Tribune,* April-June, 1935.

42. *Chicago Daily Times,* April 18, 1935.

bers of the legislature have paid to their oath to obey the constitution and reapportion the state." The state constitution required the General Assembly to apportion the state every ten years, and it had been thirty-four years since this had been done. As a result, Finnegan pointed out, equal representation in the General Assembly was denied to more than 50 per cent of Illinois' population. The present assembly was unconstitutional, and, as a matter of strict morals, all its acts were illegal.[43]

On April 22, with the controversial legislation under consideration by the senate judiciary committee, Finnegan again fired an editorial broadside at the General Assembly. "Does the state senate think that all abuses that generate communism can be found in classrooms?" he asked in the *Daily Times*. Was there nothing about trade and employment practices, child labor, lack of pensions for the aged who were in poverty, or exploitation of the underprivileged? Or graft in public affairs, misuse of prosecutors and courts? And what about the abuses of "fixing" by those skilled in the exercise of "pull"? Was there nothing in these fields, the editor asked, to suggest why "communists are made and not born"? The legislature had given licenses to great industrial and financial corporations whose "acquisitive methods are believed by some sound social authorities to have injured the small businessman, the small investor, and the small home owner so grievously" as to have produced subversive reactions among their victims, Finnegan wrote. The man who "slaved and saved and was stranded in misery" under systems authorized by legislative sanction might have some opinions that would interest the senators. "If we're going to learn about communism in Illinois," he said, "let's learn the whole story." It was a safe wager that if Communists were becoming so numerous that America must worry — and he said he was certain they were not numerous — the places where they were "manufactured in greatest

43. *Ibid.*

numbers would be found far away from college campuses."[44]

Late that afternoon, Finnegan dictated a letter to Horner. It was marked, "Personal, Please." "Dear Governor," it began:

> Have or haven't you a brain to think with? Have you a fist to double? Can't you raise some Cain? Don't you know what's happening in this country? Injustice is happening. Slavery is happening. Every conceivable kind of cruelty and crookedness is happening.
>
> School houses are closed and school teachers are going hungry. Patriotism and reverence are rotting. Men are rotting. Why?
>
> Because you don't get mad.
>
> Com'on, Governor, get mad. Who is responsible for this cruelty, this crookedness that is destroying men and patriotism?
>
> Why, you are, Governor, because when it comes to getting right down to brass tacks, you're just not there — you don't get mad. You have no heart throb. You don't double your fist and you don't raise Cain.
>
> Strange as it seems, Governor, you're indicted with the rest of us. But since we can't convict you, we're going to stand by and see the school teachers and the schools and the universities convicted. Attaboy, Governor, get out the old Simon Legree whip and drive the school teachers up to take the oath of allegiance. Chase the communistic dogs off the college campuses. Then we'll restore patriotism in the United States and there won't be any injustice. Slavery will disappear. Cruelty and crookedness will slink into their ratholes. The millions of men and women who are standing in breadlines rotting will again believe in themselves, in their God, in their country, and in their fellow men. Their pride, ambition, and their self-respect will return and this will be a wonderful world. Our vast nation will be beautiful and free again, proud and strong.
>
> Ain't it somethin', Governor. If you don't believe it, I seen it in the paper, and I hope you ain't one of those guys who don't believe nothin' he reads in the paper.
>
> Take a look, Governor. Com'on, get mad![45]

Letters to Horner usually were signed "Dick," but this one was signed "Richard J. Finnegan, Editor, the *Chicago*

44. *Ibid.*, April 22, 1935.
45. Finnegan to Horner, April 22, 1935.

Daily Times."[46] The Governor did not reply to Finnegan's letter, nor did he speak out strongly against the legislation that would set off a witch hunt in the schools of Illinois; but on June 3, after its third reading in committee, the measure failed to pass the senate.[47] The *Tribune* and the Hearst newspapers in Chicago lamented its death.[48]

A few days later, when the Governor vetoed a bill to legalize horse-race betting under license control in Chicago, a break between Horner and Mayor Kelly split the Democratic Party in Illinois. The following April, Dr. Herman Bundesen, Chicago commissioner of health and a candidate backed by Kelly and the Democratic machine in Cook County, entered the primary election campaign seeking the gubernatorial nomination against Horner.[49] C. Wayland Brooks, a Chicago lawyer backed by the *Tribune,* campaigned against former Governor Len Small for the Republican nomination. But this contest was overshadowed by the intertribal squabble among Democrats.[50] What in the beginning had been mild invective became ugly vituperation.

Finnegan berated Horner and Bundesen in an editorial in the *Daily Times.* "If the Democratic candidates would give us ten reasons why they should be elected governor, this would make more sense than having each man day after day list twenty reasons why his opponent should be defeated," he scolded. The *Times* did not declare itself for any gubernatorial candidate, but it urged its readers to vote for Roosevelt in the presidential primary.[51] Horner's hastily constructed political organization became a juggernaut, smashing through the powerful Kelly machine in Cook County and rolling up an impressive vote downstate. Horner

46. *Ibid.*
47. *Ibid.; Chicago Daily Times,* June 3, 4, 8, 1935.
48. *Chicago American,* June 3, 5-7, 1935; *Chicago Herald and Examiner,* June 4, 6, 8, 10, 1935; *Chicago Daily Tribune,* June 4, 5, 6, 1935.
49. *Chicago Daily Times,* April 1, 1936.
50. *Ibid.,* April 12, 1936; *Chicago Daily Tribune,* April 1-13, 1936.
51. *Ibid.,* April 9, 1936.

Richard J. Finnegan, the "original Horner-for-Governor advocate."
Photo courtesy Chicago Daily News.

would be opposed in the November, 1936, election by Brooks.[52]

Six days before the election, Finnegan, in a *Daily Times* editorial, called for the reelection of Horner over Brooks. When Horner took over the governorship in 1933, he wrote, Illinois was almost bankrupt, school districts were disintegrating, teachers were unpaid, and thousands of school children were neglected. Under Horner, the state deficit had been wiped out, the state budget had been balanced, and the school system had been strengthened. "We think Governor Horner took too much of the clean up job on his shoulders," said Finnegan, "that he assumed details of routine work that should have been assigned to others." And controversies with the legislature had too often left the citizens of Illinois confused about issues. Horner had failed to cultivate a "good press" and a well-informed public opinion. Occasionally, he had taken to the radio to report to his constituency, Finnegan wrote, but his use of this medium had been "too infrequent." Despite these de-

52. *Ibid.*, April 15, 1936.

ficiencies the *Times* called for his reelection because he had "greatly improved" the quality of state government.[53] Horner was victorious at the polls, winning a plurality of 385,176 votes over Brooks.[54]

But the warmth of the Horner-Finnegan friendship had begun to cool. The correspondence between them became infrequent; the casual tone of letters of earlier years became more formal. The Governor invited Finnegan, in October, 1937, to accept an appointment as a member of the Illinois Council on Public Assistance and Unemployment "to work out the solution — insofar as a solution can be worked out — of the state's unemployment relief program." In asking Finnegan to work on the council, the Governor wrote, "surely Illinois and its people are worthy of having the subject thought out by the best minds in the state." The editor's acceptance would relieve his anxiety in getting the council started in its important work. "If, after you have served a while on the council, you find the time and work are infringing too much on other activities," he said, "I then will be ready to listen to any suggestion you may have as to your successor."[55]

In declining the appointment, Finnegan replied that since 1910, when he had had a brief excursion into politics, he had come to realize that a "newspaperman should have no more to do with politics than he is willing to print in his newspaper." A newspaper was supposed to be the critic and censor of men in public life. Over the years they frequently had talked about this principle, Finnegan reminded Horner. He was pleased the Governor believed the editor of the *Daily Times* could make "some contribution in helping Illinois in a time of great need." But if he should accept the invitation to serve on the council, then he would be violating a principle that he held for himself and "for all those who work on the *Daily Times.*" A member of the

53. *Ibid.*, Oct. 28, 1936.
54. *Ibid.*, Nov. 4-6, 8, 1936.
55. Horner to Finnegan, Oct. 8, 1937.

council "would be pretty close to a lot of politicians, and friendly with them," he wrote, and politicians wanted newspaper people to do things for them. "I have always found it a good rule never to let a politician give me anything that I couldn't give him in return." In view of this consideration, he said, he would have to decline the appointment. But the *Daily Times* would support the Governor and the work of the council, if the *Daily Times* thought each or both were doing a good job. "We have always supported you, Governor, when we honestly thought you were right," Finnegan wrote, "and we have disagreed when we have thought you were wrong." He added a caution about the Governor's "propensity to overwork."[56]

In the autumn of 1940, the United States turned its attention briefly from the war in Europe to the angry presidential election campaign. World issues — isolation and interventionism — now had become as important as the domestic issues of recovery and reform. The fury of the campaign in Illinois was abated temporarily on October 6. Early that morning, shortly after midnight, Henry Horner died at his lakeshore home in Winnetka. When the *Daily Times* city editor telephoned Finnegan to inform him of the Governor's death, he left his bed, hastening to his office to write the obituary of an old friend.[57] The story appeared in the last editions of the *Daily Times* that Sunday morning, and in the early editions of the following day. Writing under the pseudonym of James Fox, because he said it was more "tasteful" and because the narrative was one of "interpretation and opinion,"[58] Finnegan reviewed the Governor's life:

When Henry Horner collapsed toward the end of the 1938 politi-

56. Finnegan to Horner, Oct. 9, 1937.

57. Interview with Robert E. Kennedy, Aug. 27, 1957. Kennedy was a political reporter for the *Chicago Daily Times,* and later chief editorial writer. He worked closely with Finnegan for twenty-five years. He is currently editor of the editorial page of the *Chicago Sun-Times.*

58. *Ibid.*

cal campaign, a prediction of his doctor and his closest friends was fulfilled. It was a case of "all work and no play," — or very little play.

He took to the governorship in 1933 a tradition that he had established during 18 years of service as Probate Judge of Cook County — a burning zeal for two objectives: to give the office a superior, progressive efficiency, and by force of his personal integrity to insist on a code of honesty in every executive department that would keep scandal from ever besmirching his name.

But as governor, Henry Horner found that efficiency and honesty were more often battered about by the realities of practical politics than he had anticipated.

His determination to keep his idealism unscratched led him to personal excesses of work, long hours, and insistence that his subordinates bring to his attention details of routine that got on his nerves.[59]

Even those with whom Horner met casually, Finnegan wrote, noticed that as governor he was not able to shed care with the ease that had marked his career as a Cook County judge. Those who had known him intimately and those to whom he had given his most personal confidences had known that. His efforts to keep his administration honest and effective had sapped his vitality to the danger point whenever he had gone through a crisis with the legislature, or with the opposition within his own party.

After his election as governor, Horner had gone to Springfield determined first of all to improve state services and reduce their cost. He had definite ideas, especially about improving the school system and modernizing the methods in the state prisons, reformatories, and mental hospitals. He thought that Chicago and the county districts downstate could be brought into closer harmony, Finnegan wrote, so that reasonable compromises could be found for agreement on a new state constitution, or at least an amendment of the old. But the depression — with its unexpected and unpredictable crises, its problems of relief, of unemployment, of labor disputes, of financial and banking upsets piling one

59. *Chicago Daily Times,* Oct. 6, 7, 1940.

on top of the other — had swept away the orderly program that Horner set up for himself. Finnegan continued:

"It's amazing," Horner said, "how many men there are in public life who think that every contact they have with public administration should mean an opportunity for graft."

The friend, to whom he thus confided, said:

"You don't mean to say, Governor, that you're just beginning to understand how few pure idealists there are in public life — you who have been in Chicago politics so long, you who were helped to get your nomination for the Probate Court by the Hinky Dink Kenna[60] organization in the First ward."

"Yes," responded the governor, "I am amazed. I have known Hinky Dink ever since I was a kid and he has never asked me to do a wrong thing, but I know some holier-than-thou patriots who would steal this statehouse if I'd let them get away with it."

"What are you going to do about it?"

"Well," said Horner, "by watching every detail of the executive office, I am going to make sure that however else the Horner administration may fail, it's not going to have any scandals that I can stop."

This was one of the things about practical politics the governor never understood that led to a period of low spirits and one of those emotional upsets in which he would waver between anger and philosophical daze. During such a period his own political associates frequently took things into their own hands and initiated campaign strategies and reprisals. Sometimes the governor would rebel and they would call him a "babe in the woods."

At other times the governor would surprise his own advisers with a plan which, for practical, cold politics, had all the others skinned a mile.[61]

In a final tribute, Finnegan eulogized Horner in a *Daily Times* editorial October 8, praising the man and the Governor: "The good earth of the state he loved so well that he wore himself out in her service today claims the body of Henry Horner, faithful servant." He had been one of

60. Michael (Hinky Dink) Kenna, a saloonkeeper, for more than two decades represented the First Ward as alderman in the Chicago City Council. He was influential in Democratic machine politics and in dispensing political patronage. When he died he left an estate of more than a million dollars, almost half of it in cash.

61. *Chicago Daily Times,* Oct. 6, 7, 1940.

Illinois' great governors, along with Altgeld and Dunne. The bosses of the Democratic machine had turned against him in 1936 when they fought to defeat his renomination, but they underestimated his popularity in Chicago and more especially the excellent reputation he had earned downstate. Horner had defeated the machine in 1936, and again in 1938 when a state ticket he had supported with all his energy had triumphed. These victories eventually had cost him his health and his life, Finnegan ruminated. "He had indeed rescued the commonwealth at a perilous time."[62]

The cause of the rupture in the close friendship between Henry Horner and Richard Finnegan must remain largely speculative.[63] Outwardly, at social gatherings and civic functions when they were drawn together, they appeared at ease with each other. Neither Horner nor Finnegan ever discussed their relationship with a man devoted to both of them, the Most Reverend Bernard J. Sheil, Auxiliary Bishop of the Catholic Archdiocese of Chicago.[64] Finnegan's son, Richard Adams Finnegan, suggests that his father may have become annoyed with the Governor's selection of "professional politicians as advisers."[65] But Robert E. Kennedy, political reporter for the *Daily Times* and later chief editorial writer, holds a different view. In the spring of 1940, Horner was gravely ill in the Executive Mansion, suffering from a cardiac condition induced by strenuous overwork during the autumn of 1938 while he was campaigning for Scott W. Lucas, Democratic nominee for the United States Senate. Horner was stricken with a heart attack while listening to election returns the night of November 8. After a four-month convalescence in Florida, the Governor returned to Springfield, but he never fully regained his health. It was during April, 1940, when Lieu-

62. *Ibid.,* Oct. 8, 1940.

63. After an illness of a month, Finnegan died, at the age of seventy, May 6, 1955, in Evanston General Hospital.

64. Interview with Sheil, Aug. 27, 1957.

65. Interview with Richard Adams Finnegan, Aug. 23, 1958.

tenant Governor John Stelle was attempting to wrest control of the state government from Horner and his "bedside cabinet," that Kennedy interviewed the ailing Governor. "Horner told me then," Kennedy recalls, "that he couldn't understand why Dick Finnegan had refused to come to Springfield to help him and his administration. 'Dick Finnegan is a mean man,' the Governor said."[66]

Jacob Burck, Pulitzer Prize-winning cartoonist of the *Daily Times,* was close to Finnegan and enjoyed many of his confidences in their long association; but Burck cannot recall ever hearing Finnegan comment on the termination of his friendship with Horner. "Dick would mention Henry Horner now and then, remembering a long-forgotten bit of humor they once had shared," said Burck. "And I would notice that it would be difficult for him to talk about the Governor. Dick was a sentimental man who had an amazing ability to mask his feelings. But when he spoke of Horner he would be a little wistful, his eyes misting. He always spoke of him with great affection, and I know he looked upon the Governor as one of the great men he had known in his life."[67]

66. Interview with Kennedy, Aug. 27, 1957.

67. Interview with Jacob Burck, Aug. 27, 1957. Burck was perhaps Finnegan's closest acquaintance on the *Chicago Daily Times* staff. At present he is editorial cartoonist of the *Chicago Sun-Times.*

DONALD R. BROWN

Jonathan Baldwin Turner And the Land-Grant Idea

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AMONG THE pioneers who came to central Illinois in the second quarter of the nineteenth century was Jonathan Baldwin Turner, of Worcester County, Massachusetts. In 1833 he settled at Jacksonville, which he helped to make one of the intellectual and cultural centers of the West. Educated at Yale, he was summoned to Jacksonville as a professor of rhetoric and belles-lettres for Illinois College, a classical college founded several years earlier to become a "Yale of the West." As a professor at the college and as an ordained Congregational minister, Jonathan Turner was representative of the professional man from New England who moved to Illinois during the 1830's and 1840's.

Turner, however, swiftly emerged as a leader of the agricultural and educational movements of pioneer Illinois, aligning himself with causes quite different from those associated with the representative religious leader or the typical professor at the denominational college. Less than two decades after his arrival in the state, he had severed his connections with the classical college and was embarked

upon a unique crusade for providing opportunities for higher education to deserving members of the agricultural and industrial communities.

An energetic man with a lively curiosity, Turner took every opportunity to acquaint himself with his new environment, and, within a few years, made his presence felt in nearly a dozen phases of Illinois society. Of special interest were his activities in the third attempt to establish an Illinois historical society. The society was organized in 1843 and incorporated by the legislature in 1847. In the act of incorporation Turner was listed as one of the vice-presidents.[1] Unfortunately, the society flourished only a few years, a permanent organization not appearing until the end of the century.

During his first summer in the state Turner made trips on horseback around the prairies, and the following year he began to investigate the possibility of providing cheap, practical fencing to protect field crops from grazing herds of cattle and thus to permit more extensive settlement of the prairielands. After experimenting with various shrubs on his farm near Jacksonville, by 1847 he determined that the Osage orange, a native of Arkansas, was the thickest and best hedge for prairie fencing. By the time of the Civil War, Osage hedge was commonly accepted; today it is still found in Illinois but has been replaced generally by wire fencing. Turner also established experimental fields for horticulture on his farm and served in some official capacity with most of the early state agricultural groups.

His immediate interests in removing the obstacles to the development of agriculture in Illinois paralleled his concern with the lack of educational opportunities available to the rural populace. Despite the Free School Act of 1825, Illinois had no permanent system of common, or public, schools based upon compulsory taxation and intelligent distribution of funds until 1855. Turner commenced cam-

1. *Laws of Illinois,* 15 G.A., 51.

paigning for such a system during his first summer in the state, making a seven-week tour of some fifteen counties delivering speeches on the subject.[2] By the autumn of 1836 he was already involved in two major reform crusades in Illinois education — the common-school and the normal-school, or teacher-training, movements.

The Illinois Teachers' Association was organized in 1836 at Jacksonville, and, although several other educational leaders such as John F. Brooks and Edward Beecher were the initial organizers, Turner was active in the movement. Minutes of the association's early meetings reveal the promotion techniques he had perfected at meetings of this nature and would put to such proficient use in the later campaign for land-grant colleges.[3] Correspondence with a great many professional men and agricultural leaders, frequent public addresses at farmers' and teachers' institutes, continuous circulation of pamphlets and petitions, and heavy publicity through the local press — all these techniques were perfected by Turner in the thirties and forties.

During one year, 1843-1844, Turner himself became a journalist, publishing the *Illinois Statesman,* a weekly journal of ideas, which, compared to most of the other local newspapers of the era, "was like a land flowing with milk and honey in a desert otherwise relieved only by half-arid oases."[4] The *Statesman* discussed subjects ranging from abolitionism to recent inventions, and regularly featured agriculture and education columns.

To a significant degree, the educational campaigns waged in Illinois by the transplanted northeasterners such as Jonathan Turner can be traced to similar movements on the

2. Jonathan B. Turner to Miss Rhodolphia Kibbe, Nov. 12, 1834, Jonathan B. Turner Manuscripts, Illinois Historical Survey, Urbana; referred to hereafter as Turner MSS.

3. William L. Pillsbury, "Early Education in Illinois," *Sixteenth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Illinois, July 1, 1884-June 30, 1886* (Springfield, 1886), cxxix ff.

4. Theodore C. Pease, *The Frontier State, 1818-1848* (*The Centennial History of Illinois,* II, Springfield, 1918), 439.

older frontier along the Atlantic. Among these pioneers from the Northeast the concept of common or free schools was associated with free Negroes and free society. This close relationship of the abolition and education movements helps to explain why the Illinois legislature, with many members having backgrounds and ties from south of the Ohio River, failed so often prior to 1855 to pass a common school law with teeth.

During the 1850's, however, and particularly between 1853 and 1857, Illinois experienced a renaissance in education — a reform period. The School Law of 1855 created a practical system of public schools, free to all and fianced by a levy of two mills on each dollar's valuation of all taxable property in the state, the proceeds to be distributed to the poorer districts at the expense of the wealthier.[5] In 1854 a state superintendent of public instruction was authorized, and in 1857 the first state normal school was established near Bloomington. In the public efforts for these reforms, the name of Jonathan B. Turner figures prominently.

But Turner's primary educational interest was the campaign for the establishment of institutions offering collegiate instruction in agricultural and industrial studies. In the land-grant movement Jonathan B. Turner had no peers; he was the significant promoter of ideas underlying the movement.

On July 2, 1862, President Abraham Lincoln signed into law a bill which anticipated the creation of a system of state universities supported by the proceeds from the sale or lease of lands granted to each state in the Union and designed, primarily, to serve the agricultural and industrial inhabitants of our nation. This legislation was the Morrill Land-Grant Act — one manifestation of the general mid-nineteenth-century educational awakening favorable to the common people.

5. *Laws of Illinois*, 19 G.A., 77-79.

The amount of land granted each state was to be based upon representation in Congress: thirty thousand acres of public land for each United States senator and representative. Since most of these lands were in the western states, those states not having sufficient public lands within their own borders were entitled to land scrip for the deficiency. To secure its grant, a state was required within five years to endow, support, or maintain at least one college offering agricultural and industrial training. The proceeds which accumulated from the sale or lease of the land were to be invested by the state in public bonds or safe stocks yielding at least five per cent annual interest.

The land-grant institutions were to offer instruction in military tactics (a clause which had been inspired by southern preparedness in the Civil War) and "without excluding other scientific and classical studies . . . to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts . . . in order to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions of life."[6]

The Morrill Act undoubtedly is the most important piece of educational legislation ever passed in the United States: its passage was public recognition that every citizen is entitled to educational aid from the federal government and that the common affairs of life are subjects worthy of collegiate training. Some sixty-eight educational institutions have been founded, expanded, or reorganized under the generous provisions of the act. Many state universities — those of Illinois and Nebraska, for example — sprang directly from the act; other schools such as Massachusetts Institute of Technology, originally private, were supported in part by funds acquired through the land-grant act. In several states, notably Pennsylvania and Wisconsin, the proceeds went to universities already created by state legislation.

6. *U.S. Statutes at Large,* XII: 503-5.

The Morrill Act derives its name from a Vermonter, Congressman Justin S. Morrill, who introduced a land-grant bill into the House of Representatives late in 1857; it passed both houses but was vetoed by President Buchanan two years later. In the Thirty-seventh Congress, Morrill introduced a slightly revised bill, and, fearing defeat a second time, he had Benjamin P. Wade of Ohio introduce an identical bill in the Senate. Actually, it was the latter bill which eventually became law, after passing both houses by decisive majorities.[7] Morrill was extremely proud of this act and later in life claimed that the ideas it embodied were solely his own.[8] For many years historians accepted his claim, but early in the twentieth century it began to be seriously challenged. At that time Eugene Davenport of the College of Agriculture at the University of Illinois and President Edmund J. James of that university both published articles forwarding Jonathan B. Turner of Illinois as the originator and leading promoter of the land-grant idea.[9] James compiled a thesis to prove that Turner not only was the "first to formulate clearly and definitely" the land-grant plan but was also the first to have "inaugurated and continued to a successful issue the agitation that made possible the passage of the bill."[10] In 1911, Turner's daughter, Mary Turner Carriel, published a biography of her father that included much of his correspondence and supplied documentary support for the Davenport-James contention.[11]

7. Secondary source discussions of the congressional life of the Morrill bills can be found in Edward Danforth Eddy, Jr., *Colleges for Our Land and Time: The Land-Grant Idea in American Education* (New York, 1957), 26-45; and Earle D. Ross, *Democracy's College: The Land-Grant Movement in the Formative Stage* (Ames, Iowa, 1942), 56-61.

8. William B. Parker, *The Life and Public Services of Justin Smith Morrill* (Boston, 1924), 262-63.

9. Eugene Davenport, "History of Collegiate Education in Agriculture," *Proceedings of the Society for the Promotion of Agricultural Science,* XXVIII (1907): 43-53.

10. Edmund J. James, *The Origin of the Land-Grant Act of 1862 . . . and Some Account of Its Author, Jonathan B. Turner* (*University of Illinois Studies,* IV, No. 1, Urbana-Champaign, Nov., 1910), 7.

11. Mary Turner Carriel, *The Life of Jonathan Baldwin Turner* (Jack-

A summary of the land-grant ideas of Jonathan Turner reveals some of the reasons Davenport and James challenged Justin Morrill of Vermont as the sole "father" of the act.

As early as 1848, Turner suggested, in a letter to President Jonathan Blanchard of Knox College, a professorship of the "green earth."[12] This proposal, made only a year after he had severed connections with Illinois College, was visualized vaguely as part of the curriculum in a classical college.

Three years later, in an address before the Buel Institute – one of the leading agricultural institutes of the state – Turner outlined his now-famous "Plan for an Industrial University for the State of Illinois." In that speech, delivered at Granville, Putnam County, on November 18, 1851, he enunciated the concept of a national system of industrial universities revolving around the Smithsonian Institution,[13] and outlined his principles of collegiate instruction for farmers and mechanics. But the significance of the presentation lay in his emphasis upon the urgent need for institutions catering to farmers and mechanics and for instruction "in the science and art of their several pursuits."

As a result of Turner's forceful presentation, the Buel Institute enthusiastically discussed his plan and adopted resolutions to print and distribute copies of the speech to editors, congressmen, and state politicians.

At Granville, Turner did not mention any plan for a

sonville, Ill., 1911). In 1961 the University of Illinois Press issued a reprint of this book, with a new introduction by David Dodds Henry, president of the university.

12. Turner to Jonathan Blanchard, undated but known to be 1848 from Blanchard's reply, Turner MSS.

13. Jonathan B. Turner, *A Plan for an Industrial University for the State of Illinois, Submitted to the Farmers' Convention at Granville, Held November 18, 1851* (n.p., 1851), 19 pp. This pamphlet was also issued in 1853 as part of a larger work which included the land-grant idea: Turner, *Industrial Universities for the People: Published in Compliance with Resolutions of the Chicago and Springfield Conventions, and under the Industrial League of Illinois* (Jacksonville, 1853).

school system endowed from the proceeds of land grants to the states. His first such mention appeared in a letter to the *Prairie Farmer,* published in the March, 1852, issue:

> And I am satisfied that if the farmers and their friends will now but exert themselves they can speedily secure for this State, and for each State in the Union, an appropriation of public lands adequate to create and endow in the most liberal manner, a general system of popular Industrial Education. . . . There is wisdom enough in the State, and in the Union, to plan and conduct it — there are students enough to patronize it — there is useless land and wealth enough to endow it. . . . A proper movement now by the farmers' and mechanics' real friends will secure it. . . .[14]

From this time onward, printed copies of the Granville Plan included Turner's land-grant plank, and this combination of ideas, basic to the 1862 act, was given wide circulation for several years before its formal presentation to Congress by Justin S. Morrill of Vermont.

Except for the timing and presentation in a more responsive decade, Turner's Granville Plan was not particularly different from a score or more of other proposals made earlier in the nineteenth century. The idea of collegiate instruction in these fields already had been applied in a practical form in 1824 with the creation of the Rensselaer Institute at Troy, New York, a privately supported school. The idea of endowing a national system of technical institutions with proceeds of public land sales was not original with Turner, either; in 1841 Captain Alden Partridge of Norwich, Vermont, submitted such a proposal to Congress. Partridge's plan, however, was not aimed primarily at the agricultural and industrial classes, nor did it visualize actual grants of land; monetary grants to the states from the sale of lands by the federal government were at the core of his proposal.[15] By the time of Granville these schemes for national systems of higher education were multiplying; the Patent Office report of 1851

14. *Prairie Farmer,* XII (March, 1852): 114.
15. *House Executive Document 69,* 26 Cong., 2 Sess., 4.

mentions Turner's Granville Plan as well as two others, but neither of the latter embodied federal land grants.[16]

Turner's distinctive contributions to the land-grant campaign, therefore, were his combination and elaboration of the ideas of collegiate instruction in agriculture and mechanical arts, the use of proceeds from the sale of public lands for educational purposes, and the development of a national system of higher technical schools. The final plan he evolved appeared in nearly identical form in the Morrill Act of 1862. Because Jonathan Turner formulated his land-grant planks at an opportune time and, more important, because he recognized the need for forceful and concerted action during the early 1850's, he must be given major credit for the success of the campaign.

In June, 1852, ten years before the Morrill Act was signed, educational leaders in Illinois gathered in Springfield for their second industrial education convention. That convention adopted a memorial, for presentation to the state legislature, that included both the Granville Plan and the land-grant concept.[17] This appears to have been the first *formal* expression of the land-grant concept by any public body.

At a third convention held that November in Chicago, the Industrial League of the State of Illinois was formed — and it was this league which became, in a matter of months, a powerful national voice for Turner's proposals.[18] Turner attributed the idea behind the league to his colaborer in educational circles, Bronson Murray of Ottawa, but Turner was selected as "principal director" and charged with planning a campaign to arouse the public.

One of the early actions of the league was to petition the legislature to memorialize Congress for an appropria-

16. *Report of the Commissioner of Patents for the Year 1851, Part II: Agriculture* (*House Executive Document 102,* 32 Cong., 1 Sess.), 19-44.

17. Turner, *Industrial Universities,* 40-41.

18. *Ibid.,* 42. The league was chartered by the legislature in February, 1853. *Laws of Illinois,* 18 G.A., 514.

tion to each state of "an amount of public lands, not less in value than five hundred thousand dollars, for the liberal endowment of a system of industrial universities, one in each state in the Union, to co-operate with each other, and with the Smithsonian Institution at Washington."[19] On February 8, 1853, the Illinois General Assembly approved resolutions addressed to Congress embodying the league's proposals.[20] This legislative action can no doubt be attributed to the widespread publicity given Turner's plank and to the effectiveness of the league as a legislative pressure group.

The Illinois resolutions of February, 1853, were the earliest, clearest, and most definite official proposals of ideas underlying the Morrill Land-Grant Act of 1862. And the influence of Jonathan B. Turner upon the Illinois resolutions is unmistakable. Their actual introduction in Congress occurred over a year later, on March 20, 1854, when James Shields and Elihu B. Washburne presented them to the Senate and House, respectively.[21] In the meantime they were widely published and discussed in the press. Horace Greeley quoted them in the March 1, 1853, *New York Tribune* and remarked that the Illinois resolutions offered both principle and plan for the immediate realization of the practical higher education demanded by agricultural and industrial people throughout the country.[22] Greeley, who had been commenting upon Turner's plans from the time of Granville, referred to it as "Illinois thunder."

If it had been only via the Illinois legislature that the league reaped returns, the case for Jonathan Turner would be a moderate one. From its inception, however, the league, with Turner as its director, engaged in a widespread and thorough campaign, applying techniques similar to those

19. Turner, *Industrial Universities*, 44-49.
20. *Journal of the Illinois House of Representatives*, 18 G.A., 1 Sess., 416-17. *Journal of the Illinois Senate*, 18 G.A., 1 Sess., 372.
21. *Congressional Globe*, 33 Cong., 1 Sess., 86, 678.
22. *New York Tribune*, March 1, 1853.

used simultaneously in the common- and normal-school movements. Frequent addresses by members of the league, continuous circulation of Turner's plan in printed form, and a voluminous correspondence with editors, professional friends, other private friends of the cause, and politicians were undertaken throughout the country during the mid-fifties. The question naturally arises as to whether Justin Morrill of Vermont was among those contacted.

Morrill was exposed to Turner's ideas as early as June, 1852, when he was a delegate to the organizational meeting of the United States Agricultural Society in Washington. There, Richard Yates, the Illinois delegate and a former student of Turner's at Illinois College, presented the Granville Plan, including the land-grant concept.[23]

In the spring of 1854, when Yates was congressman from Illinois, he asked Turner to submit a plan to him for introduction into the House at the opportune time.[24] No evidence has been discovered to show that Yates, or any of the other Illinois congressmen, introduced such a bill at that time. There is some indication, however, that the Illinois delegation to Congress may have selected Justin Morrill as the man to introduce their bill. In October, 1857, only two months previous to the actual introduction of the first Morrill bill, Turner wrote Illinois Senator Lyman Trumbull about the chances of the land-grant measure.[25]

Trumbull replied,

> I thought I saw in the last Congress an opposition springing up against any further grants of land in the States, but perhaps it was confined to those made to new States, and your project contemplating a grant to *all the States* might meet with more favor. . . . *If some of the old States would take hold of the matter,* I think it not unlikely that a grant of lands might be obtained from Congress; but coming from *the new States,* which have already obtained such

23. Yates to Turner, June 25, 1852, Turner MSS.
24. Yates to Turner, April 14, 1854, *ibid.*
25. Turner to Lyman Trumbull, Oct. 7, 1857, Trumbull MSS, photostat in the Illinois Historical Survey, Urbana, referred to hereafter as Trumbull MSS.

large grants for schools and other purposes, it would be likely to meet with *less favor.*[26]

Not unlike other national projects of the 1850's, the agricultural college land-grant bill had become a sectional issue; protective maneuvering was a necessity.

If he was *not* actually selected by the Illinois group to introduce the land-grant bill, it is highly likely that Morrill borrowed directly from Turner's plan. It had been so widely publicized he could hardly have been unaware of it. Evidence that Turner or the league sent copies of their plan directly to Morrill has not been uncovered, but the two men are known to have been correspondents. Although there is only one known letter prior to the passage of the bill, it is a significant one. Morrill wrote the Illinois campaigner on December 30, 1861,

DEAR SIR:

I am delighted to find your fire, by the letter of the 15th inst. had not all burned out. I presume I recognize Prof. Turner, an old pioneer in the cause of agricultural education.

I have only to say that amid the fire and smoke and embers, I have faith that I shall get my bill into law at this session.

I thank you for your continued interest, and am

Very sincerely yours,

JUSTIN S. MORRILL[27]

Whether due to an overzealous guardianship for his favorite act or a disproportionate sense of originality which a self-taught student tends to assign to his ideas, Morrill later stated that he had formed the "idea of obtaining a land-grant for the foundation of colleges . . . as early as 1856," but he also admitted, "Where I obtained the first hint of such a measure, I am wholly unable to say."[28] In 1856 Morrill did submit a resolution in the House to the effect that "the Committee on Agriculture be . . . requested to inquire into the expediency of establishing . . . one or

26. Lyman Trumbull to Turner, Oct. 19, 1857, Turner MSS.
27. Justin S. Morrill to Turner, Dec. 30, 1861, *ibid.*
28. Parker, *Life of Morrill,* 262.

more national agricultural schools upon the basis of the naval and military schools, in order that one scholar from each congressional district, and two from each State at large, may receive a scientific and practical education at the public expense."[29] This suggests strongly that outside influences affected his land-grant thinking and strengthens Turner's position.

After the first bill was introduced by Morrill on December 14, 1857, it was referred to the hostile committee on public lands in the House. Reference to this committee rather than to the agricultural committee of which Morrill was a member was indicative of the strong opposition to any further federal grants of land to the states. During this period, Senator Trumbull sent a copy of Morrill's bill to Turner, who replied that although he liked the main features of the bill he hoped it would "receive some amendment." Turner said he would send the Senator a copy of "our reports thinking you may not have one at hand and may desire to refer to the action of our state."[30] From this and other correspondence between Turner and various politicians and agricultural leaders during the congressional life of the Morrill bills, it seems apparent that the Illinoisan did not have a direct hand in wording the actual bills.

But there is no doubt that Turner and the Illinois Industrial League influenced the congressional life of the original Morrill bill. In a letter to John P. Reynolds, corresponding secretary for the Illinois State Agricultural Society, Turner mentioned that when Morrill first presented his bill to Congress "we [the Industrial League] forwarded him all our documents and papers, and gave him all the aid and encouragement that we could. He managed the cause most admirably."[31]

After this 1857 bill was reported back unfavorably by

29. *Congressional Globe,* 34 Cong., 1 Sess., 530.
30. Turner to Lyman Trumbull, Jan. 4, 1858, Trumbull MSS.
31. Turner to John P. Reynolds, Nov. 28, 1865, *Transactions of the Illinois State Agricultural Society . . . ,* V (1861-1864): 38.

the hostile committee on public lands, the Illinois Industrial League asked other societies around the nation to petition Congress in support of Morrill's foundering bill.[32] Consequently, in the first weeks of 1858, a barrage of petitions descended upon Washington. From 1853 to 1857, petitions for industrial university land grants for all the states had come almost exclusively from Illinois; after early 1858, such requests arrived from many other states.[33] The result of this concerted action was to encourage Morrill to reintroduce his land-grant bill on April 20, 1858.

Although the bill was vetoed by President Buchanan, Turner continued to promote the measure. At a meeting of the Illinois State Agricultural and Horticultural societies at Bloomington in June, 1860, Turner requested support for passage of Morrill's defeated legislation in the coming session of Congress.[34]

One of the most revealing pieces of evidence illustrating the significance of the Illinois professor with regard to the Land-Grant Act is an 1863 letter of a self-congratulatory nature to his co-worker, John A. Kennicott. Although not intended for publication, Kennicott thought it such an excellent summary of the Illinois group's contributions that he submitted it to the *Prairie Farmer,* where it appeared on February 7. After expressing his pleasure about congressional approval of Morrill's Land-Grant Act, Turner wrote:

> It has cost you and friend Murray and myself many a hard struggle . . . first to arouse and concentrate the public mind, break down its opposition and break up its still more fatal apathy, by agitations in meetings and assemblies all over the State, and out of the State; political contests at the Capitol and in the papers, by

32. Turner to Trumbull, Jan. 4, 1858, and John A. Kennicott to Trumbull, Jan. 25, 1858, Trumbull MSS.

33. Burt E. Powell, *The Movement for Industrial Education and the Establishment of the University, 1840-1870* (*Semi-Centennial History of the University of Illinois,* I, Urbana, 1918), 439-57, 103. *Senate Miscellaneous Documents 183, 184, 224, 259,* 35 Cong., 1 Sess.; *House Miscellaneous Documents 82, 99,* 35 Cong., 1 Sess.

34. *Transactions of the Illinois State Agricultural Society,* V: 985, 38-39.

manifold letters and pamphlets sent abroad over the Union, North, South, East and West, in order by these agitations, first to get the thing started, and then the more direct and quiet but not less onerous labor of guiding the thing through so many years to its first successful notice in Congress, and its final passage by that body.[35]

It is significant that Turner considered the proponents of the measure as instruments of the Illinois Industrial League. The campaign waged by that organization must be recognized as the major factor in creating a demand for industrial universities, and as principal spokesman for the league Jonathan Turner was the most important contributor to the *spirit* of the Morrill Land-Grant Act.

After passage of the act Turner focused upon his home state and, during the middle 1860's, engaged in a struggle with the denominationalists who wished to divide the Morrill Act funds among the classical colleges already in existence. In this struggle Turner and the friends of the nonprofessional classes overcame their opposition; the proceeds from the Land-Grant Act in Illinois were not divided but were designated for a single new institution, the Illinois Industrial University, which opened its doors in March, 1868. Now the University of Illinois, this institution is the continuing testimonial in our state to the unique proposals of Jonathan Baldwin Turner, nineteenth-century trailblazer from Jacksonville.

35. *Prairie Farmer*, XI (n.s., Feb. 7, 1863): 81.

VIRGIL J. VOGEL

Indian Place Names in Illinois

Part IV

PALWAUKEE (*airport, Cook Co.*)

So named for its location at the junction of Palatine Road and Milwaukee Avenue. Palatine, a Chicago suburb for which the road is named, drew its name from the township, which was settled mostly by Germans.[643] The Rhenish Palatinate, so designated from an old Roman title, is the source of the name. Milwaukee comes from Algonquian words signifying "good land."[644] This is one of several bilingual place names in Illinois.

PANA (*city, lake, and township, Christian Co.*)

Pana, Panis, Paniassi, and Panismaha are tribal names which appear from 1674 to 1764 in the writings of Hennepin, Charlevoix, Bonnécamps, Vivier, and Thomas Morris, and on maps by Marquette, Jolliet, and Thévenot.[645] The last may indicate the Ponca, a Siouan tribe of the Missouri Valley,[646] but the others obviously refer to the Pawnee (*q.v.*), a Plains tribe of Caddoan stock whose name signified "slave" in several Algonquian tongues.[647] Some writers have concluded that the name of Pana, Illinois, originated from that source.[648]

Haines believed the name derived from *pena,* an Ojibway word for partridge.[649] All writers seem to have overlooked the possibility that the name may have come from *Pana,* a chief of the Cahokia whose name appears in French documents for 1752.[650] There are also several stories claiming non-Indian origin for this name.[651]

643. Weston A. Goodspeed and Daniel D. Healy, *History of Cook County, Illinois* . . . (Chicago, 1909), II: 280.
644. Verwyst, "Geographical Names Having a Chippewa Origin," 393.
645. See references under PAWNEE.
646. Hodge, II: 279, 1116.
647. Hodge, II: 199; William Jones, *Ethnography of the Fox Indians,* (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 125, Washington, 1939), 2.
648. Barge and Caldwell, "Illinois Place Names," 268; Gannett, *Origin of Place Names* (1905 ed.), 237.
649. Haines, *The American Indian,* 768.
650. Pease and Jenison, eds., *Illinois on the Eve of the Seven Years' War,* 441, 448.
651. *Pana, Illinois* . . . *Centennial, 1856-1956* (Pana, 1956), 19.

PANOLA (*village and township, Woodford Co.*)

Panola is the name of towns or counties in Georgia, Louisiana, Alabama, and Mississippi, and is taken from *ponola,* the Choctaw word for cotton.[652] Panola, Illinois, was incorporated in 1867, and the name, like Iuka (*q.v.*), may have been suggested by Union veterans to recall some place in the South. Ackerman claimed that the Illinois name was an artificial contrivance of one J. B. Calhoun.[653]

PAPOOSE (*lake, Forest Preserve District of Cook Co.*)

This word, which long ago entered the English language as a term for an Indian infant, originated with the Narraganset tribe of Rhode Island and was used by Roger Williams in 1643.[654] Cf. APPANOOSE.

PARTRIDGE (*creek and township, Woodford Co.*)

Named for the Potawatomi chief Black Partridge (*q.v.*), whose village in this vicinity was destroyed by American troops in 1812.[655]

PATOKA (*village and township, Marion Co.*)

Reputedly named "after Patoka, an Indian chief, who, with his tribe, lived at the Mineral Springs, a few miles west of here."[656] A Kickapoo called "Pah-ta-kah-quoi, striking woman," signed a treaty at Castor Hill, Missouri, in 1832.[657] Patoka River, and a village of the same name in Gibson County, Indiana, may be named for him.[658]

Patoka, Illinois, may be named, however, for an Illinois Indian who was probably born in 1720[659] and is mentioned as "Patoka, chief of the Cahokias" in Kaskaskia court records for 1777.[660] This chief may

652. Byington, *Choctaw Dictionary,* 319; Read, *Louisiana Place-Names,* 48; Toomey, *Names from the Muskhogean Languages,* 16.

653. Ackerman, *Early Illinois Railroads,* 144.

654. Chamberlain in Hodge, II: 202.

655. Matson, *French and Indians of Illinois River,* 197-209, 245-47; Reynolds, *My Own Times* (1879 ed.), 87-90; Smith, *Metamora,* 21-22, 38 ff.

656. Ackerman, *Early Illinois Railroads,* 152.

657. Kappler, II: 365.

658. The name appears in the *American Atlas* (Philadelphia, 1823), Chart 32, and in John Scott's *Indiana Gazetteer or Topographical Dictionary* (Indianapolis, 1954; reprint of the 1826 ed.), 95. It was defined, probably in error, as "logs on the bottom," in Writers' Program, Indiana, *Indiana: A Guide to the Hoosier State* (New York, 1941), 494.

659. On March 18, 1720, the Jesuit Le Boulanger baptized the son of "Jean Olivier et de Marthe Pad8ca." C. J. Eschmann, ed., "Kaskaskia Church Records," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society,* IX (1904): 402. This priest, called Jean Antoine by Reuben G. Thwaites, Joseph Ignatius by John G. Shea and Constantine Pilling, and Jean Baptiste in *Jesuit Relations,* is the author of the "French-Illinois Dictionary," of *ca.* 1718, frequently referred to herein.

660. Alvord, ed., *Kaskaskia Records,* 39.

also be the one for whom Paducah, Kentucky, is named.[661] It has also been speculated that *Patoka* derives from Pah-ta-ko-to, a Fox chief, but Dunn rightly dismissed the claim since the Fox never resided in this area.[662] The word *Patoka,* written Padocquia and Padouca by the French, Dunn claimed, was a Miami word for Comanche, a southern Plains tribe, some of whose members were held as slaves by the Illinois and Miami.[663]

PAWNEE (*village and township, Sangamon Co.*)

The Pawnee tribe, of the Caddoan family, occupied the west central Plains during the nineteenth century. Their name for themselves was *Chahiksichahiks,* "men of men."[664] It has been held that Pawnee came from *pariki,* "a horn," which was "a term used to designate the peculiar manner of dressing the scalp-lock, by which the hair was . . . made to stand erect and curved like a horn."[665] Swanton thought it more likely that the name was from *parisu,* "hunter," as claimed by themselves. They were also called Padoni and Panana by various tribes, and Paoneneheo by the Cheyenne.[666]

More credible than any of these accounts is Chamberlain's view that "Pani and Pawnee are undoubtedly the same word in different orthographies," the Pawnee being the tribe from whom the Algonquian and other Indians of the Great Lakes and Midwest regions obtained their slaves. Pani has thus been defined as an Algonquian term for "a slave of Indian race."[667] Blair remarks that so many slaves were obtained from the Pawnee, largely by the Illinois, that Indian slaves were everywhere known as "Panis."[668] Jones declared that the Pawnee were also

661. Reportedly named by William Clark "for his Chickasaw [*sic*] friend, Chief Paduke." Federal Writers' Project, *Kentucky: A Guide to the Bluegrass State* (New York, 1939), 223. This is not a Chickasaw name.

662. Dunn, *True Indian Stories,* 297. A Fox Indian named *Patoka* was living at Tama, Ia., in 1897, but the date precludes him as the source of this name. Horace M. Rebok, "Burial of a War Chief," *Annals of Iowa,* III (3d ser.): 304-5.

663. Dunn, *Indiana and Indianans,* I: 94. Cf. *pā tō 'kā* (Fox), "Comanche." Michelson, *Contributions to Fox Ethnology,* 70-71, 92-93. Padouca has also been given as the Siouan name for the Comanche. Hodge, I: 327. Meriwether Lewis applied the same name to the Iowa and others. James K. Hosmer, ed., *History of the Expedition of Captains Lewis and Clark* . . . (Chicago, 1904), I: 36-37. Haines called Patoka "the name by which the Ponca Indians designate themselves." *The American Indian,* 768. On *Padouka* slaves, see *Jesuit Relations,* LXVIII: 205; 329, n. 26.

664. Hodge, II: 213-15.

665. *Ibid.,* 213.

666. Swanton, *Indian Tribes,* 289.

667. Hodge, II: 199.

668. *Indian Tribes,* I: 190 n. Hennepin spoke of "Pana" as a branch of

raided by the Foxes, and that *pani* was the Fox word for slave.[669] See also PANA.

PAW PAW (*Paw Paw Run, Pawpaw Township, De Kalb Co.; Paw-paw, village, Lee Co.; Paw-Paw Woods, Forest Preserve District of Cook Co.*)

The Treaty of Prairie du Chien (1829) awarded to Pierre Leclerc, a Potawatomi, "one section at the village of As-sim-in-eh-kon, or Paw-paw Grove."[670] From that place is derived the name of the stream and township in De Kalb County. It is claimed that Shabbona and Waubansee frequented Paw Paw Grove.[671]

Paw Paw, or Papaw, is the common name of *asimina triloba,* a fruit-bearing shrub which provided food for the Indians.[672] Its present name, Bartlett believed, was adopted by the English colonists because of the fancied resemblance of the fruit to the true papaw, or papaya, of tropical America.[673] This name is believed to be a corruption of the Carib name *ababai,*[674] or the Cuban (Arawak) name which was adopted into Spanish as *papaya.*[675] *Asimina,* the true name of the North American plant, is said to be from the language of the Illinois.[676] See also SOMONAUK.

PECAN (*island in Kaskaskia River, Fayette Co.*)

Pecan is an Algonquian word for "nut."[677] According to W. R. Gerard, the pecan, which grows on river bottom land in southern Illi-

the Pawnee (*q.v.*) tribe. *A New Discovery* (1903 ed.), II: 443. Charlevoix spoke of a Plains tribe as "Panis." *Journal* (1923 ed.) II: 209. Father Bonnécamps saw a *Pani* in a Shawnee camp near the Scioto in 1749. *Jesuit Relations,* LXIX: 179. Father Vivier mentioned *Panismaha* (Skidi-Pawnee) in 1750. *Ibid.,* 225, 301. Capt. Thomas Morris saw two slaves of the "Panis nation" among the Ottawa in 1764. Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels,* I: 304.

669. Jones, *Ethnography of the Fox Indians,* 2.

670. Kappler, II: 298.

671. Henry L. Boies, *History of De Kalb County, Illinois* (Chicago, 1868), 510.

672. See mention by Bonnécamps in *Jesuit Relations,* LXIX: 173.

673. Bartlett, *Dictionary of Americanisms,* 313; Mathews, *Dictionary of Americanisms,* II: 1195.

674. *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1954), XVII: 229; See also *Webster's New World Dictionary* (1954), 1058.

675. Skeat, *Etymological Dictionary,* 427, and *The Language of Mexico, and Words of West Indian Origin,* 146.

676. Mathews, *Dictionary of Americanisms,* I: 46-47.

677. *"Noix* [nut] – *pacana, pacane,"* Le Boulanger's "French-Illinois Dictionary," 125. "The Pacane is a nut of the size and shape of a large acorn," Charlevoix, *Journal* (1923 ed.), II: 207. "Paccan" trees, Patrick Kennaday's Journal, entry of July 23, 1773. "The Pacawn-bearing walnut," Atwater, *The*

nois, was early known as the "Illinois-nut," and to the Illinois Indians, "the pecan was the nut par excellence, hence their designation of it simply as 'nut,' without any qualificative."[678]

Pacane was the Indian name of André Roy, a French-Miami half-breed who served the French as interpreter in the 1750's.[679] Pecon, "the nut," was a Kickapoo chief living near the sources of the Sangamon River in the late eighteenth century.[680] A Miami Indian named Pacan signed treaties at Fort Wayne, September 30, 1809, and Spring Wells, September 8, 1815.[681]

PECATONICA (*river, Winnebago and Stephenson Cos.; village and township, Winnebago Co.*)

In 1823 Major Stephen Long's party stopped at a "small stream, designated by the name of Pektannons, a diminutive of Pektannon, a neighbouring stream. . . ."

According to Keating, "the meaning of this last in the Sauk language is *muddy,* and it is remarkable that the same name has been applied to the Missouri by the Sauks."[682] Another traveler, Caleb Atwater, calling the same stream "Pickotolica," said it took its name "from a fish, about the size of, and equal in flavor, to the rock fish, caught in the Delaware, at Philadelphia."[683]

In view of the designation of the Missouri as Pekitanoui, etc., by Hennepin, Marquette, and Marest, which was translated as "muddy water" by the latter,[684] it is reasonable to suppose that Pecatonica is

Indians of the Northwest, 19. Puk-kau-nun, Puk-kau-nuk (pl.), "nuts," Ottawa, Menominee, Tanner's *Narrative of Captivity,* 397. "Nut – *pikā'n,*" Gailland, "English-Potawatomi Dictionary," 222. See also Chamberlain, "Algonkian Words," 252.

678. Hodge, II: 220.

679. Pease and Jenison, eds., *Illinois on the Eve of the Seven Years' War,* 178, 190, *et al.*

680. Reynolds, *Pioneer History,* 152-54.

681. Kappler, II: 103, 119.

682. Keating, *Narrative* (1825 ed.), I: 191-92. Cf. *Pīgi 'tanwe,* Fox name of the Missouri, in Michelson, *Contributions to Fox Ethnology,* 12; *"Pekigamoki – eau troublie (nom du Miss'ris),"* Le Boulanger, "French Illinois Dictionary," under *clair,* 42; *Pi kitìn,* Potawatomi name of the Missouri, Gailland, "English-Potawatomi Dictionary," 208; cf. *yapowikīwín* "muddy," *ku* "land," *ibid.,* 213, 181.

683. Atwater, *The Indians of the Northwest,* 197, probably "mudfish." The substitution of *l* for *n* occurs in several early mentions of this name, as it does also in Wapella (*q.v.*) and Milwaukee. This results, as Haines indicates, from differing Algonquian dialects. *The American Indian,* 770.

684. *A New Discovery* (1903 ed.), II: 656; *Jesuit Relations,* LIX: 141; LXVI: 225.

a variation of that name.[685] S. A. Mitchell's map of 1836 shows "Pektanon or Muddy R." See also MISSOURI.

PECUMSAUTAN (*creek, La Salle Co.*)

The name of this tributary of the Illinois River[686] bears a marked resemblance to *Pikúmisāgusin,* the Potawatomi word for "hatchets."[687] There is also a Tomahawk Creek nearby. The name is likewise similar to the name of an herb mixed with tobacco by the Indians, called in Ojibway *Pockqueesegan* by John Long[688] and *pakusigon* by W. T. Boutwell.[689] A third possible interpretation is "muddy outlet." (Cf. PECATONICA, SANGAMON, and SAUK.)

PEORIA (*city, Peoria Heights, village, Peoria Co.; Peoria Lake; East Peoria, city, Tazewell Co.*)

The state's third largest city is named for one of the six Illinois tribes, which is also the name borne by the present remnant of those tribes. The name has been held to derive from French *Peouarea* and Illinois *Piwarea,* signifying "he comes carrying a pack on his back,"[690] which some writers have shortened to "carriers" or "packers."[691] This view seems implausible, not only because of its length but because *Pireouah,* in Illinois-Miami, meant "turkey."[692] (*Pire8a – coq d'inde* [*pireoua* – turkey] – Le Boulanger, "French-Illinois Dictionary," 128.)

Peoria Lake, according to Hennepin, the Indians called "*Pimiteoui*; that is, in their Tongue, *A Place where there is abundance of fat Beasts.*"[693] Actually, that name simply meant "fat,"[694] and was prob-

685. Pecatonica has also been called Pecha-tan-oke, Peckatonakie, Peckitanoni, Peekatonokee, Pee-kee-tan-no, Peeketolika, Peekotonokee, Peektano, Pekatolika, Pekatonica, Pickatonick, and Pickotonokee.

686. Spelled *Pecumsagan* on Peck and Messinger map, 1844; *Percomsoggin* in Baldwin, *La Salle County,* 463.

687. Gailland, "English-Potawatomi Dictionary," 142.

688. Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels,* II: 85.

689. Journal of 1832 in *Annals of Minnesota Historical Society, 1852,* 52; cf. "Pahquesegun, or Smoking Weed," Ottawa signer of Treaty of July 6, 1820, at L'Arbre Croche, Mich. Kappler, II: 188.

690. Hodge, II: 228.

691. Lohmann, *Cities and Towns of Illinois,* 92; Stennett, *Place Names Connected with the Chicago & North Western,* 112.

692. "Illinois-Miami Vocabulary," 6 (a clan totem name?); see n. 160.

693. *A New Discovery* (1903 ed.), I: 154-55. Cf. De Gannes: "Lac de pimeteouy . . . which means Fat Lake, because of the abundance of animals there." Pease and Werner, eds., *French Foundations,* 327.

694. *Pimite* (Alg.) and *Pimmethy* (Chip.), "fat" or "he is fat," John Long, in Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels,* II: 243; *Pimite* (Alg.), "fat," Lahontan *New Voyages,* II: 738; *Pimmitee* (Chip.), "fat," Carver, *Travels,* 396. Lewis C. Beck said the lake was called *Pin-a-tah-wee* by the Indians "on account of its being frequently covered with a scum which had a greasy

ably intended by the Indians to designate a "wide" place in the river, which is what Peoria Lake is. Delisle's map of 1718 shows "Lac Pimitoui" and the adjoining village of "les Pimitoui ou Peoria."[695] The indications are that Pimitoui and Peoria are different names and not variations of the same word, as one writer has assumed.[696] Both names appear in numerous variations.[697]

PEOTONE *(village and township, Will Co.)*

This name is held to derive from a Potawatomi word, *petone,* meaning "bring," "bring here," "come here," or "bring to this place."[698] This corresponds to Ojibway *pe-toan,* "bring."[699] According to Gailland, the form of these verbs varies with the grammatical context. One of his forms for "come" is *pīyāyāh.* The transitive verb "bring" is given as *nibīy'ētōn.*[700] The sound of *b* and *p* are interchangeable, so if *ni* is dropped from this, the remaining syllables would be pronounced like "Peotone." No information has been found concerning the circumstances which caused this name to be given, though two of the usual oft-told tales are common: the town was named for an "Indian chief," and the name was artificially devised.[701]

PEQUOT *(village, Grundy Co.; corporate name: Eileen)*

Pequot was the name of an Algonquian sub-tribe of Mohegan stock, once residing in Connecticut, which was nearly exterminated by colonists in the Pequot War of 1637.[702] According to J. H. Trumbull, the name came from *Pequttoog* or *Paquatauog,* signifying "destroyers."[703]

appearance." *Gazetteer* (1823), 119. The Federal Writers' Project *Illinois Guide,* 359, offers "fat lake."

695. Tucker, *Indian Villages of the Illinois Country,* Pl. XV.

696. Haines, *The American Indian,* 771.

697. *Peoria*: Au Pe, Opa Post, Opee, Peaouarias, Peoarias, Peiorie, Peouarea, Peouareoua, Peouareaoua, Peouarias, Periorie, Perouarca, Pewarias, Pioras (includes both tribe and village names). *Pimitoui*: Pemitewee, Pimetoui, Pimite, Pimiteau, Pimitee, Pimiteoui, Pimeteouy, Pimiteouy. According to Mooney, Pimitoui was also an Illinois village located until 1722 near the mouth of Fox River, La Salle Co. Hodge, II: 254. For other variations of these names see Hodge, II: 228, 254, and index to the *Jesuit Relations* (Vols. 74-75).

698. Ackerman, *Early Illinois Railroads,* 123; Haines, *The American Indian,* 771.

699. Tanner, *Narrative of Captivity,* 408.

700. "English-Potawatomi Dictionary," 38.

701. *Peotone on Parade, 1856-1956* (Peotone, 1956), 7, 10.

702. Hodge, II: 229; William Bradford, *History of Plymouth Plantation,* in W. T. Davis, ed., *Original Narratives of Early American History* (New York, 1908), 339-40; De Forest, *Indians of Connecticut,* 58.

703. Trumbull, *Indian Names . . . of Connecticut,* 50. See also Douglas-Lithgow, *Names in New England,* 376-77.

Schoolcraft believed that the name referred to a blunt or wooden arrow.[704]

PERU (*city, La Salle Co.*)

This city, incorporated in 1845, is named for the South American nation, the name of which was corrupted from the Quichua word *Pelu* by the Spanish. William H. Prescott said *Pelu* was the word for river, and was given by a native in reply to a question from the Spaniards, who mistook it for the name of the country.[705]

PESOTUM (*village and township, Champaign Co.*)

Pesotum is named for a Potawatomi Indian[706] who, according to the account of Mrs. Margaret Helm, killed Captain William Wells in the Fort Dearborn massacre at Chicago on August 15, 1812.[707] Territorial Governor Ninian Edwards, however, attributed the killing to another Indian, named White Hair.[708] "Pee-so-tum," as Mrs. Helm called him, may be the Potawatomi chief "Peso-tuck" who was living on the Fox River in 1811.[709] "Pesotem" appears in the list of signers of the Treaty of St. Mary's, Ohio, October 2, 1818.[710]

PIASA (*creek, Macoupin, Jersey, and Madison Cos.; island in Mississippi River and township, Jersey Co.; village, Macoupin Co.; Little Piasa Creek, Madison Co.*)

The village of Piasa is named for the creek,[711] while the stream's name and that of the other places are taken from the name given by the Illinois Indians to the image of a huge bird, or some other monster, carved or painted on a smooth-faced limestone bluff on the east bank of the Mississippi, at the site of Alton. Hewitt considered the name Piasa an Illinois word cognate with Cree *piyesiw*, "thunderbird."[712]

704. *Indian Tribes,* V: 38; VI: 116.

705. William H. Prescott, *History of the Conquest of Peru* . . . (Philadelphia, 1893), I: 66, citing Garcilaso. Nils M. Holmer thought it possible that Peru came from *wiru,* Quechua term for South American "bamboo," Sp. *caña brava.* "Indian Place Names in South America and the Antilles, II," 212.

706. Ackerman, *Early Illinois Railroads,* 127; N. Bateman, P. Selby, and J. O. Cunningham, eds., *Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois and History of Champaign County* (Chicago, 1905), II: 821.

707. *Wau-Bun* (1901 ed.), 178-79.

708. Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers,* XVI: 313.

709. *Ibid.,* 176-78.

710. Kappler, II: 168.

711. Walker, *Macoupin County,* I: 405; called *Big Piasau creek* in Lewis Beck's *Gazetteer* (1823), 92.

712. Hodge, II: 241. Haines called it "the man devouring bird." *The American Indian,* 772. Cf. Illinois *piressia*: *corbeau* [crow or raven], Le

The Piasa bird as it was pictured by one of the earliest explorers of the Alton region.

Several early explorers and travelers described the Piasa image at this place. Marquette gave a detailed description of what he said were "two painted monsters" he saw here in 1673.[713] Later visitors reported seeing the Piasa as late as 1838, but their descriptions vary, as do the drawings and paintings depicting it.[714] The bluff on which it was seen was partly blasted away by quarrying operations in 1870,[715] but various restorations of the picture have since been made.

Several legends of the Piasa exist. According to one, the Piasa was a man-eating bird which lived in a cave strewn with the bones of devoured Indians. At length an Illinois chief, after fasting and appealing to the Great Spirit for aid, armed himself with poisoned arrows and an invisible shield provided by the Great Spirit and, accompanied

Boulanger's "French-Illinois Dictionary," 48; Peoria *pa'issa,* "dwarf, and genius of dwarfish size." Gatschet, "Peoria Lexicon."

713. *Jesuit Relations,* LIX: 139-41.

714. A. D. Jones, *Illinois and the West* . . . (Boston, 1838), 50-60. See also Clara K. Bayliss, "The Significance of the Piasa," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society,* XIII (1908): 114-22; Botkin, *Mississippi River Folklore,* 551-54; Georgia Clifford, *Indian Legends of the Piasa Country* (St. Louis, 1933); John G. Shea, *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley* . . . (New York, 1852), 223-24; Wayne Temple, "The Piasa Bird: Fact or Fiction?" *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society,* XLIX (Autumn, 1956): 308-27; Frederick E. Voelker, "The Piasa," *ibid.,* Vol. VII, No. 1 (April, 1914), pp. 82-91. Temple believed the image had weathered away by 1700, but "Piasas" appears on Hutchins's map of 1778.

715. Federal Writers' Project, *Illinois Guide,* 153-54.

by a few braves, sought the monster and slew it when it swooped toward him. The Indians ever after regarded the site with superstitious awe.[716]

PICKAWAY (*township, Shelby Co.*)

Pickaway is a variant spelling of Piqua, said by one writer to be the Miami name of the Shawnee.[717] The city of Piqua and county of Pickaway in Ohio commemorate the Shawnee residence in that state, where the Illinois name doubtless originated.

One source derives the name from that of a Shawnee chief, Peckuwe,[718] but Mooney said it was a name borne by one of the five principal divisions of the Shawnee tribe, who inhabited several villages called by the same name, one of which was the birthplace of Tecumseh. He believed that Piqua was a contraction of "*Bi-co-we-tha,* of indefinite meaning, but referring to ashes."[719] Beauchamp's view was that Piqua signified "a man formed of ashes," from the Shawnee myth that the first of the Piqua band came forth from the ashes of a burned-out fire.[720] Lake Puckaway, Wisconsin, may or may not be a cognate name. According to Juliette Kinzie, it was named for "the long flags or rushes which are found in its waters."[721]

PISCASAW (*creek, Boone Co.*)

This name is probably corrupted and therefore difficult to trace.[722] The following possibilities are suggested: (1) *Pesheka,* Potawatomi for "buffalo," a name borne by a signer of treaties at Tippecanoe and Chicago in 1832 and 1833.[723] *Peshekey* (J. Long) and *pisikiou* (Mar-

716. Winslow, *Indians of the Chicago Region,* 27.

717. Martin, "Origin of Ohio Place Names," 274. The name has also been spelled *Peckuwe, Pekewaa,* etc., and is an element in the name *Pickawillanee,* as the earlier Miami village at the site of Piqua was called.

718. Foreman, *Last Trek of the Indians,* 87, n. 52, citing Thomas Wildcat Alford. Elsewhere, Alford said it was a clan name. Galloway, *Old Chillicothe,* 181.

719. Hodge, II: 260. In discussing Chillicothe (*ante*), Mooney mentions four, not five, Shawnee divisions.

720. *Indian Names in New-York, with a Selection from Other States . . .* (Fayetteville, N.Y., 1893), 107.

721. *Wau-Bun* (1901 ed.), 65. Verwyst thought the lake was named for an Indian living there. "Geographical Names Having a Chippewa Origin," 396.

722. On mid-nineteenth century maps it is designated as Pisgasau, Piskasau, and Piskashaw. Robert Blodgett, county clerk of Boone Co., and Bessie C. Bowley of the Boone County Historical Society tried unsuccessfully to trace this name, in response to my inquiries.

723. Kappler, II: 354, 355, 404.

quette) are variations of this name, once borne by Fox River (*q.v.*) and surviving today in Pistakee (*q.v.*). (2) *Piskewah,* "wild cat," a name borne by a Miami chief who died near Fort Wayne in 1841. The name appears in a treaty of 1818 as *Peshawa.*[724] (3) *Pasatchaw,* Ojibway for "ravine."[725] (4) *Piske* or *peske,* Abnaki name for "branch," as found in Piscataqua and Piscataquis rivers of Maine, and Piskawn Creek in New York.[726] (5) *Piscataway,* an eastern Algonquian tribe, who are the progenitors of several place names elsewhere.[727]

PISTAKEE (*village, McHenry Co.; lake and bay, Lake and McHenry Cos.*)

In the Indian days this was the name of Fox River, which flows out of the south end of Pistakee Lake, and joins the Illinois River at Ottawa. De Liette called it *Pestequouy,*[728] while Charlevoix mentioned the *Pisticoui.*[729] The name came from the Illinois word rendered as *pisikiou* by Marquette, and signifies "buffalo," or "boeufs sauvages" as the French called them.[730] It has been erroneously held to signify "fox"[731] and "antelope."[732]

POCAHONTAS (*village, Bond Co.*)

This is the name of the famous teen-aged daughter of chief Powhatan of Virginia, who married John Rolfe in 1614.[733] Chamberlain and Hewitt declared that the name meant "he (or she) is playful," and called it a verbal adjective applied to the girl, whose real name was *Matoaka,* which had a similar meaning.[734] Tooker gave her descriptive name as *Poacha-untas,* saying it signified "the little merry-minded," "the little frolic."[735] Heckewelder spelled it *Pockohantes,*

724. *Ibid.,* 174.

725. Baraga, *Otchipwe Dictionary,* Pt. I, p. 206.

726. Lucius Hubbard, *Some Indian Place Names in Northern Maine* (Boston, 1884), 209; Ruttenber, "Indian Names in the Valley of Hudson's River," 63.

727. Hodge, II: 262, 1121.

728. Quaife, ed., *Western Country,* 92.

729. *Journal* (1923 ed.), II: 184. Translated as "buffalo" by editor Louise Kellogg. Other names in print are Pesteconti, Pes-ta-koo-ee, Pipctiwi, Pishtaka, Pistaka, and Pistokee.

730. *Jesuit Relations,* LV: 194-95; LIX: 111. Cf. Potawatomi *Pokī'tchpichúki* (buffalo) and *pichúkiwōk* (cattle), Gailland, "English-Potawatomi Dictionary," 39, 44. See also Steward, *Lost Maramech,* 25-27.

731. Gannett, *Origin of Place Names* (1905 ed.), 247.

732. Beckwith, *Illinois and Indiana Indians,* 175.

733. Tyler, *Narratives,* 238, 310.

734. Hodge, II: 269. Their views are most authoritative. See also C. E. Gilliam, "Pocahontas-Matoaka," *Names,* II (Sept., 1954): 163-65.

735. Cited in Kenny, *West Virginia Place Names,* 495.

defined as "a streamlet or run between two hills."[736] Elsewhere it is claimed that Pocahontas was not a personal name but a general term used by men to designate a girl or young woman, meaning "daughter or child of my tribe."[737]

PONEMAH *(village, Warren Co.)*

Ponemah is an Ojibway term used by Longfellow in *The Song of Hiawatha* to denote the home of departed souls. *Ponemah* occurs four times in the poem: when the spirit of Chibiabos is summoned from the grave; when the ghosts haunt Hiawatha on his journey homeward to Minnehaha's bedside; upon the death of Minnehaha; and at the final departure of Hiawatha. Ponemah is also the name of an Ojibway village on Red Lake reservation, Minnesota. Tanner translates the Ojibway word *Pon-ne-mah* as "hereafter," and the Ottawa *Paw-ne-maw* as "by and by."[738]

PONTIAC *(city and township, Livingston Co.; village, St. Clair Co.)*

The city is so named because many early settlers came from Pontiac, Michigan.[739] The village in St. Clair County is near the site where chief Pontiac of the Ottawa is believed to have been slain in 1769, by an Illinois Indian.[740]

Born about 1720, Pontiac led the most widespread and successful Indian uprising of colonial times in 1763 but made peace with the English two years later at Ouiatanon, near Lafayette, Indiana.[741] His character won warm praise from George Croghan, the peace emissary, and Robert Rogers, the ranger.[742]

The meaning of Pontiac's name is unsettled, but Howard Peckham mentions an Ottawa tradition referring to him as *Obwandiyag*. Citing Andrew J. Blackbird, an Ottawa, he declared that

736. *Narrative of the Mission of the United Brethren,* 565.

737. William A. Phillips, cited in *Historical Magazine,* VI (2d ser., Aug., 1869): 100.

738. Tanner, *Narrative of Captivity,* 405, 396. But Fox *pó-nimaw,* according to Jones, means "he stops talking to him." "Algonquian Word-Formation," 405.

739. Le Baron, pub., *Livingston County,* 287, 292.

740. Others claim that the Indian killed near Cahokia was not Pontiac, who is supposed to have been killed in northern Illinois. See C. W. Alvord and C. E. Carter, eds., *The New Régime, 1765-1767 (Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library,* XI, Springfield, 1916), 47n.; Matson, *French and Indians of Illinois River,* Chap. XIII, and his letter to Draper in "Tecumseh Manuscripts," Vol. IX, Doc. 31. Francis Parkman rejects the claim. *The Conspiracy of Pontiac* (Boston, 1922), II: 328.

741. Peckham, *Pontiac,* 17-18, 101 ff. 281 ff.

742. Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels,* I: 170; Rogers, *A Concise Account of North America,* 240 ff.

the name was pronounced in the Ottawa language *Bwon-diac*. Bon or Bwon means "stopping," and Obwon would mean "his stopping" or "stopping it" or "stopping him." But no meaning has been discovered for "diyag" or "diac." Both the French and the English, of course, spelled the name as it sounded to them; the former writing it *Pondiac* or *Pondiag,* the latter making it *Pontiac* or *Pontiack.*[743]

A different but related explanation is given by another writer, who derived the name from *bonitiyak,* "a stick planted in the ground to anchor (stop) a canoe."[744]

PONTOOSUC (*village and township, Hancock Co.*)

The name of this Mississippi River village was adopted at the suggestion of a pioneer who came from Pittsfield, Massachusetts, the site of which was called Pontoosuck by the local Mahican Indians,[745] probably for a waterfall in one of the branches of the Housatonic River at that place. The name survives in nearby Pontoosuc Lake. Several writers agree that the name signifies "falls in the brook," but, more exactly, it is simply "a fall."[746]

POSSUM (*creek, Jersey Co.*)

Colloquial for opossum (*q.v.*), Virginia Algonquian name signifying "white beast."[747] This illustrates a common tendency of Europeans to drop initial sounds from Indian names.

POTAWATOMI (*Potawatomi Lake, Forest Preserve District of Cook Co., Potawatomie Park, Chicago Park District; Pottawatomie Park, St. Charles, Kane Co.; Pottawattomie Hills, unincorporated subdivision, Cook Co.; Pottawattomie Woods, Forest Preserve District of Cook Co.*)

These names commemorate the Potawatomi tribe, which inhabited northern Illinois until 1835. The name has been held to signify "people of the place of the fire" (from *Potawatamink*),[748] "we are making a fire,"[749] and "makers, or keepers, of the fire."[750] According

743. Peckham, *Pontiac,* 19.

744. Dwight H. Kelton, *Indian Names,* 46.

745. Bateman, Selby, and Currey, eds., *Hancock County,* II: 1093.

746. Barge and Caldwell, "Illinois Place Names," 272; Douglas-Lithgow, *Names in New England,* 273-74; Haines, *The American Indian,* 774. The Santa Fe Railway says it means "boat landing." *Points of Interest along the Santa Fe* (Chicago, 1954), 9. Cf. *penushunk,* "when it falls," *penushaonk, pinshaonk,* "a falling, a fall . . . from *punneu.*" Trumbull, *Natick Dictionary,* 255. The word for "brook" (*sepoêse*) is not in Pontoosuc.

747. Bartlett, *Dictionary of Americanisms,* 334; Chamberlain, "Algonkian Words," 251-52.

748. Hodge, II: 289; Strong, *Indian Tribes of the Chicago Region,* 16.

749. Beckwith, *Iroquois County,* Pt. 1, p. 143.

750. Dunn, *Indiana and Indianans,* I: 94. Cf. *ni gi po towê,* "I make

White Cloud, the Winnebago prophet.

to William Keating, the name arose from the tradition that some Potawatomi visitors among the Miami crept from their host's hut in the night and built a fire near the entrance, which was understood to be a token of peace.[751]

Potomac (*village, Vermilion Co.*)

Potomac was the name of an Indian village and a tribe in Virginia, erroneously supposed by early visitors to be the name of the river, which they called *Patowomek.* Gerard claimed that *Patomeck* is a verbal noun meaning "something brought" and, as a designation for a place, may be short for Enda Patomek, "where something is brought."[752]

This name appears in early accounts as Pataromerke, Patawomeck, Patawomecke, Patawomek, Patawomeke, Patomack, and Satawo-

fire," Gailland, "English-Potawatomi Dictionary," 114; *Pootawee* (Alg.), "To make fire, & cook," J. Long, in Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels,* II: 239; *Potawiáni,* "I build a fire," Gatschet, "Peoria Lexicon."

751. Keating, *Narrative* (1825 ed.), I: 87-89.

752. W. R. Gerard in Hodge, II: 294. Hamill Kenny amended this to "where goods are brought in . . . an emporium." *The Origin and Meaning of the Indian Place Names of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1956), 115-16. Heckewelder thought *Potomac* came from *pethamook,* "They are coming by water." *Narrative of the Mission of the United Brethren,* 562. Other explanations include "to carry two children on their back" (*Historical Magazine,* VI [2d ser., Aug., 1869]: 100, citing Phillips), and "place of burning pine or pines" (Beauchamp, Gardiner, and Lowdermilk, cited in Kenny, *West Virginia Place Names,* 504).

meck.[753] The root of it is the Powhatan word *patow,* "to bring,"[754] to which is joined *mac,* etc., probably a locative suffix equivalent to *ac* in Accomac, *ock* in Rappahannock, etc. *Patow* is undoubtedly cognate with Ojibway *petou,* "carry" (Carver, *Travels,* 395); thus *Patowmac* may mean a "carrying place," *i.e.,* a canoe portage. According to John Smith, "Here [at the village of Patawomeke] doth the river divide it selfe into 3 or 4 convenient rivers."[755]

PROPHETSTOWN *(city and state park, Whiteside Co.)*

These are named for the Winnebago prophet, White Cloud (1794-1841),[756] a medicine man and adviser to Black Hawk, who had a village at this place and is frequently mentioned in the Sauk leader's autobiography.[757] A marker erected at Prophetstown by the state in 1934 reads: "Prophetstown occupies the site of the village of the Winnebago prophet, which the Illinois Volunteers destroyed on May 10, 1832, in the first act of hostility in the Black Hawk War."

White Cloud's mother was a Winnebago, and his father was a Sauk.[758] A faithful ally of Black Hawk in 1832, he was imprisoned with him. Nevertheless, he was warmly praised by some white contemporaries for his kindness, sense of justice, and hospitality.[759]

The prophet's name, in Sauk, has been given as Wakieshiek, Wabokieshiek, Wa-bo-kies-shike, Wabokishick, Wah-pe-kee-suck, and Wa-pe-she-ka. The name means "White Cloud," though alternative translations, "The Light" and "The Light Cloud," have been given.[760]

753. Tyler, *Narratives,* 49, 86, 105, 202, 213, 300, 307, 372, 377, 378, 381; William Strachey, *The Historie of Travaile into Virginia Britannia . . .* (London 1849), 38.

754. Strachey, *Virginia Britannia,* 185. Cf. PEOTONE, herein.

755. "Description of Virginia," in Tyler, *Narratives,* 86.

756. White Cloud has been confused with the Shawnee prophet, Tenskatawa, brother of Tecumseh (Gannett, *Origin of Place Names* [1905 ed.], 254); with the Winnebago chief Winneshiek (*q.v.*), miscalled a Sauk-Fox prophet (Gemmill, *Romantic America,* 98-99), and with the Fox chief Poweshiek, miscalled a Winnebago (James D. Rishell's notes to *Black Hawk's Autobiography* [1912], 146).

757. See also Bent, *Whiteside County,* 363-64; Drake, *Aboriginal Races,* 658; Ford, *History of Illinois* (Quaife ed.), I: 247; and Royal Brunson Way, *The Rock River Valley . . .* (Chicago, 1926), I: 90-91.

758. Thwaites, "Narrative of Spoon Decorah," 461. Since descent in both tribes was through the male line, he was technically a Sauk, though he lived with the Winnebago.

759. S. P. Shannon, "A Sketch of Frontier Life" (MS, n.d., Chicago Historical Society), 38; Thomas Forsyth, cited in Kinzie, *Wau-Bun* (1901 ed.), 386.

760. Hodge, II: 885-86; *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin,* I (1854): 72n.; II (1855): 12.

RACCOON (*creeks, in Clay and Wayne Cos., Clinton Co., Lawrence Co.; Raccoon Grove, Will Co.; Raccoon Township, Marion Co.*)

This is altered from a Virginia Algonquian word said to signify "hand scratcher."[761] Described in William Strachey's Powhatan vocabulary as *racone, arrathcune,* and *Arathkone,* "a beast like a fox"; by John Smith as *aroughcun,* and by others as *arathcoon, arocoun,* and *rahaughcun,* the name evolved into raccoon.[762] See also COON.

RARITAN (*village and township, Henderson Co.*)

This name recalls the Raritan River of New Jersey, which was also the name of a group of Delaware Indians who lived on its banks. In 1832 a remnant of forty descendants of the Raritan band migrated with the Oneida to Green Bay, Wisconsin.[763] The name was probably introduced to Illinois by white settlers from New Jersey.[764]

Ruttenber found this name variously spelled, but said it arose from the radical *Nai,* "a point," as in Narragansett, and that it is equivalent also to Mohegan *Nayantukq-ut* [Niantic, *q.v.*], "a point on a tidal river." Raritan was "the point on the peninsula . . . terminating on Raritan Bay," which the Delaware clan occupied and where the name was probably first met with by the Dutch navigators. "The dialectic exchange of N and R, and of . . . *k* and *t* are clear in comparing *Nanakan* on the Hudson, *Naratic-on* on the Delaware, and *Raritan* on the Raritan."[765] Gerard believed, however, that Raritan was a Dutch corruption of a Delaware word meaning "the stream overflows so."[766]

ROANOKE (*village and township, Woodford Co.*)

The name was first given to the township at the suggestion of an early settler named John (or George) Gish, in honor of the city and county of Roanoke, in his native Virginia.[767]

761. *Webster's New World Dictionary* (1954), 1197.

762. Strachey, *Virginia Britannia,* 183, 187, 195; Tyler, *Narratives,* 93; Chamberlain, "Algonkian Words," 255-56; Trumbull, "Indian Onomatopoeia," 183; Gerard in Hodge, II: 348; Bartlett, *Dictionary of Americanisms,* 98, 351; Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes,* V: 540.

763. Hodge, II: 355.

764. A county history reveals only that the village was platted April 16, 1856, by Isaac V. Kelley and James Hixton, with James R. White acting as surveyor. Hill, pub., *Mercer and Henderson Counties,* 892.

765. Ruttenber, "Indian Names in the Valley of Hudson's River," 102-3.

766. Hodge, II: 355. Gannett suggested "forked river" (*Origin of Place Names* [1905 ed.], 258), but this is also the signification of Lehigh (*q.v.*), derived from the same language.

767. The details differ slightly in two sources: Le Baron, pub., *Woodford*

Roanoke first appears in history as the name of a village, an island, and a band of the Secotan tribe, first met in North Carolina in 1584 by Amadas and Barlow of Raleigh's expedition. In Mooney's view, the name is properly applied only to that place and people. The term is translated by Gerard as "northern people."[768]

The name, however, became widely used to designate wampum, or bands of shell beads, used as gifts, peace offerings, and a medium of exchange by eastern Algonquian tribes. Gerard believed that this use of the term may have arisen from the substitution of a familiar word for the more difficult *rawranoke, rarenaw,* and *rarenawok,* which were terms applied to the beads.[769] In Trumbull's view the island and river called Roanoke drew their names from the wampum beads, called *rawrenock* by John Smith, and that the island was so named because it provided the material for the manufacture of bead-money.[770] *Roanoke* is given as the equivalent for *peag* or *wampum* by Chamberlain.[771] According to one story, the Roanoke River was so named by the English as a substitute for "gold," which they had been told by Menotoscon, chief of the Chowanoc, that they would find there.[772]

Robinson's Woods (*Forest Preserve District of Cook Co.*)

So named for Alexander Robinson or Che-Che-Pinqua (*q.v.*), a half-breed Potawatomi chief who was awarded this tract by the Treaty of Prairie du Chien in 1829,[773] and lived on it from the middle 1830's until his death in 1872. He and his family are buried on his reserve, near Lawrence Avenue and Cumberland Road. The city of Robinson in Crawford County is not named for this Indian.

Rock (*Rock City, village, Stephenson Co.; Rock Creek, Carroll and Whiteside Cos.; Rock Falls, city, Whiteside Co.; Rock Grove, village and township, Stephenson Co.; Rock Island, city and county; Rock Island, in Mississippi River; Rockford, city, Winnebago Co.; Rock River; Denrock, village, Whiteside Co.; Greenrock, village, Henry Co.*)

County, 336, and Roy L. Moore, *History of Woodford County* (Eureka, Ill., 1910), 50.

768. Hodge, II: 392-93.

769. *Ibid.* Cf. "Cheyne [chain] – *rarenaw.*" Strachey, *Virginia Britannia,* 185. See also Chamberlain, "Algonkian Words," 256.

770. J. Hammond Trumbull, "Indian Names in Virginia," *Historical Magazine,* VII (2d ser., Jan., 1870): 47-48.

771. "Algonkian Words," 256.

772. Richard Dillard, "The Indian Tribes of Eastern North Carolina," *The North Carolina Booklet,* VI (July, 1906): 6.

773. Kappler, II: 298. See biographical sketch in A. T. Andreas, *History of Chicago . . .* (Chicago, 1884), I: 108.

The places listed above are named for their proximity to or connection with Rock River. The river took its name either from the island in the Mississippi above its mouth or from its rocky bottom. The present name is an exact translation of the Algonquian name *Assinisipi* (*q.v.*), "Rock River."

Charlevoix called this river "*Assenesipi,* or river at the rock; because its mouth is directly opposite to a mountain [*sic*] placed in the river itself, where travellers affirm rock-chrystal is to be found."[774] The river is named "Assenisipi ou R a la Roche" on Delisle's map of 1718.[775] The early appearance of the name suggests that it came from the Illinois, but it was continued by the Sauk, who described the point of land formed by the junction of the Rock and Mississippi rivers, near their main village, as *Sen-i-se-po Ke-be-sau-kee,* or Rock River Peninsula.[776]

According to Keating, the "Sinsepe" was called Weroshanagra by the Winnebago; the Winnebago name also meant Rock River.[777]

The site of Rockford was also known as Rock Ford by the Indians, according to a local history, owing to the fact that "there was a solid rock bottom, where the water was generally shallow enough in ordinary seasons to afford easy crossing with their ponies."[778] The village of Greenrock receives its name from its location at the junction of the Green and Rock rivers.

SAGANASHKEE (*slough, Forest Preserve District of Cook Co.*)

Just east of the slough, near the settlement of Sag Bridge, once stood a Potawatomi village said to have been called *Ausagaunaskee,* signify-

774. *Journal* (1923 ed.), II: 209.

775. Tucker, *Indian Villages of the Illinois Country,* Pl. XV.

776. Maj. Morrell Marston to Jedidiah Morse in 1820, quoted in Blair, ed., *Indian Tribes,* II: 147. The Fox name for Rock Island is *Assíni me' nä thi,* according to Gatschet, "Fox Notebook," 5; *Ossem Menes,* according to Horace M. Rebok, "The Last of the Mus-Qua-Kies," *Iowa Historical Record,* XVII (July, 1901): 307n. Rock River was *As-sen Seepo,* according to Forsyth, in Blair, II: 242-43.

777. *Narrative* (1825 ed.), I: 184. The above facts, as well as others revealing the antiquity of Indian names, undermine the view held by one writer that Indian place names changed at the same rate as current vocabulary, and that "in many cases the toponymy did not outlast a generation." (Nils M. Holmer, *Indian Place Names in North America* [Cambridge, Mass., 1948], 41-42). Not only did names survive occupancy by different tribes, but tribes of different languages often called a place by the same name in their respective tongues. Cf. also the history of TUSCALOOSA in n. 1007 below.

778. H. F. Kett & Co., pub., *The History of Winnebago County . . .* (Chicago, 1877), 399.

ing "Tall Grass Valley."[779] On General William Hull's map of 1812, this location is shown as "Ausagaunashke Swamp."[780] Lucius Lyon's map of *ca.* 1830 shows "Grassy L. or Saganee Rec." (Reservoir?).[781] Other maps have shown Aganaskee Creek, Grass Lake, Sag Timber,[782] Sanganaske Swamp, Sau-ganash Swamp, and Sauganaske Swamp.[783]

Although Gailland's English-Potawatomi dictionary does not contain a similar word for grass,[784] the several sources connecting Saganashkee with grass, and Baraga's term *Sâgâshka* ("the grass begins to grow"),[785] suggest that this name in its original form signified grassland. Allegedly the Sag Swamp has also been called *Wabishikisibi,* "bog river."[786]

SALINE (*county; river; Saline Mines, village, Gallatin Co.; Saline Township, Gallatin and Williamson Cos.*)

While Saline is not an Indian word, these names derive from the Indian salt springs in the vicinity, which are mentioned in several early accounts.[787] A four-square-mile area containing the principal

779. Federal Writers' Project, *Du Page County: A Descriptive and Historical Guide, 1831-1939* (Elmhurst, Ill., 1948), 210.

780. Original in Chicago Historical Society.

781. Tucker, *Indian Villages of the Illinois Country,* Pl. LII. It is also called "Ausogonaskki Reservoir," in Conger and Hull, *Illinois River Valley,* I: 182.

782. Peck and Messinger map of Illinois, 1844. "Sag" is here an apparent abbreviation of *Saganashkee,* indicating that the names of the Calumet *Sag* Canal, the *Sag* Forest, Camp *Sagawau,* and the village of *Sag* Bridge, all in this area, may derive from the same source. It is also claimed that "sag" is a term applied by early residents to depressions or valleys caused by glacial drainage. *Our Community* (Pullman Bank, Chicago, 1959), 4. Mathews (*Dictionary of Americanisms,* II: 1442) finds the word in use in 1727 for a low place. Similar usage is indicated in Skeat, *Etymological Dictionary,* 531, John R. Clark Hall, *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (Cambridge, 1931), 288, and James O. Halliwell, *A Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words . . .* (London, 1889), II: 701.

783. H. P. Tanner's map of 1836; S. A. Mitchell's map of 1837; Peck and Messinger maps of 1836, 1838, 1844.

784. Grass: *mi chisk' wēn* (p. 135).

785. *Otchipwe Dictionary,* Pt. II, p. 360.

786. W. D. Barge MS in Chicago Historical Society, cited in A. H. Meyer, "Toponomy in Sequent Occupance Geography," *Proceedings of Indiana Academy of Science,* LIV (1944): 145. The source in which this name originally appears is not mentioned. Gailland gives *wapchkōkú* for marsh, while Blackbird gives *Wau-bawsh-ko-kee* as Ottawa for "marsh land" (*History of the Ottawa,* 122). Cf. SKOKIE, WABASH.

787. Pownall's "Topographical Description of North America" (London, 1766), excerpt in *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society,* Vol. II, No. 2 (July, 1909), pp. 55 ff.; Beck, *Gazetteer* (1823), 68; John Reynolds, *My Own Times,* 47; Bonnell, *The Illinois Ozarks,* 12-13; Barbara Burr Hubbs,

springs and salt works was ceded to the United States in a treaty negotiated with nine tribes by General William H. Harrison at Fort Wayne, June 7, 1803, which provided that the Indians were to receive 150 bushels of salt annually.[788]

SALUDA (*village, Knox Co.*)

This is the name of a river in South Carolina and of several places in the Carolinas and Virginia. It evidently comes from the name of a small tribe of Indians formerly living on Saluda River.[789] Swanton held that the meaning of the name is unknown and that "circumstantial evidence indicates strongly that the Saluda were a band of Shawnee, and therefore of the Algonquian stock." He adds that almost all that is known of the Saluda "is contained in a note on George Hunter's map of the Cherokee country drawn in 1730 indicating 'Saluda town where a nation settled 35 years ago, removed 18 years to Conestogo, in Pensilvania.' "[790]

SANDUSKY (*creek, Franklin Co.; village and township, Alexander Co.*)

Named for Sandusky, Ohio, a name of Wyandot origin. It seems to have been a generic term widely used in that area by the Indians.[791] Two Wyandot villages, Lower and Upper Sandusky, formerly existed at the sites of the present cities of Sandusky and Upper Sandusky, Ohio.[792] On Sandusky Bay, an arm of Lake Erie, the English in 1749 established a trading post called Fort Sandoski, which was burned by the Indians in 1763.

The present city of Sandusky did not receive its name until the 1820's, though "Lac Sandouské" appeared on Delisle's map of 1718 and "Lake Sandoski" was shown on Popple's map of 1733. With one

Pioneer Folks and Places . . . (Herrin, Ill., 1939), 205; Banta, *The Ohio,* 488.

788. Kappler, II: 64-65; Douglas C. McMurtrie, *Negotiations for the Illinois Salt Springs, 1802-1803* (Chicago, 1938).

789. Hodge, II: 420.

790. *Indian Tribes of North America,* 97-98. Gannett said the name meant "corn river" (*Origin of Place Names* [1905 ed.], 272), but it cannot mean this if the name is Algonquian.

791. Lucy E. Keeler, "Old Fort Sandoski of 1745 and the 'Sandusky Country,' " *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly,* XVII (Oct., 1908): 357-429. Robert Rogers mentioned the "Windot" Indians at Sandusky in 1761, *Journals . . .* (London, 1765), 231. Sandusky is also mentioned by George Croghan in 1760. Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels,* I: 110. These Englishmen spelled the name as it now is, but other spellings range from *Ostandousket* (Hodge, II: 432) to *St. Duski* (Alvord, ed., *Kaskaskia Records,* 105).

792. Hodge, II: 431.

exception, explanations of this name invariably connect it with water.[793] The other claim erroneously links the name with that of a Polish trader named Sadowsky who was exiled from Poland in 1756, went to Richmond, Virginia, and thence to Ohio, where he was killed by Indians.[794] While both Sadowsky and Sandusky are in fact Polish names, the name in Ohio antedates the appearance of any such individual by many years.[795]

SANGAMON (*county; river; Little Sangamon River, Cass Co.; Sangamon Township, Piatt Co.; Sangamon Valley Township, Cass Co.; Sangamon Lake, Cass Co.; Sangamon, village, Macon Co.; Sanganois Conservation Area, Cass Co.*)

The Sangamon River is the source of these names. Sanganois is a contrived word, combining the first two syllables of Sangamon and the last syllable of Illinois, because of the confluence of these two rivers at that place.

Charlevoix may have been the first to mention the Sangamon River in any form like the present name[796] when he wrote in 1721: "We passed by the *Saguimont,* a large river which comes from the south."[797] "R. De Saguimont" is shown on the 1755 map by Jacques Bellin.[798] The French pronunciation of this name, with a silent *t* and a possible nasal *n* in the first syllable, would sound about the same as the present name.[799]

793. Adaptation of Wyandot "*sa'ndesti* plainly denoting 'water'" – Mahr, "Indian River and Place Names in Ohio," 137 ff., citing John Johnston; "Huron [Wyandot] *Otsaandosti,* 'cool water'" – Hodge, II: 431; "Sandusky, 'at the cold water'" – Martin, "Origin of Ohio Place Names," 277; [from Wyandot] "*Ot-san-doos-ke,* 'there where there is pure water'" – Beauchamp, *Aboriginal Place Names of New York,* 32, citing Potier; "*Saanduste,* 'large bodies or pools of water'" – Russell Errett, "Indian Geographical Names – II," *Magazine of Western History,* II (July, 1885): 241.

794. Beckwith, *Vermilion County,* 771.

795. Delisle map, 1718, in Tucker, *Indian Villages of the Illinois Country,* Pl. XV. Thomas Morris in 1764 mentioned a trader named Levi among the Indians at Sandusky. Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels,* I: 314-16. No individual named Sandusky is mentioned in N. O. Winter's *History of Northwest Ohio . . .* (Chicago, 1917).

796. However, Franquelin's map of 1688 shows "R. des Matsigamea" in the approximate location of the Sangamon. The name came perhaps from the Michigamea tribe, indicated by him as occupying the vicinity.

797. *Journal* (1923 ed.), II: 200.

798. Tucker, *Indian Villages of the Illinois Country,* Pl. XXIV.

799. Among other spellings are *Sagamond* (Hutchins map, 1778, *ibid.,* Pl. XXIX), *Sanquemin* (N. Edwards map, 1812, Pl. XXXV), *Sanguemon* (R. Paul map, 1816, Pl. XLI), *Sangamo* (Joseph M. Street map, 1827, Pl. LIII), and *Sain-quee-mon* (Edwards, *History of Illinois,* 97).

In its present form, this name is virtually the same as *sang'man,* the Abnaki term for "chief,"[800] but this is a coincidence, for that tribe did not live here, and this is not a transfer name. Governor Reynolds declared that "in the Pottawatomie language, Sangamon means 'the country where there is plenty to eat.' According to our parlance, it would be termed 'the land of milk and honey.' "[801] This is romantic nonsense.

John Henderson (1873) entertained the idea that the name may have come from *Sau-kie-min,* comprising *auki,* "earth," and *min,* "good," but this is untenable because the initial *s* cannot be ignored, and adjectives do not follow nouns in Algonquian languages. Henderson further suggested *Saukiemong,* mistranslated "river of the Sauks," and *sa-gie-ming,* mistranslated "loon-lake river."[802]

Another guess in print holds that the river may have been named for a Kickapoo chief, or that it was derived from St. Gamoin, a form found in surveyor's records of Macon County.[803] However, the Kickapoo did not reside in this vicinity when the name first appears in history, and the fanciful St. Gamoin[804] is excluded by the earlier records already mentioned.

Sangamon is most probably a cognate of *Saginaw* (Michigan) and its French corruption *Saguenay* (Ontario), derived from Ojibway *Sâginawa,* which has been spelled sagina, saguinau, saguina, saguinam, sau-ge-nong, etc. In every instance the meaning is "place of the outlet" or, literally, "river mouth."[805] It is doubtless also related to Natick *saketog,* "he pours out,"[806] from which the name of Saugatuck, Connecticut, and its Michigan namesake are derived.[807]

800. Hodge, II: 408.

801. *My Own Times* (1879 ed.), 151. Several writers, including Gannett and Louise Kellogg, have repeated this error.

802. *Early History of the "Sangamon Country,"* iii, iv, 12. No tradition or record links the Sauk to this river; *mong* does not mean river, and *Sa-gie,* alone, does not mean lake. Edgar Lee Masters repeated Henderson's fancies in *The Sangamon* (New York, 1942), 8-9.

803. Richmond, *Centennial History of Decatur and Macon County,* 93.

804. Probably invented by someone who thought *san* could be written "St." as if it were Spanish. Similarly, Sandusky (*q.v.*) has been spelled St. Duski, and in reverse, Lake St. Clair, Mich., has been spelled "Sinclair."

805. Hodge, II: 409. See also Cadillac, in Quaife, ed., *Western Country,* 65. Cf. *Sakinang,* Perrot's name for Saginaw Bay, in Blair, ed., *Indian Tribes,* I: 234; *Sagunam* Bay in Lewis's map of 1804; *Saganing* Creek, Arenac Co., Mich.; *Sâgi,* "the mouth of a river,' *Sâging,* "at the mouth of a river," *Sâgigin,* "it comes forth from." Baraga, *Otchipwe Dictionary,* Pt. II, pp. 360, 362.

806. Trumbull, *Natick Dictionary,* 144.

807. Trumbull, "Composition of Indian Geographical Names," 30.

When Charlevoix was floating down the Illinois River in a canoe, one of his Indian guides may have pointed to the mouth of the Sangamon and called out something like "Sagi-ong" ("river-mouth"). Mistaking this for the name, and committing what he heard to French orthography, Charlevoix recorded it as "Saguimont."[808]

SARATOGA (*creeks, in Grundy and Kendall Cos.; townships, in Grundy, Kendall, Marshall, and Union Cos.; village, Union Co.*)

"There is poetry in their very names of places . . . Saratoga, the place of bursting out of waters."[809] This name is from the New York place made famous by Burgoyne's capture in 1777, and presently known for its springs. It was also the name of a Mohawk band or village formerly situated near present Saratoga, New York.[810]

There are several translations of this name,[811] but Ruttenber's seems most reliable. He pointed out that Saratoga was called *Sarachtogoe* by the Dutch, *Ochseratongue* or *Ochsechrage* by the Mohawk, and *Amissohaendiek* ("Beaver Place") by the Algonquian-speaking Mahican. He shared the opinion of Daniel Brinton, who wrote that "the Mahican term is practically a translation of the Iroquois name."[812]

SAUGANASH (*park, Chicago Park District, Cook Co.*)

So named because it adjoins the forest preserve tract which was known as Sauganash Reserve or Billy Caldwell Woods until it was renamed Clayton F. Smith Woods in 1957. Both the park and forest preserve are part of the 1,600-acre tract along the north branch of the Chicago River which was granted to the half-blood Potawatomi chief Billy Caldwell (*q.v.*) or Sauganash, by the Treaty of Prairie du Chien in 1829.[813] He never occupied his land, however, but lived in a frame house the government built for him at Chicago and Wabash

808. Mrs. Kinzie relates, however, that two Potawatomi squaws called Fox River "Saumanong," which she took to be a generic name for any large stream. *Wau-Bun* (1901 ed.), 134. The squaws may have been saying "Somonauk" (*q.v.*).

809. Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes,* III: 328. Elsewhere in the same work (IV: 384) he translated Saratoga as "sparkling waters," referring to the mineral springs. Ruttenber attacked his definition on the ground that it was derived from the latter form of the name, without reference to antecedents.

810. Hodge, II: 466. Joshua Collins, first settler in Saratoga Twp., Grundy Co., was from New York state. Bateman and Selby, eds., *Grundy County,* II: 744.

811. Hewitt in Hodge, II: 466; Beauchamp, *Aboriginal Place Names of New York,* 196-97. Morgan declared the "signification lost." *League of the Iroquois,* II: 138.

812. Ruttenber, "Indian Names in the Valley of Hudson's River," 180-84.

813. Kappler, II: 298.

avenues, until he went into exile with his tribe in 1835, after which the land was sold.[814]

Though variously spelled, the Indian name of Billy Caldwell is generally defined as "Englishman," an appellation given because his father was an English officer.[815] See also CALDWELL.

SAUK (*Sauk Trail, a highway, Cook and Will Cos.; Sauk Trail Lake, Sauk Trail Woods, Forest Preserve District of Cook Co.; Sauk Village, village, Cook Co.*)

Sauk Trail Lake and Woods, as well as Sauk Village, are all situated on the old Sauk Trail, route of the old Lincoln Highway, presently Sauk Trail road. Originally this was a pathway beaten by moccasined feet traversing the route from the Sauk capital at Saukenuk (near Rock Island) to Detroit over the course of a century or more.[816]

Sauk is a contraction of the original name of the Sauk tribe, which has been written as Osakiwug, Osaukee, Ozaukee, Sac, Sakie, Saukie, Saukie-uck, Sakewe, etc.[817] Two definitions have been given, "the

814. Jensen, *Historic Chicago Sites,* 99-102; Caldwell file, Chicago Historical Society.

815. Hodge II: 351. There is no foundation for the view occasionally advanced that this name means "Straight Tree." See "Shaganash or Englishman, his mark," in Mackinac treaty, July 6, 1820, Kappler, II: 189; the name is *Sau-ko-noek* and *Saw-ko-nosh* in Kappler, II: 403, 410; "this name of Sauganash was generally given to all Englishmen by the Indian tribes," Hickling, "Caldwell and Shabonee," 30; "Saw-gu-nay . . . Sau-gun-na . . . Englishman or stranger," Juliette Kinzie, "Chicago Indian Chiefs," *Bulletin of Chicago Historical Society,* I (n.s., Aug., 1935): 108-9; see also *Wau-Bun* (1901 ed.), 187n.; "He asked me if I was a Sagenash, (an Englishman)," William Biggs, "Narrative of the Capture of William Biggs by the Kickapoo Indians in 1788," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society,* VII (1902): 205; "English – *Sākinăck,*" Gailland, "English-Potawatomi Dictionary," 97; see also John Long, in Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels,* II: 96, 138; Beckwith, *Illinois and Indiana Indians,* 172; Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes,* VI: 236. Chamberlain believed *Saganash* and cognate Algonquian terms arose from French *Les Anglais.* Hodge, II: 351.

816. The trail may be older, if the *Chemin de Retour* of Thévenot's map of 1681 is the same trail. For description and history of the trail, see Federal Writers' Project, *The Calumet Region Historical Guide,* 13, 71-72; letter of A. M. Hubbard to Julia Mills Dunn, *ca.* 1916, from Steward papers in Chicago Historical Society; Emery Hutchison, "The Great Sauk Trail," *Chicago Daily News,* Feb. 18, 1956; Kinzie, *Wau-Bun* (1901 ed.), 126-27; Quaife, *Chicago's Highways,* 38-39, 256; H. L. Spooner, "The Other End of the Great Sauk Trail," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society,* XXIX (July, 1936): 121-34; John F. Steward, "Sac and Fox Trail," *ibid.,* IV (July, 1911): 157 ff. and *Lost Maramech,* 39, 67-68.

817. Hodge, II: 480; Keating, *Narrative* (1825 ed.), I: 223-24. The Sauk chief Masco told Major Marston: "Since we can remember we have

outlet" and "yellow earth." Hewitt offered both as possibilities.[818] Cadillac reported that "the Sauk tribe is so called because Sauky means the mouth of the river."[819] Schoolcraft and Quaife believed that Saginaw, Michigan, was named for them.[820]

The above views are based on a chance similarity of terms. The Sauk themselves say, and have always maintained, that their name means "yellow earth" people. According to Thomas Forsyth, Sauk and Fox Indian agent at Rock Island in 1827: "The original and present name of the Sauk Indians, proceeds from the compound word Sakie alias, A-saw-we-kee literally Yellow Earth."[821] The associated Fox tribe (*q.v.*) call themselves Mesquakie, "red earth." Both terms originate in their creation myths, which describe the clay from which they were fashioned by the great spirit.[822]

SAUNEMIN (*village and township, Livingston Co.*)

A local history reports that this place was "called Saunemin, after the old sachem of the Kickapoo Indians, and was given to the precinct by [Franklin C.] Oliver, of the present township of Chatsworth, who settled there when Indians were plenty in this country, and knew the old chief well."[823]

The name is undoubtedly from *Osánimun,* which is an Algonquian word for vermilion, according to Schoolcraft, who said it is "compounded from *unimun,* or plant yielding a red dye, and *asawa,* yellow. The peculiar color of yellow-red is thus indicated."[824] As in many Indian names, the initial sound of *o* was dropped in white usage.

Appropriately, this village is located only five miles north of the Vermilion River of the Illinois. Vermilion paint was a favorite with

never had any other name than Saukie or Saukie-uck." Blair, ed., *Indian Tribes,* II: 141. The last syllable is a plural suffix.

818. Hodge, II: 471. Both definitions have also been given to *Ozaukee* Co., Wis. Kuhm, "Indian Place-Names in Wisconsin," 97.

819. Quaife, ed., *Western Country,* 65. Cf. SANGAMON, herein.

820. *Ibid.* J. H. Trumbull wrote: "SOHK or SAUK, a root that denotes 'pouring out,' is the base of many local names for 'the outlet' or 'discharge' of a river or lake." "Composition of Indian Geographical Names," 30.

821. Blair, ed., *Indian Tribes,* II: 183.

822. Swanton, *Indian Tribes of North America,* 250.

823. Le Baron, pub., *Livingston County,* 397.

824. *Thirty Years with the Indian Tribes,* 158. The language given is Ojibway, linguistic cousin to Kickapoo. In the same language, vermilion is given as *Ozonnemon* by John Long, in Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels,* II: 248; Tanner gives *O-saw-waw* (yellow), *O-num-un* (ochre) in Ojibway, and *O-nu-mun, O-nah-mum* (red paint) in Ottawa and Menominee. *Narrative of Captivity,* 312, 398, 402. Cf. *O-zaw-o-min,* "yellow corn," Blackbird, *History of the Ottawa,* 122.

midwest Indians, and clays suitable for its manufacture are found near this stream.[825] See also VERMILION.

SAVANNA (*city, township, and slough, Carroll Co.*)

Bartlett called Savanna a West Indian word for an open plain, or woodless meadow, distinguished from a prairie by being lower than the surrounding land, and forming the basin of a former lake, since filled by accumulated soil and vegetable matter.[826] The term is used in tropical regions to designate grasslands,[827] but the French also applied the term *Savanois* to northern Indians, particularly the Cree, who inhabited swampy country, because "all those wet lands, which are good for nothing are called Savannahs."[828] Marshy lands with few trees were called "Savannes" by Father Marest, while Perrot applied the term "savanes" to "great flat plains" inhabited by caribou.[829]

Several writers believe, however, that the term Savanna or Savannah as a United States place name comes from the Shawnee or Shawano Indians, owing to their supposed former residence near the Savannah River in Georgia, which is believed by some to be named for them. Mooney, citing Adair, claimed that the names were synonymous and further doubted that the English would have adopted a name borrowed from the Spanish, who used this term in the Caribbean area.[830] Bartlett, however, mentioned use of the name by Robert Beverley and the poet Bryant. George Croghan frequently applied the term to prairies in the Ohio Valley,[831] and another writer found it in use by Lawson,

825. The sources of the Vermilion River of the Wabash also are in the southeastern corner of Livingston Co.

826. *Dictionary of Americanisms,* 381. Schoolcraft's companion, Boutwell, said the Savanna River of Minnesota took its name from "a tract of low, marshy ground, overgrown with rushes, flags, and small clumps of bushes." Journal entry of June 30, 1832, in "Exploring Tour: Extracts from Mr. Boutwell's Journal," *Annals of the Minnesota Historical Society . . . 1852,* 50.

827. *Webster's New World Dictionary* (1954), 1297.

828. Charlevoix, *Journal* (1923 ed.), I: 259.

829. *Jesuit Relations,* LXVI: 111-13; Blair, ed., *Indian Tribes,* I: 106. Lake *Savanne,* near Nipigon, Ont., was called "Lake Savan" by John Long. Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels,* II: 122-23.

830. Mooney in Hodge, II: 532; Swanton, *Indian Tribes of North America,* 99. See also SHAWNEETOWN, herein, and Thomas L. Stokes, *The Savannah* (New York, 1951), 43-44.

831. Journal, Dec. 25, 1760, June 11, 12, 23, 1765, in Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels,* I: 145 *et al.* Cf. also George Washington: "[The] Way was now impassable, by Reason of many large, miry Savannas." *The Journal of Major George Washington, Sent by the Hon. Robert Dinwiddie . . . to the Commandant of the French Forces on the Ohio . . .* (Williamsburg, Va., 1754), 6.

Bartram, and other colonial writers to describe grasslands.[832] While borrowed from the Spanish, the word is originally from the Carib language.[833]

SCIOTA, SCIOTO (*Sciota, village and township, McDonough Co.; Scioto Mills, village, Stephenson Co.*)

These names originate in Ohio, where the Scioto River bisects the capital. The name appears in accounts dating from 1750 as Sciota, Scioto, Sinhiota, Sioto, and Sonnioto. It is undoubtedly Iroquoian, and the variations reflect the national backgrounds of the recorders and the dialects in which they heard the word used.

Two scholars have declared Scioto to be the Wyandot term for deer, which was given as *Skinootoo* by Lewis Cass.[834] Zeisberger gave the same word as *scoenonto* in the Onondaga dialect.[835] While the Mingo, a mixed offshoot of the Six Nations, occupied the Scioto Valley about 1751, there is no evidence to link this name to them.[836]

SCHOHARRIE (*prairie, Williamson Co.*)

The name is that of a creek, county, and town in New York state, though it is there spelled *Schoharie.* Hewitt traced the name to Mohawk *T-yo^{c}-sko^{n}-hà-re,* "an obstruction by driftwood."[837] Morgan gave the Indian form as *Sko-haŕ-le,* defined simply as "flood wood."[838]

832. Manning Ferguson Force, *Some Early Notices of the Indians of Ohio* (Cincinnati, 1879), 27-38. Force also doubts that the Shawnee tribe lived in Georgia.

833. *Webster's New World Dictionary* (1954), 1297; Skeat's *Etymological Dictionary,* 536.

834. Mrs. M. E. Martin, "Origin of Ohio Place Names," 276; R. G. Thwaites, ed., "The French Regime in Wisconsin," *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin,* XVIII (1908): 20, n. 27; Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels,* I: 134n. C. Hale Sipe erroneously supposed Scioto came from the Delaware word for deer, wrongly given as *Ough-scan-oto; Wars of Pennsylvania,* 13. Deer is *achtu* in Brinton and Anthony, eds., *Lenâpé-English Dictionary,* 13. Gannett supposed that Sciota was from *seeyotah,* "great legs," but as usual did not indicate the language. *Origin of Place Names* (1905 ed.), 277. Thus translated, it cannot be either Algonquian or Iroquoian.

835. Cass, "Indians of North America," 41; David Zeisberger, *Zeisberger's Indian Dictionary . . .* (Cambridge, Mass., 1887), 53. See also *Oskoneantea,* Mohawk for deer, and *Scanada,* "deer," name of a principal tributary of Oneida Creek, N. Y. Schoolcraft, *Notes on the Iroquois,* 267, 209.

836. Hodge, I: 867. They were mainly Seneca, whose word for deer was *Nä-ó-geh,* according to Morgan, *League of the Iroquois,* I: 76.

837. Ruttenber, "Indian Names in the Valley of Hudson's River," 207-8. Hodge, II: 488, says it was a Mohawk village.

838. *League of the Iroquois,* II: 138.

Barbara Hubbs says there is no evidence that any of the German or Dutch settlers of New York ever reached Schoharrie Prairie.[839] The name, however, is evidence that someone familiar with the New York name must have arrived in the neighborhood.

SENACHWINE *(creek, Bureau, Putnam, and Peoria Cos.; Little Senachwine Creek, Peoria Co.; Senachwine Lake and Township, Putnam Co.)*

Senachwine was a Potawatomi chief (*ca.* 1744-1831) who lived in this vicinity and is said to be buried here. He was the brother and successor, in 1815, of Gomo as head chief of the Illinois River bands of his tribe.[840] One source locates his village on the creek that bears his name, just north of Chillicothe.[841]

Information about Senachwine is sketchy, contradictory, and semi-legendary,[842] but he is said to have joined the Spanish party from St. Louis which attacked the English at Fort St. Joseph, Michigan, in 1781.[843] His name, in various forms,[844] appears in treaties signed in 1815, 1816, and 1829.[845] He is believed to have died about 1831.[846] The mark of "Ce-na-je-wine" appears in the Treaty of Tippecanoe, October 20, 1832, which awarded "for Ce-na-ge-wine, one section

839. Hubbs, *Pioneer Folks and Places,* 209. This book contains an interesting, but apocryphal, folk tale about the origin of the name.

840. Lyman Draper Notebooks, 1866, S-21, p. 275; Smith, *Metamora,* 52-53.

841. Conger and Hull, *Illinois River Valley,* I: 58.

842. See Draper's "Tecumseh Manuscripts," Vol. IX; Ernest E. East, *Peoria Journal and Transcript,* March 26, 1936, May 7, 1937; Grant Foreman, "Illinois and Her Indians," *Papers in Illinois History . . . 1939* (Springfield, 1940), 99-100; Kinzie, "Chicago Indian Chiefs," 108-9; Matson, *French and Indians of Illinois River,* 232, 245-46, 257, and *Reminiscences of Bureau County, Illinois* (Princeton, Ill., 1872), 20-23; Odillon B. Slane, *Reminiscences of Early Peoria . . .* (Evanston, Ill., 1933), 24-25.

843. Spooner, *Indians of Northern Illinois,* 12.

844. In treaties, documents, and published works: Ce-na-ge-wine, Ce-nag-e-wine, Cen-nagi-wone, Ce-nah-ge-win, Ce-na-je-wine, Che-nau-che-wine, Sa-nach-wine, Sa-natch-e-win, Sanatchewin, Se-na-cha-wane, Senachwine, Se-nackeewanee, Se-na-ge-woin, Sena-tche-wan, Se-nech-e-wine, Sinnachewan, Sinnawchewon, Sinnowchewone, Snachwine, Snatchwine, and Sunawchewome.

845. Kappler, II: 111, 133. A copy of the third document, called a "treaty talk," signed at Peoria, July 2, 1829, in the presence of Peter Menard, Jr., is in Draper's "Tecumseh Manuscripts," Vol. IX, Doc. 41. It was never ratified. Senachwine rejected the July 29, 1829, Treaty of Prairie du Chien because of its land cessions. Foreman, "Illinois and Her Indians," 100.

846. Draper's "Tecumseh Manuscripts," Vol. IX, Docs. 33-34, 45. Alexander Robinson thought he died in 1820, manifestly incorrect. Draper Notebooks, S-21, p. 275.

. . . at Twelve Mile Grove, or Na-be-na-qui-nong,"[847] but Gurdon S. Hubbard, a witness, said this referred to the son and successor of Senachwine.[848] The latter's name appears also in the Chicago Treaty of 1833, and for the final time, the name "Sena-tche-wan, (or Swift Current,)" appears in the Treaty of Council Bluffs, June 5, 1846.[849]

This name may be equivalent to Saskatchewan, also translated as "swift current," which is the Cree name of a Canadian river in the province of the same name.[850] Elijah Haines held, however, to the untenable view that Senachwine meant "red cedar."[851] The Potawatomi agent in Kansas in 1882 connected the name with "rock" because of the syllable *Sen*.[852] A missionary, I. N. Bourassa, who also compiled a Potawatomi dictionary, gave the name as "Se-na-ge-woin, or Shining Water."[853] Chief Alexander Robinson in 1866 translated the name to Draper as "Sa-natch-e-win, or the Stone Roller."[854]

SENECA (*formerly Crotty – village, La Salle Co.; township, McHenry Co.*)

Seneca is the name given to the westernmost tribe of the Six Nations or Iroquois, though their own name was *Nün'-da-wa-o-no* (see NUNDA). The Roman proper name by which they are known evolved, according to Hewitt, an ethnologist of Seneca descent, from an Algonquian word signifying "place of the stone." Hewitt called the name "the Anglicized form of the Dutch enunciation of the Mohegan rendering of the Iroquoian ethnic appellative *Oneida*."[855] The translation "stony place" seems justified from the early appellation *Sinnaka,* applied to them by the Munsee, but the name has also been linked to Algonquian terms for "stone snakes" or "mountain snakes" and to a term signifying "to eat," implying cannibalism.[856]

847. Kappler, II: 354. This grant was in Will County. Le Baron, pub., *Will County,* 626.

848. Letter to Draper, Nov. 23, 1874, in "Tecumseh Manuscripts," Vol. IX, Doc. 101.

849. Kappler, II: 404, 559.

850. Armstrong, *Place Names in Canada,* 257; according to Marjorie Campbell, from *Kisiskatchewan,* "the river that flows rapidly." *The Saskatchewan* (New York, 1950), 17.

851. *The American Indian,* 781. Cf. Gailland: Cedar – *Miskwawak* (lit., "red wood"), 44.

852. G. W. James to Draper, "Tecumseh Manuscripts," Vol. IX, Doc. 78.

853. *Ibid.,* Doc. 34.

854. Draper Notebooks, S-21, p. 275.

855. Hodge, II: 502. Cf. *Senaka,* as they were called by Conrad Weiser. Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels,* I: 31. In French accounts they are called Sonnontouans, Sonontoerrhonons, and Tsonnotouans, etc.

856. "Indian Names in the Valley of Hudson's River," 221; Beauchamp,

SEPO (*creek, village, Fulton Co.*)

This is an Algonquian term for river, possibly from the language of the Sauk, who claimed the territory between the Illinois and Mississippi rivers, though it could also have come from the ubiquitous Kickapoo.[857]

SEQUOIT (*creek, harbor, Lake Co.*)

The creek runs through Antioch, from Loon Lake to Lake Marie. It is probably named for Sauquoit Creek, Oneida County, New York, or for the village of the same name, south of Utica. Antioch's first settlers, Darius and Thomas Q. Gage, who arrived in April, 1837, were from New York state.[858] Schoolcraft, who called the New York stream Sa-da-quoit, said it was Iroquoian for "smooth pebbles in the bed of the stream."[859]

SHABBONA (*township and village, De Kalb Co.; Shabbona Grove, forest preserve and village, De Kalb Co.; Shabbona Park, in Chicago and in La Salle Co., near Harding; Shabbona Woods, Forest Preserve District of Cook Co.*)

These places are named for a Potawatomi chief (1775-1859). Said to be a nephew of Tecumseh and grandnephew of Pontiac, he was born of an Ottawa father and a Seneca mother,[860] and married a

Aboriginal Place Names of New York, 204-5, and *A History of the New York Iroquois . . .* (Albany, 1905), 163. See also Armstrong, *Place Names in Canada,* 261; Leland, "Indian Names in Missouri," 271; Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes,* VI: 326.

857. Gallatin gives Chippewa *sipi,* Shawnee *sepi,* Sauk *seepoah,* Illinois *sipüng,* and Potawatomi *seebee. Synopsis of Indian Tribes,* 334, 375. Forsyth's rendering of the Sauk word was *seepo.* Blair, ed., *Indian Tribes,* II: 243; cf. *riviere — sipi8i,* Le Boulanger, "French-Illinois Dictionary," 160.

858. Halsey, *Lake County,* 40. A map therein (opp. p. 28) labels the stream Illinois or Gage's Creek, though the name Sequoit appears in the text.

859. *Notes on the Iroquois,* 209. Beauchamp quoted Spafford's information from a white Oneida interpreter that this name "was formerly written Sadaquada, shortened . . . into Sauquait, but that the Indians speak it as if written Chickawquait. Sauquait seems to be the prevailing pronunciation, the very way he writes it." *Aboriginal Place Names of New York,* 141.

860. Kinzie, "Chicago Indian Chiefs," 109-10. The place and date of Shabbona's birth are disputed. Mrs. Kinzie claimed that he was born at Chambly, Quebec, in 1783. P. A. Armstrong said he was informed by a brother and a nephew of Shabbona that the chief was born at Chambly (letter to Caroline McIlwaine, March 11, 1903, in Shabbona file at Chicago Historical Society). However, William Hickling declared in 1868: "Shabonee told me he was born near the Maumee River in Ohio, about the year 1775." "Caldwell and Shabonee," 35. Nehemiah Matson wrote: "Shaubena, according to his statement was born in the year 1775 or 1776, at an Indian village on the Kankakee river, now in Will County." *Memories of Shaubena* (2d ed., Chicago, 1880), 17.

Shabbona, a Potawatomi chief who was a friend of the white settlers.

Potawatomi woman, joining her tribe after the War of 1812. He fought in the Battle of Tippecanoe in 1811, and later for the British (until Tecumseh was killed at the Thames), then transferred his allegiance to the United States.[861] He influenced the Potawatomi to remain neutral during the Winnebago scare of 1827[862] and again during the Black Hawk War of 1832, when he joined his son in a Paul Revere-like night ride to warn settlers of impending attack.[863]

Shabbona was given two sections of land at Shabbona Grove, De Kalb County, by the Treaty of Prairie du Chien in 1829.[864] He migrated

861. J. Wesley Whickar, "Shabonee's Account of Tippecanoe," *Indiana Magazine of History,* XVII (Dec., 1921): 353-63. A document certifying the service of "Chamblee" to the British cause under Tecumseh, dated Aug. 1, 1816, and signed by "B. Caldwell, Captain, I.D.," is in the Chicago Historical Society library.

862. H. W. Beckwith, "The Winnebago Scare," *Addressees Delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Chicago Historical Society, November 19th, 1868* (Fergus Historical Series, No. 10, Chicago, 1877), 47-52.

863. Biographical details not otherwise noted are based on the sketch in Hodge, II: 517; a short portrait by Katharine E. Crane in *Dictionary of American Biography,* XVII: 13-14; Nehemiah Matson, *Memories of Shaubena;* Wayne C. Temple, "Shabbona, Friend of the Whites" (Illinois State Museum, Report of Investigations, No. 6, Springfield, 1957); Mrs. Alta P. Walters, "Shabonee," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society,* XVII (Oct., 1924): 381-97; Shabbona file in Chicago Historical Society; and Draper's "Tecumseh Manuscripts," Vol. IX.

864. Kappler, II: 298. Part of this tract, still called by the same name,

west with his tribe in 1836, but later returned to his grove. During a second visit to Kansas, his land was sold to speculators. White friends purchased and gave him a small tract near Morris, Illinois, where he lived on a small pension until his death, July 27, 1859. He is buried in Evergreen Cemetery near that city, beneath a plain granite boulder bearing only his name and the dates "1775-1859."

The Shabbona names in De Kalb County commemorate his residence there. In the village of Shabbona he is honored by an idealized statue placed in front of the high school. In neighboring Kane County, in Johnson's Mound Forest Preserve, is the Shabbona Elm, a huge tree dedicated to his memory in 1922. The park on Indian Creek (*q.v.*) in La Salle County is named for him because he warned the settlers at the Davis farm, to no avail, of an impending attack in 1832. The other places bearing his name are not directly connected with him.

In five treaties and related documents in which Shabbona's name appears, it is spelled four ways.[865] The origin and meaning of his name is uncertain. He has been confused with *Shobonier* (*q.v.*), which is a corruption of Chevalier. Juliette Kinzie said his name came from that of his alleged birthplace, Chambly, near Montreal. She called the name a corruption of the French Champ-de-blé, "field of wheat."[866] Another view maintains that Shabbona was named for a Captain Jacques de Chambly.[867] The signature *Chamblee* in the St. Louis Treaty of August 24, 1816, seemingly supports theories of French origin.[868] A third view is that the name is of Potawatomi origin, signifying "built like a bear,"[869] though the Potawatomi term for bear is *makwá*.[870] Shabbona's name also resembles *Shah-bo-min,*

is a De Kalb County Forest Preserve, wherein a fenced enclosure marks the site of Shabbona's lodge.

865. Chamblee, Shab-eh-nay, Shab-e-nai, and Shau-bon-ni-agh. Kappler, II: 133, 298, 404, 410, 560. Elsewhere it is spelled Cha-ba-nee, Cham-bly, Shabbony, Shabonee, Shaboneh, Shaubena, Shau-bee-nay, Shaub-e-nee, Shaubu-nay, Shawbonee, Shoumla, and Shoumly.

866. "Chicago Indian Chiefs," 109.

867. Hodge, II: 517.

868. But his grandniece claimed that "his name was never Chambly, that was somebody's mispronunciation of his name. He was always called Shaubenee by the Indians." Frances R. Howe to Draper, Sept. 29, 1888. "Tecumseh Manuscripts," Vol. IX, Doc. 86.

869. Mentioned in Hodge, II: 517. P. A. Armstrong said the name signified "Head and Shoulders like a Bear." "Tecumseh Manuscripts," Vol. IX, Doc. 71. A similar claim was made by James Grant Wilson, who claimed to have met Shabbona a year before his death. Quaife, *Development of Chicago,* 70.

870. Robert E. Ritzenthaler, *The Potawatomi Indians of Wisconsin* (Milwaukee, 1953), 173.

an Ojibway-Ottawa term for "gooseberry,"[871] but no one has yet linked it with that word.

SHASTA (*village, Alexander Co.*)

This village, like that of the California mountain peak, draws its name from an Indian tribe which lived near Yreka, in northern California, about 1840. The name is also given to a linguistic group to which they belonged.

Roland Dixon, leading authority on the Shasta, denied that this was their tribal name in either their own language or that of any neighboring tribe, and also denied that the Indians gave this name to any place occupied by them. The only relevant information that he could find was that an old man of some importance, whose name was Shastika (*Sŭstī'ka*) lived in the Shasta Valley in the middle of the nineteenth century. Without the subjective suffix *ka* the real name would be *Sŭstī*, "from which the earlier forms of Shasty, etc., could easily have been derived."[872]

SHAWMUT (*park, La Grange, Cook Co.*)

This is the Indian name for the peninsula now occupied by the city of Boston, Massachusetts, where a famous bank now bears the name. It is equivalent apparently to *Shawomet*, a Wampanoag village in the town of Somerset, Bristol County, Massachusetts. *Shawmut* is said to signify "at the neck," and *Shawomet* "a neck of land."[873] The name Shawmut is now borne by villages or towns in Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Maine, and Montana.

SHAWNEE (*Shawnee National Forest, southern Illinois; Shawneetown – city, Old Shawneetown – village, Shawneetown Hills, Shawnee Lakes, Shawnee Township, Shawneetown State Memorial, all of Gallatin Co.*)

These are named for a band of Shawnee Indians who migrated from the forks of the Ohio in 1745 and settled in this locality, where they are believed to have remained less than twenty years.[874] The Indian

871. Tanner, *Narrative of Captivity*, 296.

872. Roland B. Dixon, "The Shasta," *Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History*, XVII (1907): 384-85; Hodge, II: 527.

873. *New Century Cyclopedia of Names* (1954), III: 3578; Douglas-Lithgow, *Names in New England*, 160.

874. Norman W. Caldwell, "Shawneetown – A Chapter in the Indian History of Illinois," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, XXXII (June, 1939): 193-205; C. W. Alvord, *The Illinois Country, 1673-1818* (*Centennial History of Illinois*, I, Springfield, 1920), 187. Caldwell said the Shawnee settled at Shawneetown upon the urging of the French, who desired their concentration for trading purposes. Mooney asserted that the Shawnee who occupied this site had been driven from the Cumberland River

village stood at or near the site of Old Shawneetown, which was abandoned by a majority of its inhabitants in the late 1930's as a result of repeated Ohio River inundation. The new Shawneetown is on higher ground three miles to the west.

The name of the Shawnee tribe, more properly given as *Shawŭn* or *Shawano,* means "south," and by extension "southerners," or *Shawŭnogi.* The name was given because they formerly lived at various places in the South, though they moved into Pennsylvania and Ohio during the eighteenth century.[875]

SHICK SHACK *(hill, Menard Co.)*

These forty years, 'twas old Fiddler Bill,
Who lived by Tar Creek by Shick[s]hack Hill,
And played for the cloggers and the old quadrille.[876]

One source claims that in 1826 a number of Potawatomi families headed by chief Shick Shack lived on the Sangamon bottom in Richland Precinct. The chief is reported settled later in a village at the mouth of Clear Creek in Putnam County.[877] He was also described as a Potawatomi resident on Illinois River by an early resident of Hennepin,[878] by William Clark, and by Nehemiah Matson.[879] Juliette Kinzie found his name on a receipt for annuities paid to Potawatomi residing "at the head of Peoria Lake."[880] Despite these accounts, Dr. John F. Snyder incorrectly described him as a Winnebago,[881] and the

by the Chickasaw. Hodge, II: 538. A group of "Chaouanoua" (Shawnee) were residing on the Tennessee River in 1700. *Jesuit Relations,* LXV: 107.

George Croghan's journal of June 6, 1765, relates his arrival at the site of Shawneetown, which he called "the Old Shawnesse Village, some of that nation having formerly lived there." Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels,* I: 137-38. R. Paul's map of 1815 shows "Shawonee town" at this site. Tucker, *Indian Villages of the Illinois Country,* Pl. XL. A trading post was established there in 1800, a ferry in 1803, and a post office in 1810. Governor Reynolds wrote, with some exaggeration, that this place had been an Indian town for "ages." *My Own Times* (1879 ed.), 46-47.

875. Hodge, II: 530-36; C. C. Royce, "An Inquiry into the Identity and History of the Shawnee Indians," *Magazine of Western History,* II (May, 1885): 38-50.

876. Edgar Lee Masters, *Illinois Poems* (Prairie City, Ill., 1941), 31-32. Masters also claims that Shick Shack was buried in this vicinity, near Chandlerville. *The Sangamon,* 37, 111.

877. Conger and Hull, *Illinois River Valley,* I: 58. 61.

878. Draper's "Tecumseh Manuscripts," Vol. IX, Doc. 29.

879. Foreman, "Illinois and Her Indians," 100; Matson, *French and Indians of Illinois River,* 246, 257.

880. Letter to Draper, June 20, 1866, in "Chicago Indian Chiefs," 109.

881. Snyder, "Shickshack in Romance and in Real Life," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society,* Vol. II, No. 3 (Oct., 1909), pp. 14-28.

account in Hodge, based on Snyder's article, concurs, saying he was head of about forty families living on the Sangamon twelve miles northwest of New Salem, and that "a high, dome-shaped hill near the Indian village was called 'Shickshack's Knob,' and is still known by that name." This sketch claims that Shick Shack moved north during the Black Hawk War of 1832, that he was seen at Dixon's Ferry, and even propounds the improbable tale that he was one of Black Hawk's captors.[882]

Hodge reported that the name meant "rising sun," presumably in Winnebago. The nearest Algonquian terms which can be compared with his name are Cree *Shack* and Potawatomi *Sha-kah*, signifying "nine."[883] Almost identical with his name is that of the *Shick Shock* Mountains, in the Gaspé Peninsula, which is undoubtedly an Algonquian name.

SHOBONIER *(village, Fayette Co.)*

Ackerman and Haines declared this to be the name of an Indian "chief" but did not identify the tribe. The name was called a corruption by the Indians of the French word *chevalier*, "horseman."[884] Others say that the name may be a corruption of Shabbona (*q.v.*).[885] All the evidence indicates otherwise. The Treaty of Tippecanoe, October 20, 1832, awarded two sections of land at his village to "Sho-bon-ier." Hodge thought this was a ratification of an award made to Shabbona three years earlier at Prairie du Chien.[886] But another provision of the Tippecanoe Treaty awarded to "Sho-bon-ier, or Chevalier," forty dollars for a stolen horse, and $120 to "Francois Sho-bonier" for the loss of three horses during the Black Hawk War. The list of signers of this treaty includes "Francois Cho-van-ier" and "Cho-van-in."[887] The name Sho-bon-nier, in addition to the name Shab-eh-nay (Shabbona) appears again in the Treaty of Chicago, September 26, 1833.[888] The appearance of both names in the same treaty would seem to establish their separate identities.

Shobonier, as the Tippecanoe treaty indicates, was Chevalier, the name adopted by a leading Potawatomi family of Chicago and St.

882. Hodge, II: 546.
883. John Tanner, *Narrative of Captivity*, 331-32.
884. Ackerman, *Early Illinois Railroads*, 152; Haines, *The American Indian*, 783. Elsewhere is a wild claim that Shobonier was a Kaskaskia chief. Bateman and Selby, eds., *Fayette County*, II: 646.
885. Boies, *De Kalb County*, 525; Hodge, II: 553; Whickar, "Shabonee's Account of Tippecanoe," 353.
886. Hodge, II: 517.
887. Kappler, II: 353-55.
888. *Ibid.*, 404.

Joseph, Michigan.[889] Catherine Chevalier, of this family, married chief Alexander Robinson, or Che-Che-Pinqua (*q.v.*) on September 28, 1826, before Justice John Kinzie. Catherine was the daughter of François Chevalier, undoubtedly the François Shobonier of the Tippecanoe treaty, and his wife May Ann Chevalier. One John Baptiste Chevalier is also mentioned in early Chicago records.[890]

SHOKOKON (*village, Henderson Co.*)

Though now so small it does not appear on most maps, this quiet river village is the second oldest settlement in Henderson County, having been laid out July 16, 1836.[891] The name is apparently taken from the Sauk-Fox name for some bluffs on the Iowa side of the Mississippi a short distance above the mouth of Flint Creek, near Burlington. Tai-mah, the Fox chief, had a village nearby in 1820 and for some years thereafter. According to A. R. Fulton, "The Indian name of the bluffs in the vicinity of his village, now known as Flint Hills, was *Shock-o-con.*"[892] According to Major William Williams, Burlington was once called Flint Hill, from its original Indian name, "Shoquokon, Flint or Rock Hill."[893]

SIGNAL HILL (*Forest Preserve, Du Page Co.*)

This place, on the west side of the Des Plaines River opposite the site of the former Potawatomi village of Ausagaunoskee (see SAGANASHKEE) was reputed to have been used as an Indian signal station.[894]

SINNISSIPPI (*lake, Whiteside Co.; parks, in Rockford, Winnebago Co., and Sterling, Whiteside Co.*)

This is a common name in the Rock River Valley, applied to the farms of the late Governor Frank Lowden and to numerous business

889. Probably sired by Louis Chevalier, a Potawatomi trader active at St. Joseph during the American Revolution. Quaife, *Chicago and the Old Northwest,* 90, 101.

890. East, "Inhabitants of Chicago, 1825-1831," 138 ff.; Andreas, *History of Chicago,* I: 108; J. Seymour Currey, *Chicago: Its History and Its Builders* (Chicago, 1912), I: 122; John Wentworth, in Mabel McIlvaine, ed., *Reminiscences of Early Chicago* (Chicago, 1912), 67.

891. Hill, pub., *Mercer and Henderson Counties,* 888-89. Bypassed by steamboats, because of shallow water, and by railroad and highway, the population never exceeded three hundred.

892. *Red Men of Iowa,* 262-63. The name in Illinois has also been spelled Shockokoa and Shokokan. Cf. Sauk *Sog-o-cawn,* "flint," Forsyth, in Blair, ed., *Indian Tribes,* II: 241; Shawnee *shakeka,* "flints," Galloway, *Old Chillicothe,* 315; Powhatan *Shacquohocan,* "a stone," John Smith, in Tyler, *Narratives,* 78.

893. "Journal of a Trip to Iowa in 1849," 246. (See n. 184 above.)

894. Federal Writers' Project, *Du Page County,* 210.

places. It is the former Illinois and Sauk name for Rock River (*q.v.*), its English translation.[895] It has been variously spelled, including Assenisipi, Ossinisipi, and Sinsepe. Thomas Jefferson proposed in 1784 that a portion of the territory "through which the Assenisipi or Rock River runs, shall be called Assenisipia."[896]

SINSINAWA (*river, Jo Daviess Co.*)

This is also the name of a village and mound in adjacent Grant County, Wisconsin, which was the site of a skirmish in the Black Hawk War.[897]

Two explanations of the name given by H. W. Kuhm are untenable.[898] We can't be sure whether the name comes from the Winnebago or the Sauk, both of whom roamed the region, but it appears to be an Algonquian compound word. In all such words, proper translation depends on how its constituent elements are divided, which is not easy to determine. *Mississinewa,* the name of an Indiana river, according to Dunn, comes from a Miami term meaning "it slants" or, as applied to the stream, "it has much fall."[899] Sinsinawa was a name probably given first to the mound, and then to the stream, and may mean a small (*sinsi*) or gradual fall or slope.[900] However,

895. Beckwith, *Illinois and Indiana Indians,* 158. Cf. Sauk "Sen-i-se-po, Rock River," Marston (1820) in Blair, ed., *Indian Tribes,* II: 147; Miami *Sâné,* "a stone," *Sipioué,* "a river," C. F. Volney, *A View of the Soil and Climate of the United States of America* . . . (Philadelphia, 1804), 497, 499; Algonkin *Assin,* "Stone," *Sipim,* "River," Lahontan, *New Voyages,* II: 742; Potawatomi *Sin-iyìn,* "rock," *Kitchì sipu,* "river" [large stream], Gailland, 301-2; *assäni,* "rock, stone," *sipiwi,* "river," Gatschet, "Peoria Lexicon"; *Senyän"ᵗ,* "boulder," *Sīpōwi,* "river," Michelson, *Contributions to Fox Ethnology,* 23, 74. See also MISSISSIPPI, ROCK, SEPO.

896. "Plan for the Temporary Government of the Western Territory," in Saul K. Padover, ed., *The Complete Jefferson* . . . (New York, 1943), 238. For a highly readable account of Rock River Valley, see James M. Phalen, *Sinnissippi: A Valley under a Spell* (Washington, 1942).

897. R. G. Thwaites, "The Story of the Black Hawk War," *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin,* XII (1892): 244. Spellings of this name include *Sinsinahwah, Sinsinawa* (the Wisconsin post office name), *Sinsinewa, Sinsiniwa, Sinssinniwa,* and *Sussenneway.*

898. From Algonquian *jinawe,* "home of the young eagle," or "rattlesnake." "Indian Place-Names in Wisconsin," 115. "The home of the eagle" is the explanation given in H. F. Kett's *History of Jo Daviess County* . . . (Chicago, 1878), 226. These translations do not accord with Algonquian vocabularies. Thanks are due to Sister Mary Amata, archivist of Saint Clara Convent, Sinsinawa, Wis., for efforts to trace the origin and meaning of this name.

899. *Indiana and Indianans,* I: 92.

900. So used in certain compound words by Baraga, *Otchipwe Dictionary,* Pt. I, p. 234; Pt. II, p. 369.

Baraga gives *nawa* for "in the midst of."[901] If the first part of this name was originally *assini,* "stone" or "rock," the name might have meant "rock (or rocky) in the middle."

SKOKIE (*village, Cook Co.; highway, U.S. 41; Skokie Lagoons, Forest Preserve District of Cook Co.; Skokie River, Cook and Lake Cos.*)

The name "Skokey Marsh" appears on General William F. Hull's map of 1812. Most of these marshes were drained in the 1930's, and low ground filled in, to form the present Skokie Lagoons Forest Preserve.

Some writers have associated this name with the Mascouten (*q.v.*) or Maskouten Indians, whose name has sometimes been translated "people of fire." Others have taken it directly from "skoutay" or "scoti" and variant Algonquian words for fire. The reference is to the fact that the marshy grasslands, such as occurred in the Skokie region, were burned over by the Indians in order to flush out the game.[902]

Several persons declare that "Skokie is the Indian word for marsh."[903] Allowing for corruption, this seems correct. Until about thirty years ago the Skokie marsh area was shown on maps as *Chewab Skokie.* This is probably a derivation from *Kitchi-wāp'chkōkú,* the Potawatomi term for a great marsh.[904] This explanation, though lacking documentation, is more credible because it is consistent with the former physiography of the area.

SOLDIER CREEK (*Kankakee Co.*)

Since 1836, if not longer,[905] this stream, a tributary of the Kankakee River at the city of Kankakee, has borne the name of a Potawatomi Indian who was head of a village there.[906] The Treaty of Tippecanoe,

901. *Ibid.,* Pt. II, p. 279.

902. Halsey, *Lake County,* 297, citing in part Beckwith's *Vermilion County.* Cf. following terms for "fire": Potawatomi *scutah* (Gallatin), *chkōtê* (Gailland), *škote* (Hockett); Algonkin *scoute* (Lahontan); Fox *maskuta* (Jones); Illinois *isc8te8i* (Le Boulanger).

903. Mrs. E. L. Scheidenhelm, "Early History of Skokie Valley," *Chicago Woman's Club Historical Manuscripts* (Chicago Historical Society), I: 505. See also Anne Higginson Spicer: "The Skokie is the old Indian name for a marshy country lying parallel to Lake Michigan." *Songs of the Skokie, and Other Verse* (Chicago, 1917), flyleaf. "The Indian word for marshland or swampland is 'Skokie.'" Skokie village president Myron Greisdorf, *Chicago Sun-Times,* July 11, 1962, p. 44.

904. Gailland, "English-Potawatomi Dictionary," 135, 198.

905. "Soldier's Creek," Peck and Messinger map, 1836.

906. Hodge, II: 615.

October 20, 1832, awarded a section of land at "Soldier's Village" to "Maw-te-no," daughter of François Bourbonnais.[907] Dan Beckwith, making the official survey of this and other grants during the following year, "entered the Soldier Village (Sham-a-gaw's Town)," and noted that the survey line "about equally divides the village."[908] Soldier's Indian name resembles the Potawatomi term for soldier.[909] Soldier emigrated to Kansas with a part of the Potawatomi in 1835. A white observer who saw him near Fort Leavenworth wrote that his peculiar name was "applied to him from his fondness for military display and for his accoutrements and garb."[910]

SOMONAUK (*creek, De Kalb and La Salle Cos.; lake, township, and village, De Kalb Co.*)

Two Potawatomi villages (*infra*) bore names which may be ancestors of this one, but its first appearance as a white man's place name may be "Somonauk P.O." on the Morse and Breese map of 1844. According to Haines, the name comes from the Potawatomi word for paw-paw (or papaw) tree.[911] Nearby Paw Paw Township (*q.v.*) bears a West Indian name which is now the "English" designation for a tree which is mentioned in early French accounts as *assemina, Acimine,* and *assimine.*[912] The aboriginal name, as with the Catalpa and Pecan, has been incorporated into the scientific name *Asimini triloba* Dunal.

The direct ancestry of the name Somonauk is probably traceable to the Potawatomi village of "As-sim-in-eh-kon, or Paw-paw Grove," which is mentioned in the Treaty of Prairie du Chien of 1829,[913] or to *Saumanong* or *Sawmehnaug,* another village on Fox River.[914] See also PAW PAW.

907. Kappler, II: 353.

908. Beckwith, Field Notes of Survey, I: 25.

909. Cf. *šUmakUnuš,* C. F. Hockett, *International Journal of American Linguistics,* XIV (1948): 73; *Chi ma kinīch,* Gailland, "English-Potawatomi Dictionary," 338; Algonkin *Simaganich,* Lahontan, *New Voyages,* II: 742; Chippewa *Shemagonish,* "soldier, or warrior," John Long in Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels,* II: 248.

910. Joseph Allen Todd, "Narrative of Exploring Trip of Potawatomi Chiefs" (MS, Chicago Historical Society). The writer was the son of John W. Todd, conductor of a group of Potawatomi to Kansas in 1835.

911. *The American Indian,* 785. Gannett calls it *essemiauk. Origin of Place Names* (1905 ed.), 287. Cf. Ojibway *As-seme-nun,* "paw paw." Tanner, *Narrative of Captivity,* 294.

912. De Gannes, in Pease and Werner, eds., *French Foundations,* 320; Charlevoix, *Journal* (1923 ed.), II: 207; Bonnécamps, *Jesuit Relations,* LXIX: 173. The term apparently refers to the fruit; the terminal *auk* signifies tree. Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes,* IV: 376.

913. Kappler, II: 298. The syllabic division is bad.

914. Swanton lists *Assiminnehkon* as a Potawatomi village in Lee County,

SPOON RIVER (*tributary of the Illinois, Fulton Co.*)

This is a translation of the aboriginal name of the stream,[915] which survives in Maquon (*q.v.*), a village and township in Knox County. Several maps and accounts dating from 1684 used the Indian name for the river; the English translation was in use by 1812,[916] while the John Melish map of 1819 used both names: "Micouenne or Spoon River."[917] See also MAQUON.

SQUAW (*creek, Lake Co.; Squaw Grove, township, De Kalb Co.; Squaw Prairie, Boone Co.; Squaw Rocks, Ogle Co.; Laughing Squaw Lake, Forest Preserve District of Cook Co.*)

Squaw Grove in De Kalb County received its name because a Mr. Hollenbeck, from La Salle County, who laid claim to the grove in 1834 "found there, alone, a large number of squaws, whose dusky partners had gone on a hunting expedition."[918] Squaw is called the Narraganset form of the Algonquian word for an Indian woman.[919] Recognizably similar terms are found in other Algonquian dialects.[920]

STARVED ROCK (*state park, La Salle Co.*)

This is the site of La Salle's Fort St. Louis (1682). According to tradition, a part of the Illinois were besieged here in 1769 by northern tribes seeking to avenge the murder of Pontiac (*q.v.*). Famished from lack of food and water, the beleaguered Illinois attempted to escape on a dark and stormy night but were discovered and massacred.[921]

and *Sawmehnaug* as another on Fox River. *Indian Tribes of North America,* 247-48. The latter, called *Saumanong* by Mrs. Kinzie (n. 808 herein) was mistaken by her to be a name for Fox River. *Wau-Bun* (1901 ed.), 134.

915. Edgar Lee Masters, *The Sangamon,* 13; called "Amequon or Spoon River" in Schoolcraft's journal, Aug. 7, 1821, in M. M. Quaife, ed., *Pictures of Illinois One Hundred Years Ago* (Chicago, 1918), 89; Cf. *"Emikwan, cuiller de bois en usage chez les savages"* [wooden spoon used among the savages], J. A. Cuoq, *Lexique de la Langue Algonquine* (Montreal, 1886), 99.

916. John Gardner, Map of the Bounty Lands, 1812-18 (University of Illinois Library).

917. Tucker, *Indian Villages of the Illinois Country,* Pl. XLVI.

918. Boies, *De Kalb County,* 506.

919. Chamberlain, "Algonkian Words," 259; Hodge, II: 629.

920. Algonkin *Ickoue,* Lahontan, *New Voyages,* II: 744; Fox *i kwäwa,* Michelson, *Preliminary Report on Linguistic Classification of Algonquian Tribes,* 238; Ojibway *E kwaí,* Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes,* II: 458; Ottawa *-quay,* "prefixed or suffixed indicates feminine," Blackbird, *History of the Ottawa,* 109; Potawatomi *Kwê,* Gailland, "English-Potawatomi Dictionary," 425; Natick *squáas, squas, squaus.* "The radical *squa* is not used by Eliot except in compound words." Trumbull, *Natick Dictionary,* 346. Cf. MOWEAQUA, NAMEQUA, WATSEKA.

921. Baldwin, *La Salle County,* 71; Botkin, *Mississippi River Folklore,* 536-38.

Governor John Reynolds, though ready to accept some myths, questioned the authenticity of the Starved Rock story, as do most twentieth-century scholars.[922] But Elmer Baldwin (1877) cited Gurdon S. Hubbard, the fur trader, as reporting in substance that "there was no traditional event more certain, and more fully believed by the Indians than this." Baldwin adds that human bones were found on the cliff in great profusion for years afterward.[923] Judge John D. Caton, writing in 1870, said he had been acquainted thirty-seven years earlier with an old Potawatomi named Méachelle who had witnessed the siege as a boy.[924]

Harry L. Spooner believed in the Starved Rock story and identified the attackers as Ottawa, Winnebago, Potawatomi, Kickapoo, and Miami. He mentions an earlier attack on the Illinois by the Foxes at the same spot in 1722, during which the besiegers withdrew before the arrival of a French rescue party.[925]

STILLMAN (*creek, or run; Stillman Valley, village, Ogle Co.*)

The village was named for the stream, which was formerly called Flint Creek, Mud Creek, and Old Man's Creek.[926] It has often been confused with Sycamore Creek and Kyte River.[927] It is now named for Major Isaiah Stillman, whose militia band of some three hundred men was here routed by about fifty Sauk warriors led by Black Hawk on May 14, 1832.[928] It is believed that twelve men were killed by the Indians at that time,[929] while the remainder fled to Dixon. The graves of nine of the men who fell were discovered November 15, 1899, by

922. *Pioneer History,* 20. See also Emily Blasingham, "Depopulation of the Illinois Indians," Pt. I, pp. 212-13.

923. *La Salle County,* 71.

924. John D. Caton, *The Last of the Illinois and a Sketch of the Pottawattomies* (Chicago, 1870), 14-19.

925. Spooner, *Indians of Northern Illinois,* 11, 9-10.

926. Lucius Lyon's map, 1829, in Tucker, *Indian Villages of the Illinois Country,* Pl. LII; S. Mitchell, *Illinois in 1837,* 93; Ford, *History of Illinois* (Quaife ed.), I: 169.

927. Thwaites, "The Black Hawk War," 231, 235; Hagan, *The Sac and Fox Indians,* 157. The Peck and Messinger map of 1839 shows Stillman's Run in the right place but gives the name Old Man's Creek to Kyte River. On the Morse and Breese map of 1844 Stillman's Run is called Kite Creek. The latter flows into Rock River three miles below Oregon, at least twenty miles from the site of Stillman's battle.

928. Frank Stevens, "Stillman's Defeat," 173; Jackson, ed., *Autobiography of Black Hawk,* 141-46.

929. Black Hawk claimed twelve, and twelve names are on the monument, though there are only nine marked graves. Hagan (*The Sac and Fox Indians,* 160) and Governor Ford claimed eleven. *History of Illinois* (Quaife ed.), I: 172.

Rev. Robert Newlands and A. J. Atwood.[930] Two years later the General Assembly appropriated $5,000 for the erection of a monument, which now overlooks the graves in a small military cemetery at the eastern edge of Stillman Valley.

SUGAR (*creek, various counties; Sugar Grove, Mercer Co.; Sugar Island, Grundy Co.*)

These places usually owe their names to the sugar maples which were used by Indians and pioneers as sources of sugar and syrup.[931] Sugar Grove received its name from the fact that when the first family settled there, "the Indians had a large encampment there for making sugar, with quite a large wigwam made of poles and covered with bark."[932] Sugar was also the name of a Potawatomi chief who, according to Governor Reynolds, had a village at Aux Sable Creek (La Salle County), and who was a friend of Thomas Forsyth's.[933] Sugar Island, on the Illinois River near the mouth of Aux Sable Creek, may be named for him.

SYCAMORE (*city, De Kalb Co.*)

Sycamore takes its name from the Kishwaukee River (*q.v.*), formerly called Sycamore Creek, the south branch of which passes near the city. Sycamore is apparently the English translation of the Indian name.[934] S. Mitchell in 1837 called the stream "Kishwaukee or Sycamore Creek."[935] Keating translated "Kishwake" as "Cottonwood" (see note 259 above), and the John Melish map of 1819 shows the "Cotton Wood River" as a tributary of the Rock. Since it is the only tributary he shows that enters the Rock from the south or east, he may

930. R. W. Newlands, " . . . Discovery of the Graves of the Men Who Fell in the 'Battle of Stillman's Run . . .,' " *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society,* VI (1901): 117-20.

931. Maple sugar was so important to woodland Indians that the Wyandot cited the absence of maple trees in Kansas as their principal objection to migrating there. The Potawatomi, before leaving Illinois, continued to set up sugar camps, grieving to know they could not make sugar in their western home. Foreman, *Last Trek of the Indians,* 92, 105. See H. W. Henshaw, "The Indian Origin of Maple Sugar," *American Anthropologist,* III (July, 1890): 341-52.

932. Hill, pub., *Mercer and Henderson Counties,* 316-17.

933. *Pioneer History,* 211. See WAUPECAN.

934. H. F. Kett & Co., pub., *The Past and Present of Boone County . . .* (Chicago, 1877), 230; Stennett, *Place Names Connected with the Chicago & North Western,* 129; not usually reliable, but here it accords with other evidence. Forsyth gave *Keesh-awock-quai* as Sauk for Sycamore (n. 260 herein), but Albert Gatschet translated a similar term, *Ki-washokue,* Fox name for Iowa River, as "winding, crooked river." "Fox Notebook."

935. *Illinois in 1837,* 83.

have been using a variant name for the Kishwaukee, though he places the mouth of the river far downstream from its actual location.[936]

TALLULA *(village, Menard Co.)*

The village was founded by William G. Greene, who was born in Tennessee and taught school in Kentucky.[937] The name, too, comes from the South. James Mooney related *tallula* to *tululu,* the name of two former Cherokee settlements, one in Georgia, the other in North Carolina. He held the meaning to be unknown.[938]

The name Tallula has also been given to a river and two villages in Georgia, a creek in North Carolina, a village in Louisiana, and a post office in Mississippi. The last two places, several writers agree, receive their name from the Choctaw word for a bell, or "sounding metal."[939] Byington's *Choctaw Dictionary* also gives *tạlula* for "bell."[940] Two romantic and improbable explanations, "leaping waters"[941] and "dropping water,"[942] have also been given for the Illinois name.

TAMARACK *(village, Will Co.)*

The Tamarack, or American larch, is an evergreen tree which grows in the bogs of Lake and McHenry counties.[943] Called *Hackmatack,* the American Larch, or Tamarack (Larix Americana) in Bartlett,[944] this tree bears a name "generally thought to be derived from some of the Algonkian dialects of Canada or the New England States," possibly from *ackmatuk* or *ackmestuk,* "wood for bows and arrows."[945]

TAMAROA *(township and village, Perry Co.)*

The village was named by Nelson Holt, who became Illinois Central Railroad agent at that place in 1855.[946] Tamaroa was the name of

936. Tucker, *Indian Villages of the Illinois Country,* Pl. XLVI.
937. Masters, *The Sangamon,* 143-46.
938. Hodge, II: 679.
939. Henry Sale Halbert, "Choctaw Indian Names in Alabama and Mississippi," *Transactions of the Alabama Historical Society, 1898-99,* III (1899): 76; Toomey, *Proper Names from the Muskhogean Languages,* 19; Read, *Louisiana Place-Names,* 59.
940. P. 346. The "a" with the dot below has a short "u" sound.
941. Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes,* III: 509.
942. Masters, *The Sangamon,* 223.
943. Department of Conservation, *Forest Trees of Illinois* (Springfield, 1950), 6.
944. *Dictionary of Americanisms,* 186.
945. Chamberlain, "Algonkian Words," 244, 260. See also Mathews, ed., *Dictionary of Americanisms,* II: 1702; Beauchamp, *Aboriginal Place Names of New York,* 241; Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes,* V: 541.
946. Ackerman, *Early Illinois Railroads,* 134.

one of the six tribes of the Illinois confederacy. Their principal village, called by the same name, near present East St. Louis, was the site of a Jesuit mission established about 1700. Gerard said the name *Tämaro'-wa* meant "cut tail," or literally "he has a cut tail."[947] See also MAROA.

TAMPICO (*Tampico Mounds, Fulton Co.; Tampico, township and village, Whiteside Co.*)

Tampico Mounds is a major archaeological site, from which derives the name Tampico Culture, referring to an Indian culture predating 1000 A.D.[948] The name comes from the city of Tampico, in the state of Tamaulipas, Mexico. Dr. Norman McQuown of the University of Chicago identifies the name as from the Huastec,[949] which is the northernmost branch of the Mayan linguistic stock.[950] Pronounced Tahm-*pee*-ko, the name is said to signify "place where there are dogs."[951]

TENNESSEE (*township and village, McDonough Co.*)

This place is named for the native state of its founders.[952] Mooney claimed that the name arose from *Tă'năsĭ'* or *Tănsĭ'*, the name of two or more early Cherokee settlements in Tennessee and North Carolina. He held that the name "has lost its meaning, all the so-called derivations being fanciful."[953]

The name was originally given to one of the tributaries of the Tennessee River, and later to the main river, from which the state drew its name.[954] "A curved spoon" and "bend in the river" are two of

947. Hodge, II: 682. Cadillac gave the same definition for *Kiskakon,* an Ottawa band, for their bear totem. MS cited in Kinietz, *Indians of the Western Great Lakes,* 247. The Tamaroa have also been called Maroa, Marouas, Tamarou, Tamarois, Tamarouas, Tamarouha, Tamaroua, Tamarrais, etc.

948. Deuel, *American Indian Ways of Life,* 4.

949. Information to author.

950. Swanton, *Indian Tribes of North America,* 622.

951. "Glossary of Mexican Place Names," reprinted from *Pemex Travel Club Bulletin* (n.d.) in *Amigos,* Aug., 1942, p. 38. A source not noted for precision claims that Tampico was formed by combining Aztec *tam,* "place," with Spanish-Portuguese *pico,* "peak." Von Engeln and Urquhart, *The Story Key to Geographic Names,* 127.

952. Gannett, *Origin of Place Names* (1905 ed.), 298.

953. Hodge, II: 729. Madison Beeler believes that "Indian names of places frequently preserve words and constructions which have otherwise disappeared from the language; the names survive only as names." "On Etymologizing Indian Place Names," *Names,* V (1957): 236-41.

954. Lawrence, "State Names," 129.

the "fanciful" derivations which have been attributed to the name.[955] The name has also been thought to come from the Taensa tribe,[956] though that group, related to the Natchez, did not reside in Tennessee in historic times.[957] Still another writer has sought to trace Tennessee to the Iroquoian word Genessee (*q.v.*), said to mean "beautiful valley."[958] The Cherokee were of the Iroquoian linguistic stock.

TERRAPIN (*Terrapin Ridge, Jo Daviess Co.*)

This is a lofty crest (marked by a sign on U.S. Route 20 near Woodbine) which provides a scenic view of the countryside.[959] The rather narrow ridge in this hilly, unglaciated area probably suggested the "razorback" formation of the terrapin's shell, and thus the name.

Terrapin is an Eastern Algonquian name for a kind of small turtle, referred to by Beverley in 1722 as "tarapins." According to Chamberlain, terrapin "is a diminutive from the *torope* or *turŭpe* of the Virginian and Delaware dialects of Algonquian."[960]

TEXAS (*Texas City, village, Saline Co.; Texas Township, De Witt Co.*)

The township "was so called, from the fact that Daniel Newcomb, a citizen of Clinton, sold out with the intention of going to Texas, changed his mind and located within the limits of this township, saying it was good enough for him and as far into Texas as he wanted to get. The joke was perpetuated in the bestowal of the name."[961]

Dr. Herbert E. Bolton, citing early Spanish sources, established that Texas was a term meaning "friends" or "allies," and was used as a greeting by the Hasinai, a Caddoan tribe of the lower Rio Grande region. The Spanish erroneously applied the term to the tribe and the region.[962] Nevertheless, some fanciful theories have been advanced, holding that the name may be of Spanish origin, either from *tejer,* "to weave," referring to the grass huts of the natives, or *tejas,* "cobwebs."[963]

955. Staples, "Names of the States," 373-74.
956. Gannett, *Origin of Place Names* (1902 ed.), 251; not in the 1905 ed.
957. Charlevoix, *Journal* (1923 ed.), II: 269; Swanton in Hodge, II: 668-69.
958. Hubbard, "Geneseo, Illinois," 406.
959. Federal Writers' Project, *Illinois Guide,* 522.
960. In Hodge, II: 734; see also his "Algonkian Words," 261.
961. W. R. Brink & Co., *History of De Witt County, Illinois* . . . (Philadelphia, 1882), 337.
962. Hodge, II: 738-41. The term later denoted tribes allied against the Apache, and eventually included tribes from Red River to the Rio Grande. The term passed from Spanish to French, then English. Lawrence, "State Names," 129.
963. Staples, "Names of the States," 377.

TEXICO *(village, Jefferson Co.)*

This bilingual name is contrived from a combination of the first syllable of *Texas* and the last two syllables of *Mexico.* It is thus a composite from two unrelated languages, Caddoan and Náhuatl.

The meaning of Texas (*q.v.*) is "friends." Mexico, Mexihco, or Metzxihco, was originally the Náhuatl (Aztec) name for the territory in which their capital, Tenochtitlan, now Mexico City, was located. It was "the place of Mexihtli, the eponymous god . . . of the Aztec tribe, born during the years of wandering." He was the war and sun god, the chief god and protector of the city, otherwise called Huitzilopochtli. Mexico in its original form is said to signify "in the navel of the moon."[964]

TIOGA *(village, Hancock Co.)*

This is the name of a river in New York and Pennsylvania, and of counties and villages in both states. From there it has spread to nine other states. The name was originally applied to an Indian village at the confluence of the Chemung and Susquehanna rivers, near present Athens, Pennsylvania.[965] Morgan derived it from *Tä-ya-ó-ga,* in the Cayuga dialect of Iroquoian, signifying "at the forks," referring to the convergence of several trails at that place.[966] Heckewelder believed, however, that it meant "a gate, a place of entrance" (from *Tiaóga*) because a trail at that point led from the Delaware lands into the Iroquois territory.[967]

TISKILWA *(village, Bureau Co.)*

This village occupies the site of an old Indian village, known as Indiantown, now the name of a township. One imaginative definition of Tiskilwa is "gem of the valley."[968] One writer took it from

964. Gutierre Tibon, "Mexico, the Name," *Onomastica,* No. 17 (Winnepeg, 1959), 5-10; see also Vaillant, *The Aztecs,* 182-83 (Vaillant does not identify Metztli, the Moon god, with Huitzilopochtli); "Mexican Place Names," *Amigos,* Aug., 1942, p. 37.

965. Map, Morgan, *League of the Iroquois,* I, which also shows Tioga River and Tioga villages more than thirty miles west of this place.

966. *Ibid.,* II: 102, 133. His view is endorsed by Beauchamp, *Aboriginal Place Names of New York,* 230, and by Mooney and Dunn, in Hodge, II: 755. Schoolcraft alone thought it was from *Diahoga,* "place of water." *Indian Tribes,* IV: 383. Cf. *ochnéca,* "water" (Onondaga dialect), Zeisberger, *Indian Dictionary,* 222.

Francis Parkman had considerable contempt for Schoolcraft's imprecision, but admiration for the scholarship of Morgan. See his *Jesuits in North America* (1896), lxxx, liv, note. On the special difficulties of Iroquois, see Sébastien Rale in *Jesuit Relations,* LXVII: 133, 143-47.

967. *Narrative of the Mission of the United Brethren,* 555-56.

968. Kett, pub., *Bureau County,* 141.

Chitchishkwa, "plover," but failed to indicate the language.[969] Other fanciful translations are "a kind of bird," "an old boy [bachelor]," and "beautiful valley."[970] Moreover, Nehemiah Matson claimed that Tiskilwa was the name of a Potawatomi chief who lived at this place.[971]

The Cherokee word *tsi'-skwa* signifies "bird," and *tsiskwâ'-hĭ* means "bird place."[972] In the same language, *tsĭ'kĭlilĭ* is the name of the Carolina chickadee.[973] Perhaps some early settler who was acquainted with the Cherokee presented one of these names, somewhat corrupted, for the Illinois village.

TOLONO (*village, Champaign Co.*)

This name resembles *Tolony,* the name of a seventeenth-century Wampanoag Indian of Massachusetts.[974] *Tolono,* however, may be a pseudo-Indian name if we may trust Ackerman, who said it was artificially devised by J. B. Calhoun, who with J. Condit Smith bought the land for a town site and laid out the village.[975] He produced, however, a traditional story about the name which was "devoutly believed" by the oldest inhabitants. A band of Indian hunters wished to camp here because of the abundance of game, but the chief, surveying the flat, marshy terrain, declared: "Too low; no."[976]

TOLUCA (*pronounced Toe-*loo-*kah; city, Marshall Co.*)

Probably named for the capital of the state of Mexico, in Mexico. Prior to its conquest by the Aztecs that city was a Toltec center.[977] The name has been connected with Náhuatl Tolocan, "place of the tribe *Toloca,*" a name containing the native word *toloa,* "to bow the head."[978]

969. Harley Bradford Mitchell, *Historical Fragments of Early Chicagoland* (Chicago, 1928), 55.

970. Gannett, *Origin of Place Names* (1905 ed.), 301; see also Haines, *The American Indian,* 789, and Barge and Caldwell, "Illinois Place Names," 292.

971. Matson, *French and Indians of Illinois River* (2d ed., Princeton, Ill., 1874), 256-57.

972. Hodge, I: 285.

973. Mooney, "Cherokee Glossary," 537.

974. Hodge, I: 119.

975. Ackerman dubiously credits the same individual with the artificial formation of Panola (*q.v.*). Another writer makes a like claim for Maroa (*q.v.*).

976. Ackerman, *Early Illinois Railroads,* 127.

977. Vaillant, *The Aztecs,* 63.

978. William A. Read, *Indian Place-Names in Alabama* (Baton Rouge, 1937), 65, citing A. Penafiel, *Nomenclatura Geográfica de México . . .* (1897), II: 293-94. Another Toluca in California has a different origin: "from Toluja . . . a tribe among the original ones of San Juan Capistrano." A. L. Kroeber, "California Place Names of Indian Origin," 439.

Another source claims that Toluca is Aztec (Náhuatl) for "home of the god Tolotzin."[979]

TOMAHAWK (*creeks, La Salle Co., Henry Co.; slough, Forest Preserve District of Cook Co.*)

Possibly someone once found Indian tomahawks along the streams so named. The slough is so named because of the Forest Preserve District policy of giving "whimsical, idiomatic, or bucolic . . . or Indian names" to natural features.[980]

Tomahawk is an Algonquian term applied to Indian hatchets and war clubs, though it properly designates only hatchets or cutting tools.[981] The term, first mentioned as *tomahack* by John Smith in 1612, is said to originate with the Renâpe Indians of Virginia, and signified a cutting utensil.[982] In various dialects it has been called tommahick, tomahack, tamahake, tamahaac, tommyhawk, tomhog, tomahikan, tumnahecan, tomhegan, and tamahigan.[983]

TONICA (*village, La Salle Co.*)

Ackerman said the name came from the Tonicas or Tunicas, a tribe inhabiting the lower Mississippi in the eighteenth century.[984] Now extinct, the Tonica language was unrelated to any other. According to Gatschet, their name meant simply "the people."[985]

Despite Ackerman, there is reason to believe that the Illinois village may have drawn its name from literature. An apocryphal story written by one Rachel G. Heyer, in *Sartain's Magazine,* December, 1851,[986] relates how "Tonika," a Natchez Indian maiden, daughter of the

979. "Mexican Place Names," *Amigos,* Aug., 1942, p. 39. Vaillant lists no such god but mentions Tlotzin, a Chichimec chief living at Texcoco about 1300, and the Mapa Tlotzin, a hieroglyphic history of Texcoco. *The Aztecs,* 74, 209.

980. Roberts Mann, conservation editor, Forest Preserve District of Cook Co., letter in *Chicago Tribune,* May 19, 1956.

981. William H. Holmes, "The Tomahawk," *American Anthropologist,* X (n.s., 1908): 264-76.

982. William R. Gerard, "The Term Tomahawk," *ibid.,* 277.

983. Hodge, II: 773-75. See also Bartlett, *Dictionary of Americanisms,* 482; Chamberlain, "Algonkian Words," 262.

984. *Early Illinois Railroads,* 143. For early mention of the Tonica, see Tonti, in Pease and Werner, eds., *French Foundations,* 278; Charlevoix, *Journal* (1923 ed.), II: 261-63, etc.; Poisson in *Jesuit Relations,* LXVII: 313.

985. Hodge, II: 838-39. Without foundation this name has been called Ojibway for "a place inhabited." Ackerman, *Early Illinois Railroads,* 143; Gannett, *Origin of Place Names* (1905 ed.), 302; Rufus Blanchard, *History of Illinois . . .* (Chicago, 1883), 100, citing Haines.

986. The village was incorporated in 1859.

chief, sought to elope with chief Chikagou of the Illinois. The Natchez were hostile to the match, but the couple escaped to New Orleans, where they were married by a French priest about 1729, after which they came to Illinois.[987]

Ticona, a village near Tonica, is said to derive its name from a spelling variation of the latter.[988]

TOPEKA (*town, Mason Co.*)

This tiny town is named for the capital of Kansas, which was so named for its "local flavor" at a meeting of the founders of the Santa Fe Railway held in that place on December 5, 1854. The Kansas name was suggested by a Rev. S. Y. Lum, and is described as an Omaha Indian word meaning "a good place to dig 'potatoes.' "[989] Edwin James in 1823 said that the name of the "Konzes" (Kansas) River, in the language of the Oto, a Siouan tribe related to the Omaha, was "*to-pe-o-ka* – good potato river."[990] The Iowa tribe, according to their missionary, Rev. William Hamilton, called the same stream "To-pe-o-kae, which signifies a good place to dig potatoes."[991]

Professor John B. Dunbar of the Kansas State Historical Society accepted this definition, saying that the compound word *to-pyo-kae* was common, with slight variations, to the languages of the Iowa, Omaha, and Kansas tribes. The name was given because these Indians scoured the Kaw Valley in the spring for a variety of wild artichoke, used as food.[992] Dunbar's view was attacked by William E. Connelley, secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society, who argued that Topeka was a modification of the Pawnee word *Tä-pä'-gĕ,* a word of doubtful meaning applied to a subgroup of that tribe.[993] Jacob P. Dunn erroneously thought Topeka to be a Shawnee word.[994] While

987. Adaptation in Winslow, *Indians of the Chicago Region,* 133-42.

988. Barge and Caldwell, "Illinois Place Names," 291. But cf. "Takona, the Prisoner," a Fox Indian. Way, *Rock River Valley,* I: 94.

989. Federal Writers' Project, *Kansas: A Guide to the Sunflower State* (New York, 1939), 278. See also Streeter, *The Kaw,* 35.

990. *Account of Long's Expedition,* II: appendix, lxxx.

991. "Names from Indian Languages," 73.

992. Quoted in William E. Connelley, "Origin of the Name of Topeka," *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1926-1928,* XVII (1928): 591-92. Meriwether Lewis in 1805 described "wild artichokes" collected by Sacajawea. Hosmer, ed., *Expedition of Lewis and Clark,* I: 193.

993. "Origin of the Name of Topeka," 589-93. According to James, the Tappage band of Pawnee were called *pe-tou-we-ra* in their own language (*Account of Long's Expedition,* II: lxxxv), so it seems likely that the other name was Siouan. The Connelley article contains several other easily refutable errors.

994. *True Indian Stories,* 307-8.

this Algonquian tribe settled on the Kaw River after 1836, the name Topeka was in earlier use in the area.

TORONTO (*village, Sangamon Co.*)

This is an Iroquoian name given to the principal city of Ontario, Canada. Lewis H. Morgan believed it came from Mohawk *De'-on-do,* "log floating upon the water."[995] It has also been called "timber in the water," and "much, many" or "place of plenty" in the related Huron tongue. Another view holds that Toronto comes from Seneca words meaning an opening or gateway (bay) in the lake.[996]

TOWANDA (*village, McLean Co.*)

The protonym is Towanda, a town in Bradford County, Pennsylvania, the name of which, according to Heckewelder, came from the Delaware *Tawundeunk,* signifying "where we bury the dead," a name bestowed because the Nanticoke, a Delaware tribe, had a burying ground there.[997] The name bears a remarkable resemblance, however, to two Seneca place names, *Gowanda,* Cattaraugus County, and *Tonawanda,* Erie County, New York. Gowanda has evolved from a term signifying "almost surrounded by hills or cliffs,"[998] while Tonawanda has been defined as "confluent stream" and "swift water."[999]

TUSCARORA (*village, Peoria Co.*)

Named for the last tribe to affiliate with the Six Nations, or for places bearing their name in New York and Pennsylvania. The Tuscarora were driven out of North Carolina in 1712, after which they joined their New York brethren the Iroquois.[1000]

Hewitt derived their name from *skarū rĕn',* "hemp gatherers," from the Indian hemp used by the tribe in Carolina.[1001] Morgan held that the tribal name meant "the shirt-wearing people" (*Dus-ga-ó-weh,*

995. *League of the Iroquois,* II: 139.

996. Armstrong, *Place Names in Canada,* 286-87; Beauchamp, *Aboriginal Place Names of New York,* 167-68.

997. Heckewelder, *Narrative of the Mission of the United Brethren,* 556; cf. Townley, *Historic McLean,* 21. Heckewelder had a tendency to try to derive all place names from the language of his beloved Delaware, with ridiculous results in the case of *Mississippi, Ohio,* and *Potomac.* See nn. 427, 551, 752, herein.

998. Beauchamp, *Aboriginal Place Names of New York,* 31-32, citing A. C. Parker.

999. Hodge, II: 777; Beauchamp, *Aboriginal Place Names of New York,* 83; Morgan, *League of the Iroquois,* II: 130.

1000. Frank G. Speck, *The Iroquois* . . . (Bloomfield Hills, Mich., 1955), 22.

1001. Hodge, II: 842.

in Seneca) and that it was adopted after contact with the whites, but before their emigration to the north.[1002]

TUSCOLA (*city and township, Douglas Co.*)

The name comes from the Muskhogean language group, which includes Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Seminole. Similar names abound in territory now or formerly occupied by these tribes: Tuscola, Mississippi;[1003] Tusculum, Georgia; Tuscumbia, Tuscaloosa, and Tuskegee, Alabama; Tushka and Tuskahoma, Oklahoma.

The Choctaw word *tąshka* or *tushka,* "warrior,"[1004] is one element of these names, but there is disagreement about the *ola* in Tuscola. Toomey derived the name of Tuscola, Mississippi, from Choctaw *tushka okla,* meaning "warriors."[1005] The name of Tuscanola, Mississippi, was said by Halbert to be a corrupted residue of the Choctaw words *Tvshka nan anoli,* or "warrior's messenger."[1006] The name of Tuscaloosa, Alabama, is Creek for "black warrior,"[1007] and a river in that state bears the English name.

There is a Choctaw word, *ola,* meaning a ring or sound as made by a bell (note 413 above), but it can also refer to many sounds. Tuscola might signify "warrior's cry," or, more probably, "warrior people," from *tushka okla.*[1008]

ULAH (*village, Henry Co.*)

This name is probably derived from a legend, of paleface invention, according to which Ulah was the daughter of an Illinois chief named

1002. *League of the Iroquois,* I: 50.

1003. Tuscola is also a name in Michigan and Texas but is not from languages indigenous to those places.

1004. Byington's *Choctaw Dictionary,* 347, 601.

1005. *Proper Names from the Muskhogean Languages,* 21.

1006. Halbert, "Choctaw Indian Names in Alabama and Mississippi," 76; the "v" is pronounced like a short "u." Cf. OKLAHOMA.

1007. *Ibid.,* 71, and Read, *Indian Place Names in Alabama,* 72. Cf. R. M. Loughridge and David M. Hodge, *English and Muskokee Dictionary* . . . (St. Louis, 1890), 8, 90. Tuscaloosa is a very old place name, mentioned as *Tascaluça* in the account of De Soto's expedition. Frederick W. Hodge and Theodore H. Lewis, eds., *Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States, 1528-1543* . . . (New York, 1907), 185-86. It is *Tascalus* on Franquelin's map of 1684. This again weakens Holmer's thesis that Indian place names were temporary (see n. 778).

1008. Schoolcraft believed Tuscola meant "warrior prairie." *Indian Tribes,* III: 509. Ackerman called it Appalachian for "flat plain." *Early Illinois Railroads,* 128. Haines called it Algonquin for "a level plain." *The American Indian,* 790, copied by Gannett. S. G. Boyd said the name came from *Tushka,* "warrior," a chief who fought De Soto. *Indian Local Names,* 50. Spanish accounts mention no such person. All the above views lack support.

Nepowra. The girl fell in love with Oconee (*q.v.*), son of Shabbona (not the historic Potawatomi of that name). Shabbona had been killed by one of Nepowra's band. When the lovers eloped, they were pursued by braves led by Pauwega, Shabbona's slayer. Oconee, his braves, and Ulah were besieged on Starved Rock, where all perished.[1009]

Whoever invented this story used a number of names from different languages. The name Ulah may have been suggested by the Choctaw word *ulla* (a̱lla), meaning "child."[1010]

UTAH (*village, Warren Co.*)

The name is that of the western state, which comes from the Ute tribe. According to John P. Harrington,

> The originating form for Utah is White Mountain Apache Yuttahih, literally "one that is higher up," now applied by the White Mountain Apache to the Navajo. The Spanish and English speakers have interpreted the name as referring to the Utes, who are still higher up in the mountain country than are the Navajo. The Ute are of Shoshonean stock, the Navajo, of Athapascan. As the country of the Utes, the name was applied to the region.[1011]

Robert Emmitt says the Utes called themselves *Nünt'z,* "the people," and their country the "shining mountains."[1012]

VERMILION (*county; river, tributary of the Illinois, Ford, Livingston, and La Salle Cos.; river, tributary of the Wabash, Vermilion Co.; Little Vermilion River, one in La Salle Co., and one in Vermilion Co.; Vermilion Township, La Salle Co.; village, Edgar Co.* [*corporate name, Vermillion*]*; Vermilionville, village, La Salle Co.; Vermilion Grove, village, and Lake Vermilion, Vermilion Co.*)

The two Vermilion rivers are the sources of these names, and the names of both are apparently translations of old Indian names. George Croghan, ascending the Wabash to meet Pontiac, wrote in his journal on June 22, 1765: "We . . . arrived at Vermilion River, so called from a fine red earth found here by the Indians, with which they paint themselves."[1013] The name was French, but the Indian equiva-

1009. Winslow, *Indians of the Chicago Region,* 51.

1010. Byington, *Choctaw Dictionary,* 409 (the a as marked is pronounced like the short u). *Ulla* is also a Scandinavian female name.

1011. *Our State Names,* 386. With less authority, the Ute tribal name has been translated "mountaineers." Von Engeln and Urquhart, *The Story Key to Geographic Names,* 102.

1012. *The Last War Trail* . . . (Norman, Okla., 1954), 3. Cf. "person, Ute." A. L. Kroeber, "Notes on the Ute Language," *American Anthropologist,* X (n.s., 1908): 78.

1013. Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels,* I: 143. Vermilion was an

lent, *O-san-amon,* which appeared on at least one early map, signified the same.[1014] Another early map shows the Vermilion of the Wabash as "Red R.,"[1015] but eventually the French name stuck, and was applied to the county, a lake, and two villages. Very probably the name originated with the Kickapoo, bands of whom lived on the stream until 1833, or the Piankeshaw, a Miami offshoot, who also occupied the area.[1016]

The Vermilion River of the Illinois also received its name from the reddish-yellow clay found along its banks. Jolliet's map shows "Pieres Sanguines" (blood-colored stone) near the mouth of this stream, and Thévenot's map of 1681 calls the river "Pierres Sanguines."[1017] Franquelin's map of 1688 shows "R. Aramoni" near this place.[1018] The name may represent a bad effort to reproduce the Illinois name for vermilion. The name "Vermillien River" appears on John Armstrong's map of 1790.[1019] John Tanner, who passed the stream thirty years later, called it "An-num-mum-se Se-be, or Yellow Ochre River."[1020] See also SAUNEMIN.

WABASH (*county; river; township, Clark Co. and Wabash Co.; Little Wabash River, White Co.*)

Father Marquette called the Wabash River *8ab8kig8* (ouaboukigou), while Father Gravier wrote the name *oüabachei* and *Oüabachi.*[1021] Jacob P. Dunn, a Miami language scholar, called Wabash

an abbreviated corruption of the Miami name of the stream, which is Wah-bah-shik-ki. . . . The stem wahbah means "white," and the

important trade article among early Indians, as it was used on many festive and ceremonial occasions. See also *ibid.,* 142, II: 85, 137; *Jesuit Relations,* LIX: 127, LX: 163, LXV: 115; Blair, ed., *Indian Tribes,* I: 78-83, II: 185; Keating, *Narrative* (1825 ed.), I: 86; Morris Birkbeck, *Notes on a Journey in America . . .* (London, 1818), 87.

1014. Dunn, *True Indian Stories,* 309-10.

1015. S. Lewis, in Volney, *View of America.*

1016. Beckwith, *Vermilion County,* 103n., 104, 147, 168.

1017. *Jesuit Relations,* LIX: 86, 154.

1018. Tucker, *Indian Villages of the Illinois Country,* Pl. XI-A.

1019. Colton Storm, "Lieutenant John Armstrong's Map of the Illinois River, 1790," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society,* XXXVII (March, 1944): 48 ff.

1020. *Narrative of Captivity,* 255.

1021. *Jesuit Relations,* LIX: 143, 145; LXV: 104, 106. In English orthography we substitute *wa* for the French *ou* or *oua* ("8"). But cf. *Obaish,* in Washington's *Journal* of 1754, p. 6. The early French called the lower Ohio the Wabash, or *Ouabache,* and thought the Ohio River above the mouth of the Wabash was a tributary of the latter. Tonti and De Gannes in Pease and Werner, eds., *French Foundations,* 277-78, 393-94; Marest in *Jesuit Relations,* LXVI: 227; J. P. Dunn, "Names of the Ohio River," 166 ff.

declensional ending, shik-ki, implies that the object qualified is pure or bright in color, inanimate, and natural. . . . it is applied properly to white stones, shells, etc., and the name was given to the river on account of the limestone bed in its upper part.[1022]

Schoolcraft gave an impossible definition, "clouds borne by an equinoctial wind," which was picked up by other writers,[1023] but demolished by Dunn in the article quoted above. Another view holds that Wabash is from *Wabashkisibi,* "bog river."[1024]

WALLA WALLA (*village, Cumberland Co.*)

This is the name of a city and county in Washington state, and of a river tributary to the Columbia in Washington and Oregon. *Wallula,* Washington, is a variant of the same name. It comes from the name of a small Indian tribe of Shahaptian stock, closely related to the Cayuse and Nez Perce tribes, now living on the Umatilla reservation in Oregon.[1025]

According to Swanton, Walla Walla means "little river."[1026] Explanations by other writers are "small, rapid, river," "running water," and "rapid stream."[1027]

WAMPUM (*lake, Forest Preserve District of Cook Co.*)

The word is a contraction of New England Algonquian *wampŭmpeak*

1022. "Indiana Geographical Nomenclature," 113-14. Beckwith reported that Mrs. Baptiste Peoria, wife of the Illinois chief, called the river Wah-pesha, meaning "white" in Peoria and Miami. *Vermilion County,* 135. See also pp. 100-101. William E. Wilson accepts the Dunn-Beckwith view, adding, "There are stretches of the river that merit still the name the Indians gave it." *The Wabash* (New York, 1940), 7. Cf. "white" in Sauk-Fox, *Wa-beskiou,* Forsyth, in Blair, ed., *Indian Tribes,* II: 242; Potawatomi *Wa'bishki,* Gailland, "English-Potawatomi Dictionary," 421; Ojibway *Waw-bish-kaw* (inanimate), Tanner, *Narrative of Captivity,* 402; *8ape8i* means *clair* [clear] in Le Boulanger's "French-Illinois Dictionary," 42.

1023. Gannett, *Origin of Place Names* (1905 ed.), 311. Another myth in print derives the name from Wabasha ("red leaf"), a Sioux chief living near Winona, Minn., in the 1830's. Gemmill, *Romantic America,* 94. Chamberlain thought Wabash meant "dirty-white." "Algonkian Words," 264.

1024. Kelton, *Indian Names,* 53. The same name and definition have been given for *Saganashkee* (*q.v.*), n. 786. Cf. Ottawa *Wau-bawsh-ko-kee,* "marsh land," Blackbird, *History of the Ottawa,* 122; Potawatomi *Wā'pchkōkú,* "marsh," Gailland, "English-Potawatomi Dictionary," 198. Cf. SKOKIE, herein; Illinois *nipisi,* "marais" [marsh], Le Boulanger, "French-Illinois Dictionary," 116.

1025. Farrand in Hodge, II: 900.

1026. Swanton, *Indian Tribes of North America,* 447.

1027. Lewis A. McArthur, *Oregon Geographic Names* (Portland, 1928), 373; Edmond S. Meany, *Origin of Washington Geographic Names* (Seattle, 1923), 332.

or *wampŭmpeage,* the name for a string of shell beads.[1028] It was used for gifts and personal adornment and as a medium of exchange, a token of goodwill in diplomatic parleys, a pictorial record, and to give satisfaction for injuries. In early colonial days, it was used as money by whites as well as Indians.[1029] The equivalent of wampum among Virginia and Carolina Algonquians was *roanoke* (*q.v.*).

WAPELLA (*township and village, De Witt Co.*)

David A. Neal, vice-president of the Illinois Central Railroad, laid out the village in 1854 and called it Wapellah, in honor of the Fox Indian chief. The township was named for the village.[1030]

Wapella or Wapello was born at Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, in 1787, but later moved to the site of the present city of Rock Island, Illinois. In 1827 "Wah-bal-lo" was mentioned by Thomas Forsyth as "the principal chief of the Fox nation."[1031] He settled at Muscatine Slough, Iowa, in 1829, took no part in Black Hawk's war, but toured the East with Black Hawk and Keokuk in 1837. He died on a hunt at the forks of Skunk River, Keokuk County, Iowa, March 15, 1842. By his request, he was buried near his friend, Joseph M. Street, at Agency, Wapello County, Iowa, where a monument marks his grave.[1032] The county in which he is buried, and a town in Louisa County, Iowa, are named for him.

The chief's name appears as "Wapulla" in the Treaty of Fort Armstrong, September 3, 1822, and "Wapalaw, the prince," in a treaty signed at Prairie du Chien, July 15, 1830. In the Treaty of September 21, 1832, ending the Black Hawk War, his name appears as "Waupel-la, or he who is painted white." He is simply called "Wa-pella" in the Treaty of September 28, 1836, and "Wa-pella, the Prince, a principal chief," in a pact signed at Washington, October 21, 1837.[1033]

1028. Hewitt in Hodge, II: 904-9. See also Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes,* V: 543.

1029. Ernest Ingersoll, "Wampum and Its History," *American Naturalist,* XVII (1883): 467-79; William B. Weeden, *Indian Money as a Factor in New England Civilization* (Baltimore, 1884); Parkman, *Jesuits in North America,* xxxii, xxxix.

1030. Ackerman, *Early Illinois Railroads,* 146-47; Brink, pub., *De Witt County,* 260, 261.

1031. Blair, ed., *Indian Tribes,* II: 155.

1032. Biographical information on Wapello is in Drake, *Biography and History,* 676; Hodge, II: 911-12; Great Western Publishing Co., *History of Wapello County, Iowa* (Chicago, 1878), 369; McKenney and Hall, *Indian Tribes of North America,* II: 99-104; "The Indian Chief Wapello," *Annals of Iowa,* II (3d ser., Jan., 1897): 636-37; *ibid.,* XII (July, 1920): 328-29, 341, 374-75.

1033. Kappler, II: 203, 308, 351, 475, 478, 496.

Wab or *wap,* which are interchangeable, is the radix for "white" in several Algonquian dialects; it is also used for "light," "dawn," and several other things.[1034] According to Fox anthropologist William Jones, Wapella was a corruption from *Wapana,* signifying "he of the morning."[1035]

WASCO (*village, Kane Co.*)

This name could come from Owasco Lake, near Auburn, New York. Lewis H. Morgan believed that *Owasco* came from *Dwas'-co,* a Cayuga word signifying "lake at the floating bridge."[1036] Beauchamp, citing Zeisberger, said the name arose from trees thrown across the outlet of Owasco Lake by the Indians to form a rude bridge.[1037]

Swanton believed, however, that the name of Wasco, Illinois, was borrowed from an identical name on the West Coast. Wasco County, Oregon, he wrote, received its name from the Wasco, a Chinookan tribe formerly residing on the Columbia River near The Dalles, Oregon, and from which the name was transferred to three other places.[1038] Gannett claimed that this name signified "grass,"[1039] but the noted linguist Edward Sapir said it meant "cup or small bowl or horn," from "a cup-shaped rock a short distance from the main village of the tribe."[1040]

WATAGA (*village, Knox Co.*)

The first white settlement in Tennessee (1772) was called Watauga. This was also the name of two or more Cherokee towns in North Carolina and Tennessee. As *Wautauga,* the name is perpetuated in the name of a county and a river in North Carolina. There are also villages or towns called Watauga in Tennessee and three other states. The Illinois name, formerly Watuga,[1041] is probably a transfer from the Southeast.[1042]

1034. See AURORA, WABASH, WAUBANSEE, WAUPONSEE.

1035. McKenney and Hall, *Indian Tribes of North America,* II: 103. There is no "l" sound in Fox. Information to author, Edward Davenport, Fox chief, Tama, Ia., 1956.

1036. *League of the Iroquois,* II: 133-34.

1037. *Aboriginal Place Names of New York,* 37.

1038. Swanton, *Indian Tribes of North America,* 475.

1039. *Origin of Place Names* (1905 ed.), 316.

1040. Hodge, II: 917. It seems more probable that the name of Wasco, Ill., originated in New York, since the usual movement of transfer names is westward, with the tide of migration. The dropping of the initial *o* is a common occurrence.

1041. *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society,* LII (Autumn, 1959): 418.

1042. However, cf. *Watagua,* Indian name for "a reedy, shallow water

Mooney declared this name to be a Cherokee term of uncertain meaning.[1043]

By others it has been translated as "river of islands,"[1044] "beautiful water,"[1045] and in several other ways.[1046]

WATSEKA (*city, Iroquois Co.*)

Watseka is named for a Potawatomi woman, also called Watch-e-kee, born nearby about 1810, who bore the name of a legendary character. The name of this city was changed from South Middleport in 1863 to honor the Indian woman.[1047]

The legend of Watch-e-kee was obtained by Gurdon S. Hubbard, trader for the American Fur Company, who took as a wife, according to the Indian custom, the Potawatomi girl bearing this name, who was a niece of chief Tamin. The legend of her name, as given to Hiram Beckwith by Hubbard, relates that the Iroquois once attacked an Indian village on the banks of Iroquois River (*q.v.*) and drove out the occupants with great slaughter. When the refugees gathered at night some distance away, a courageous woman exhorted the men to attack the Iroquois, since the latter were celebrating victory and would not anticipate danger. When the warriors demurred, the woman said she would organize the women to counterattack, since they might as well die fighting as be killed by the Iroquois next day. When the women responded in large numbers, the men were shamed into marching against the Iroquois, whom they took by surprise and routed. A council of the tribe then decreed that whenever the heroic woman died, her name, Watch-e-kee, would be bestowed on the most accomplished maiden of the tribe, and in this way handed down from one generation to another.[1048]

Whether the Potawatomi had such a battle with the Iroquois is

stretch" of the Winooski River of Vermont, said to represent the Abnaki word for "pickerel." John C. Huden, *Indian Place Names in Vermont* (Burlington, 1957), 22. We doubt that *Wataga* originated therefrom.

1043. Hodge, II: 921.

1044. Boyd, *Indian Local Names,* 52.

1045. Writers' Program, North Carolina, *How They Began: The Story of North Carolina . . . Place Names* (New York, 1941), 15.

1046. Haines guessed that this name arose from a Potawatomi term for "I heard" or from *ahweataga,* "he has gone to gamble." *The American Indian,* 794. Barge and Caldwell copied this ("Illinois Place Names," 298), and Gannett, perhaps through a misprint, changed "gamble" to "ramble." *Origin of Place Names* (1905 ed.), 317. It is hazardous to explain place names only in indigenous languages, since many names originated elsewhere. Translations which make no sense must be rejected.

1047. Hiram Beckwith, *History of Iroquois County,* Pt. 2, p. 25.

1048. *Ibid.,* Pt. 1, pp. 114-15.

questionable, since no invasions of that tribe occurred in Illinois after the arrival of the Potawatomi.

Hubbard left Watch-e-kee about 1829 when he moved to Chicago. She later married Noel Le Vasseur but left him to migrate westward with her tribe. She is reported to have returned to the scenes of her youth in 1863 and to have died at the Potawatomi reservation in Kansas in 1878.[1049] According to Gannett, the meaning of her name was "pretty woman."[1050]

WAUBANSEE (*creek, Du Page, Kane, and Kendall Cos.*)

This is a tributary of the Fox River at Oswego, just below Aurora, named for a Potawatomi war chief whose home was nearby.[1051] His village at this place, inhabited by fifty-one persons in 1828,[1052] was visited by Juliette Kinzie in 1831.[1053]

Waubansee distinguished himself in October, 1811, by leaping aboard one of Governor William Henry Harrison's supply boats on the Wabash near Terre Haute, and killing a man, following which he escaped without injury.[1054] This raid, and a later one in which Waubansee was wounded, were made on foggy mornings, according to Alexander Robinson, which caused him to receive his name, supposed to signify "Foggy Day."[1055]

Waubansee participated in the Fort Dearborn battle of August 15, 1812, but is reported to have guarded the Kinzie family afterward.[1056] He was neutral during the Winnebago troubles of 1827 and campaigned with the Illinois militia in the Black Hawk War of 1832. For his services the Treaty of Prairie du Chien assigned to him "five sections of land at the Grand Bois, on Fox River of the Illinois."[1057] The

1049. Ely, *Centennial History of Iroquois and Concord,* 12-14; Stephen R. Moore, "Noel Le Vasseur," in *Early Illinois,* Pt. I (Fergus Historical Series, No. 31, Chicago, 1890), 50; Palmer, "Historic Landmarks," 46; Quaife, *Chicago's Highways,* 63-65. Clint C. Tilton claims that Watseka died in Kansas in 1842. "Gurdon Saltonstall Hubbard and Some of His Friends," *Transactions, Illinois State Historical Society,* XL (1933): 124.

1050. *Origin of Place Names* (1905 ed.), 317. Cf. *wê'wanùk,* "beautiful or fine looking," and *kwê,* "woman." Gailland, "English-Potawatomi Dictionary," 28, 425.

1051. S. MacCarty to Draper, Dec. 20, 1881. "Tecumseh Manuscripts," Vol. IX, Doc. 69; Conger and Hull, *Illinois River Valley,* I: 58.

1052. "List of chiefs at Riviere du Chemin [Michigan City] and amounts paid," Aug. 21, 1828 (MS, Chicago Historical Society).

1053. *Wau-Bun* (1901 ed.), 134.

1054. Beckwith, *Illinois and Indiana Indians,* 172n.

1055. Draper Notebooks, 1866, S-21, pp. 279-80.

1056. Kinzie, *Wau-Bun* (1901 ed.), 187.

1057. Kappler, II: 298. Grand Bois, "Big Woods," was a tract of timber

Treaty of Tippecanoe three years later awarded him five sections "in the Prairie near Rock village."[1058]

Waubansee migrated to Council Bluffs, Iowa, with his tribe in 1835,[1059] after which accounts concerning him are contradictory. According to the best evidence, he died near Council Bluffs in 1848,[1060] although Matson said he was killed by Sauk and Fox Indians for his aid to the whites in 1832, and a pioneer manuscript alleges that he was killed in Kansas while leading a war party against the Sioux.[1061] Alexander Robinson informed Draper in 1866 that the chief died in Missouri of injuries suffered in the upset of a stagecoach in which he was returning from an embassy to Washington.[1062]

Waubansee is commemorated in the names of Waubonsie State Park, Iowa; the village and county of Waubansee, in Kansas; the village of Wauponsee (*q.v.*), in Grundy County, Illinois; and by Wabansia Avenue, in Chicago. A crude image of his head, carved in stone, once stood in Fort Dearborn and is now in the Chicago Historical Society museum.

In eight treaties and related documents, his name appears as Wapunsy, Waubonsa, Wa-ban-see, Wau-pon-eh-see, Wah-pon-seh, Wah-bou-seh, possibly Wa-be-no-say, and Wau-bon-see.[1063] In other sources it is given as Wabansia, Wa-Baun-See, Waubansee, Waubansia, Waubonsee, Waubunsee, and Waw-pon-eh-see. According to one report, Waubansee's name signified "dim daylight," and was given because "he captured an enemy's camp just at the break of day."[1064] *Wapin'* is a Potawatomi word for daybreak,[1065] which otherwise appears as "*Wau-Bun – Early Day*" in the title of Mrs. Kinzie's famous book;

some twenty-five miles long in present Kane County. The term was sometimes applied solely to the site of Aurora.

1058. Kappler, II: 353. This 3200-acre grant was on Kankakee River, at the mouth of Rock Creek, and is partly contained in Kankakee River State Park. It was surveyed by Dan Beckwith in 1834. Field Notes of Survey, II: 28.

1059. Wayne Temple, *Indian Villages of the Illinois Country: Historic Tribes,* 153. Schoolcraft gave the date as 1838. *Indian Tribes,* V: 530-31.

1060. Seth Dean, "Wabaunsee, the Indian Chief (A Fragment)," citing affidavits of Moses Gaylord and A. L. Wolfe, *Annals of Iowa,* XVI (3d ser., July, 1927): 3-24.

1061. Matson, *French and Indians of Illinois River,* 249; Todd, "Narrative of Exploring Trip."

1062. Draper Notebooks, S-21, p. 280. Probably unlikely, since Wabaunsee's last visit to Washington was in 1845. Dean, "Wabaunsee," 17n.

1063. Kappler, II: 133, 276, 296, 298-99, 353-54, 404, 415.

1064. Gannett, *Origin of Place Names* (1905 ed.), 312. Cf. Robinson's claim, n. 1028.

1065. Gailland, "English-Potawatomi Dictionary," 71.

"*Wabun,*" the Ojibway bringer of morning in Longfellow's *Hiawatha;* and *Wau-Pun,* name of a Wisconsin city, translated as "east" in Ojibway by Verwyst.[1066] The *see* in the chief's name is a diminutive suffix. Other renderings of his name are "looking glass,"[1067] "he lives through the winter" (*Wâbanishi*),[1068] "causer of paleness" (*Wah-bawn-see*),[1069] and "The White Sky" (*Wa-bon-seh*).[1070] See also AURORA, WAUPONSEE.

WAUCONDA (*township and village, Lake Co.*)

The name of the village, which was incorporated August 18, 1877, is reported to have been given by Justus Bangs, who built a house there in 1836. The name was supposed to be that of an Indian character in a story to which he had taken a fancy.[1071] The same name was reportedly given to the township by the county commissioners in response to a petition of the residents.[1072]

Wauconda, also spelled Wakanda, Wakonda, etc., is a term used in varying forms by Siouan tribes, including Iowa, Kansa, Missouri, Omaha, Osage, Oto, and Quapaw, "when the power believed to animate all natural forms is spoken to or spoken of in supplications or rituals." As such it is found in the Omaha Tribal Prayer. The root of the word, *wakan,* signifies a spirit, and its Dakota form, *Wakantanka,* signifies "great spirit."[1073] Cf. Algonquian *Manito.*

WAUKEGAN (*city and township, Lake Co.; South Waukegan, village, Lake Co.*)

Tradition says that a French trading post was located here in the eighteenth century. Beckwith maintains that it was also the site of a Potawatomi village.[1074] Thomas Hutchins's map of 1778 designates

1066. Verwyst, "Geographical Names Having a Chippewa Origin," 398. Cf. Chippewa *Waubemau,* "see," and *Waubeno,* a sorcerer. Lewis Cass, "Indians of North America," 31, 5; Algonquin *Waban-anang,* "star of morning," Cuoq, *Lexique Algonquine,* 41.

1067. Beckwith, *Illinois and Indiana Indians,* 172n. Cf. Sauk-Fox *Wa-bamoan,* "looking glass," Forsyth, in Blair, ed., *Indian Tribes,* II: 241.

1068. William Jones, cited in McKenney and Hall, *Indian Tribes of North America,* II: 198. Cf. *nibòponich,* "winter," in Gailland's "English-Potawatomi Dictionary," 424.

1069. McKenney and Hall, *Indian Tribes of North America,* II: 199, n. 9.

1070. *Ibid.* Cf. *Wa'bishki,* "white," *Kī'jik,* "sky." Gailland, "English-Potawatomi Dictionary," 421, 332.

1071. Federal Writers' Project, *Illinois Guide,* 503.

1072. Halsey, *Lake County,* 539.

1073. Hodge, II: 897-98.

1074. Randall Parrish, *Historic Illinois . . .* (Chicago, 1914), 174; H. Beckwith, in *Illinois and Indiana Indians,* 175, said *Wah-kuh-e-gun* signified

a small stream at this place as "Riviere du Vieux Fort [Old Fort River] or Wakaygagh." Lucius Lyon's map of 1829 calls the same creek "Small Fort R."[1075] The settlement which arose here in the 1830's was called Little Fort, but citizens objected to the diminutive adjective. John H. Kinzie of Chicago and Solomon Juneau, a former Milwaukee Indian trader, were consulted, and both agreed "that the Indian word for Little Fort would be Waukegance, but Mr. Kinzie suggested that instead of the terminal *ce,* we call it Waukegan. *Ce* meant . . . *Little Trading Place,* but Waukegan meant *Trading Place.*"[1076]

Upon the recommendation of Judge Blodgett, the Little Fort statute of incorporation approved on February 12, 1849, provided that the residents might "vote for or against the changing of the name of said town to Waukeegan, and in case a majority of said votes shall be in favor of said alteration . . . the name of said town . . . shall be changed to Waukeegan."[1077]

Waukegan, in various forms, signifies a house or a fort in several Algonquian languages.[1078] A store or trading place, as mentioned by Blodgett, would be an *adawagān.*[1079] See also WETAUG, WIGWAM.

WAUPECAN (*creek; Waupecan or Sugar Island, Illinois River; both in Grundy Co.*)

May be named for Waupekee, minor Potawatomi chief. Matson said he learned from a daughter of Mrs. Charles Lee that it was Waupekee – and not Black Partridge (*q.v.*), as others have claimed[1080] –

"fort"; Mitchell, in *Early Chicagoland,* 55, said *Wakiegan* meant "white man's house or fort."

1075. Tucker, *Indian Villages of the Illinois Country,* Pls. XXIX, LII.

1076. *Autobiography of Henry W. Blodgett,* 57-58.

1077. Effective April 13, 1849, *Private Laws, 1849,* 134-41; Halsey, *Lake County,* 117.

1078. *Chimākinich Wakāigín,* "fort" [lit., "soldier house"], Gailland, "English-Potawatomi Dictionary," 114; Algonkin, *Ouackaigan,* "fort or fortress," Lahontan, *New Voyages,* II: 738; Chippewa terms: *Wakaigon,* "fort," Carver, *Travels,* 397; *Wakaygan,* "fort," John Long, in Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels,* II: 106, 243; *Wah kah ye gun,* "house," Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes,* II: 460; *Wâkaigan,* "fort, fortress, redoubt; house," Baraga, *Otchipwe Dictionary,* Pt. II, p. 397; *Waukaigan,* "house," Verwyst, "Geographical Names Having a Chippewa Origin," 397; *Wakaigan,* "log house," U. S. Bureau of American Ethnology, . . . *Indian Popular Names* (Washington, 1915), 6.

1079. From *adawa,* "to trade," (cf. Ottawa) and *gan,* an enclosure. Jones, "Algonquian Word-Formation," 410-11.

1080. *French and Indians of Illinois River,* 225-31. For criticism of Matson, see Quaife, *Chicago and the Old Northwest,* 255, 451; on the man and his methods, see Ruth E. Haberkorn, "Nehemiah Matson – Historian of Northern Illinois," *Journal I.S.H.S.,* LIII (Summer, 1960): 149-62.

who gave refuge to that lady in his village following the death of her husband in the Fort Dearborn massacre.

This chief may be the *Waupaukeeno* who signed the Treaty of Mississinewa in 1826 and the *Wau-pay-kay* who endorsed the Treaty of Prairie du Chien in 1829.[1081] The various forms of this name could be translated perhaps as "white nut,"[1082] "white earth,"[1083] or "white blanket."[1084] *Sugar* (*q.v.*), the alternate name of Waupecan Island, is *Sīsipākwi* in Potawatomi.[1085] A chief called Sugar lived at Aux Sable Creek, a short distance upstream.[1086]

WAUPONSEE (*township and village, Grundy Co.*)

A spelling variation of Waubansee (*q.v.*), the name of a Potawatomi chief who lived near Aurora, but reputedly spent his winters along the Kankakee.[1087] The name comes from Wauponsee Grove, so named from the tradition that the chief once planted a patch of corn there.[1088] See also AURORA, WAUBANSEE.

WENONA (*city, Marshall Co.; East Wenona, village, La Salle Co.*)

Wenona, also spelled Winona, Wenonah, etc., is Santee Sioux dialect (*Wi-nó-na*) for the first born child, if a girl. If the first born is a boy, there can be no Winona.[1089]

Dunn declares that the name was "first introduced to the reading public by Keating's pathetic account, in his Narrative of Long's Expedition, of the Sioux maiden who committed suicide" by leaping from the Mississippi River bluffs when her father sought to compel her to marry a brave of his choice rather than her favored one.[1090] Since then American writers have made it a popular name for Indian girls, and it is often given to white girls as well. As *Winona,* the name has been given to a Minnesota city, at the site of Keating's legendary event.

1081. Kappler, II: 275, 299.

1082. *Wab, Waub, Wap, Waup,* radix for "white," and *pikan,* "nut." Cf. Miami *Ouàpekingué* (French orthography, "white"), in Volney, *View of America,* 499.

1083. "Earth" is *ku* in Potawatomi (Gailland, "English-Potawatomi Dictionary," 181), *au-kee* in Ottawa (Blackbird, *History of the Ottawa,* 123).

1084. Translation of *Wa-pe-kon-nia,* name of Kickapoo chief, Treaty of Greenville, July 22, 1814. Kappler, II: 106. Grant Foreman calls him *Waw-pee-ko-ny-a,* "blue eyes." *Last Trek of the Indians,* 39.

1085. Gailland, "English-Potawatomi Dictionary," 357.

1086. Reynolds, *Pioneer History,* 211.

1087. See n. 1051.

1088. Union Atlas Co., *Atlas of the State of Illinois* (Chicago, 1876), 192.

1089. Hodge, II: 932, 963; Riggs, *Dakota-English Dictionary,* 577.

1090. *True Indian Stories,* 317-18. See also Botkin, *Mississippi River Folklore,* 542-43.

WENONAH (*village, Montgomery Co.*)

Wenonah (Sioux, first born, if a daughter) is the spelling for this name as used by Longfellow in his epic poem *Hiawatha* (1855). In this fictional story, Wenonah is the daughter of Nokomis and the mother of Hiawatha.

WETAUG (*township and village, Pulaski Co.*)

Claims have been made that this name commemorates a band of Cherokee who camped in the vicinity while on the "Trail of Tears" to Oklahoma in 1838-1839, and that the grave of one of their chiefs is on the grounds of a local residence.[1091] Others hold that Wetaug was the name of that chief, who died during the forced migration.[1092]

The Cherokee passed through this region on their march to exile, but this name is not theirs. W. K. Ackerman asserted in 1883 that the village was named by George Watson, division superintendent of the Illinois Central Railroad, for a Massachusetts town in which he formerly lived. "In Ojibway dialect," he added, "the word means a gambler; probably named after some Indian given to gaming."[1093]

While wrongly interpreting the word, and seeking in the wrong language, Ackerman traced it to the right locality but the wrong state. *Weataug* is described by Hodge as "a village formerly near the site of present Salisbury, Litchfield co., Conn., containing seventy wigwams in 1740. Its inhabitants were probably a part of the Mahican."[1094] The name of the town of *Weatogue* in adjacent Hartford County, Connecticut, is probably descended from that of the Mahican village.

Weetauoog, wrote J. H. Trumbull, signified "they live together," from the root word *wetu,* "a house."[1095] Weataug, modern Weatogue, he wrote elsewhere, "seems to denote a place where the Indians lived

1091. Scerial Thompson, "The Cherokee Cross Egypt," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society,* XLIV (Winter, 1951): 289-304; Federal Writers' Project, *Illinois Guide,* 455.

1092. Bonnell, *The Illinois Ozarks,* 118; Irvin M. Peithmann, *Echoes of the Red Man . . .* (New York, 1955), 128.

1093. *Early Illinois Railroads,* 137. Ojibway words for gambler are not remotely similar. Baraga, *Otchipwe Dictionary,* Pt. I, p. 113; see also n. 1046, herein. Prof. Jesse W. Harris points out that the Wetaug post office was established in the same year (1856) that the Illinois Central Railroad was completed. "*Wetaug* – A Place-Name Puzzle," *Names,* IX (June, 1961): 126-28.

1094. Hodge, II: 927. See also Benjamin Trumbull's mention of *Weatog,* in *History of Connecticut,* II: 80-81.

1095. *Natick Dictionary,* 187, 191. Cf. *wetus,* "Wampanoag wigwam." Milton A. Travers, *The Wampanoag Indian Federation . . .* (Boston, 1961), 23.

(weetauog) or had their wigwams (wetu-auke, 'wigwam place')"[1096] – in other words, a village.

WHEELING (*village, Cook Co.*)

The only other Wheelings are in Missouri and West Virginia; the latter is the original one. The name was given over two centuries ago to a creek which flows into the Ohio near present Wheeling, West Virginia, called "Wealin or Scalp Creek" in 1752 by Christopher Gist. In later years it was called Wealing, Weelin, Weeling, Weelunk, Wheelin, Wheling, and Wheeling.[1097] In 1797 the legislature of Northwest Territory authorized Ebenezer Zane to operate a ferry across the Ohio from the "Northwest Bank of Indian Wheeling."[1098]

The name comes, according to Heckewelder, from the Delaware term *Wihling* or *Wih-link,* signifying "where the head is, or place of the head," and was given to that place because Indians there slew a captive and impaled his head on a sharpened pole.[1099] There is no evidence to support other explanations, such as "head of a river,"[1100] or claims of non-Indian origin.[1101]

WHITE PIGEON (*village, Whitside Co.*)

Local inquiries have failed to find any resident who knows why this village is so named, but it may recall the city of White Pigeon, St. Joseph County, Michigan, which bears the name of a Potawatomi Indian who warned the settlers of a threatened Indian attack in 1812. He reportedly received his name because of his light complexion.[1102]

White Pigeon was described by Thomas Forsyth as friendly to the Americans in 1812, though in that year he was the courier who brought a war message from the Shawnee to the Miami near Peoria.[1103] It is

1096. *Indian Names of Places . . . of Connecticut,* 80. Old forms he gave as Weatauk, Weatauke, Wetawog, Wehtak, Wiatiack, Weetauke. See also Douglas-Lithgow, *Names in New England,* 292.

1097. Delf Norona, *Wheeling: A West Virginia Place-Name of Indian Origin* (Moundsville, W. Va., 1958), 7, 26. Well documented.

1098. Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers,* III: 493.

1099. Heckewelder, *Narrative of the Mission of the United Brethren,* 558; see also Norona, *Wheeling,* 28-33, and Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes,* IV: 379, V: 593, VI: 264.

1100. Von Engeln and Urquhart, *The Story Key to Geographic Names,* 98.

1101. Mentioned in Kenny, *West Virginia Place Names,* 673, and Norona, *Wheeling,* 27-28.

1102. Hodge, II: 945-46.

1103. Forsyth to Ninian Edwards, July 13, 1812, in Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers,* XVI: 251-52. Tecumseh's biographer, Glenn Tucker, has described White Pigeon as "a prophet" for the Shawnee statesman. *Tecumseh: Vision of Glory* (Indianapolis, 1956), 360.

said that he died at about the age of thirty, and was buried on the outskirts of the city now named for him, where a monument was dedicated to him in 1909.[1104]

"Wapmeme, or White Pigeon" signed the first Treaty of Greenville, August 3, 1795, and a treaty at Brownstown, Michigan, November 25, 1808. The name "Wab-na-ne-me, or White Pigeon" is also listed among the signers of a treaty at Council Bluffs, Iowa, June 5, 1846.[1105] Conceivably this could have been the same person, and the story of his earlier death may be local legend, although it is not unknown for descendants and unrelated Indians of the same tribe to have the same name (e.g., Winnemeg, Senachwine).

WIGWAM (*Wigwam Hollow, in Emmet Twp., McDonough Co.*)

Wigwam and similar terms signifying an Indian dwelling are found in several Algonquian languages and dialects.[1106] This word was believed by Gerard and Chamberlain to have been adopted from the Abnaki language, and is defined by them as "an arbor-like or conical structure in which, from Canada to North Carolina, was employed the same general method of erection, which varied mainly in the plant materials (saplings, barks, rushes, or flags) used, and which differences in soil and climate changed here and there to a certain extent."[1107] *Wigwam* should not be confused with the plains *tipi,* which has a Dakota name. Cf. also WAUKEGAN, WETAUG.

WILMETTE (*village, Cook Co.*)

The name of this north shore suburb of Chicago results from the Anglicized phonetic rendering of the French name Ouilmette, for Archange Ouilmette, Potawatomi wife of Antoine Ouilmette, a French trader.[1108] The land on which the village stands formed the greater part of the reservation granted to this woman by the Treaty of Prairie

1104. Hodge, II: 945-46; Writers' Program, Michigan, *Michigan: A Guide to the Wolverine State* (New York, 1941), 398.

1105. Kappler, II: 44, 100, 559.

1106. Algonkin – *Ouikiouam,* Lahontan, *New Voyages,* II: 739; Delaware – *Weèk wam,* Miami – *We ke aw me,* Menominee – *Way ke wum,* Shawnee – *Wèe kee wàh,* Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes,* II: 470 ff.; Micmac – *Wigwom, ibid.,* V: 579; Mohegan – *Waigwum, ibid.,* 620; Ojibway – *wigiwâm,* Baraga, *Otchipwe Dictionary,* Pt. I, p. 136; Potawatomi – *Wigwam,* Gailland, "English-Potowatomi Dictionary," 160; Ottawa – *Wig-wom,* Blackbird, *History of the Ottawa,* 123.

1107. Hodge, II: 951.

1108. Frank R. Grover, *Some Indian Land Marks of the North Shore* (Chicago, 1905), 277-90. The name was suggested for this place by Judge H. W. Blodgett of Waukegan, according to Stennett, *Place Names Connected with the Chicago & North Western,* 139.

du Chien, July 29, 1829, which stipulated, "To Archange Ouilmette, a Potawatamie woman, wife of Antoine Ouilmette, two sections, for herself and her children, on Lake Michigan."[1109]

Antoine Ouilmette, probably Chicago's first white settler, arrived there in 1790, where he occupied a cabin on the site of the present Wrigley Building. He was in turn Indian trader, hunter, farmer, and, later, an employee of John Kinzie. After the destruction of Fort Dearborn, he was the only white inhabitant of Chicago and joined Alexander Robinson in cultivating the garrison garden. The Ouilmettes resided on Archange's reserve at Grosse Pointe (now in Evanston) until 1838, when, with seven of their children, they joined the Potawatomi at Council Bluffs, Iowa. Archange died there two years later.[1110]

WINNEBAGO (*county; ditch, Lee Co.; township and village, Winnebago Co.; Winnebago Woods, Forest Preserve District of Cook Co.*)

Winnebago County, divided by the Rock River, is said to be so named because the river was here the boundary between territory of that tribe and the Potawatomi.[1111] Winnebago Ditch takes its name from the former Winnebago Swamp, which it drained. Winnebago Woods has no association with the tribe.

First encountered by the French about Green Bay, Wisconsin, the Winnebago are a Siouan tribe whose nineteenth-century territory embraced southwestern Wisconsin and northwestern Illinois, adjoining Sauk and Potawatomi lands. Present members of the tribe reside in Wisconsin and Nebraska.[1112] Green Bay was called Bay "des Puants," and the Winnebago tribe "Nation des Puants" (Stinkards) by the French missionaries and explorers.[1113] The name Winnebago, now applied to a large lake flowing into Green Bay via the Fox River, is an Algonquian designation having a similar meaning.

The Jesuit Paul Ragueneau wrote in 1648 that *Ouinipegong* meant "people of the stinking water." They were called Puants "not because

1109. Kappler, II: 298. Grover says some three hundred acres of this grant lie in the city of Evanston, and much of the remainder in Wilmette.

1110. Frank R. Grover, *Antoine Ouilmette . . .* (Evanston, 1908); Andreas, *History of Chicago,* I: 92; Currey, *Chicago: Its History and Its Builders,* I: 48; East, "Inhabitants of Chicago, 1825-31," 155; Goodspeed and Healy, *Cook County,* II: 262; Jensen, *Historic Chicago Sites,* 25-28.

1111. Newton Bateman, Paul Selby, and J. Seymour Currey, eds., *Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois, with Commemorative Biographies* (Chicago, 1923), I: 596.

1112. Hodge, II: 958-61.

1113. *Jesuit Relations,* XVI: 252-53.

of any bad odor that is peculiar to them; but, because . . . they come from the shores of a far distant sea toward the North, the water of which is salt."[1114] According to Marquette, the savage name for Green Bay signified "salt bay." He believed the Winnebago were so designated "on account of the quantity of mire and Mud which is seen there."[1115] A decade later Hennepin declared that "the Nation that inhabits here, is so call'd, because formerly they dwelt in certain Marshy Places, full of stinking Waters, situate on the *South-Sea.*"[1116] Cadillac said that "the Puans take their name from their river, whose water is very muddy. . . . during the heat of summer, either because of the quality of the water or the excessive numbers of the fish, the water may be seen all covered with them; and as they quickly become putrid one can hardly approach the shore on account of the stench. . . . This is why this tribe is called the Puans (stinkers); for in their persons and habits they are the cleanest men of all the Indians."[1117] Charlevoix pointed out that the name might refer to their diet of fish and to the fact that the shore near their cabins abounded with "stinking fish, with which the air was perfectly infected."[1118]

Mrs. John H. Kinzie, whose husband was Winnebago agent at Portage, Wisconin, in the 1830's, declared that these Indians were termed "Les Puans" because of "their custom of wearing the fur of a polecat on their legs when equipped for war."[1119] According to Schoolcraft, Winnebago was from Algonquian Wee-ni-bee-gog, meaning turbid or foul waters, with a personal termination. The name of Lake Winnipeg, Canada, had the same origin.[1120] William Jones gave the name in Ojibway as *winĭpig,* "filthy water," and in Sauk-Fox as *winĭpyägohagi,* "people of the filthy water."[1121]

In their own language the Winnebago tribal name has been ren-

1114. *Ibid.,* XXXIII: 151. Cf. Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels,* II: 186-87n.

1115. *Jesuit Relations,* LIX: 97-99.

1116. *A New Discovery* (1903 ed.), I: 308.

1117. Quaife, ed., *Western Country,* 66, 67n.

1118. *Journal* (1923 ed.), II: 57-58. Cf. John Reynolds: [the French called them Puants] "from their unsavory and 'ancient fishy smell.'" *Pioneer History,* 7.

1119. *Wau-Bun* (1901 ed.), 63.

1120. *Indian Tribes,* III: 277. Cf. *Ouenibegons,* La Potherie, in Blair, ed., *Indian Tribes,* I: 289-90; *Ouinipegouans,* Rale, in *Jesuit Relations,* LXVII: 161; *Winnebagoag,* or Puants (Ottawa name), Tanner, *Narrative of Captivity,* 316; *Winnibigoshish* (lake, Minn.), "bad, dirty-water lake," Verwyst, "Geographical Names Having a Chippewa Origin," 398; "the name Winnipeg seems to be derived from Winot, dirty, and nibi, water." Boutwell, in Mason, ed., *Schoolcraft's Expedition,* 323.

1121. Hodge, II: 958.

dered as Hochungara, Ho-ro-ge, Horoji, Hotcahgara, Ho-tshung-rahs, Ochangras, Ochungurah, O-Shun-gu-lah, and Otchagra, variously translated as "people of the parent speech," "trout nation," and "fish eaters."[1122]

WINNECONNA (*lakes and parkway, Auburn Park, Chicago*)

Equivalent to Winneconne, the name of a town and township in Winnebago County, Wisconsin. According to Verwyst, the name comes from Ojibway "*winikaning* (a dirty place), pr. *wee-nee-kau-ning*. The syllable *win* refers to any thing unclean. There is a deal of mud on the flats around Winneconne."[1123]

WINNEMAC (*park, Chicago*)

There were two noted Potawatomi chiefs bearing this name.[1124] The first, who lived on St. Joseph River, Michigan, is described as a friendly Potawatomi, who on August 9, 1812, brought a message from General Hull to Captain Nathan Heald at Fort Dearborn, instructing him to withdraw to Fort Wayne.[1125] His willingness to treat for land cessions so enraged Tecumseh that his life was threatened, but reconciliation apparently followed, for Winnemac participated in the Battle of Tippecanoe in 1811.

Nevertheless, in July, 1812, Forsyth believed that Winnemac was sufficiently friendly to the Americans to be in danger of his life.[1126] After delivering Hull's dispatches, however, Winnemac joined the hostiles, under the Ottawa chief Blackbird, who attacked the garrison retreating from Chicago on August 15, though he helped Waubansee in trying to rescue Captain Wells.[1127] The following November 22, a party including Winnemac, four other Indians, and a British captain

1122. Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes,* III: 277, 566; James's *Account* of *Long's Expedition,* I: 338-39; Hexom, *Indian History of Winneshiek County,* 1; Kinzie, *Wau-Bun* (1901 ed.), 63; M. Marston, "Table of Nations of Indians," in Forsyth MSS, II: 60 (State Historical Society of Wisconsin); Charlevoix, *Journal* (1923 ed.), II: 57; Keating, *Narrative* (1825 ed.), I: 222.

1123. Verwyst, "Geographical Names Having a Chippewa Origin," 398; see also Henry E. Legler, "Origin and Meaning of Wisconsin Place Names," *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters,* Vol. XIV, Pt. I (1902), p. 35; H. W. Kuhm, "Indian Place-Names in Wisconsin," 142.

1124. Also spelled Ouenemek, Wenamec, Wenamech, Wenemeach, Winemac, and Wynemac. See also treaties, and n. 1105.

1125. Hodge, II: 956-57; Kinzie, *Wau-Bun* (1901 ed.), 166-67; Andreas, *History of Chicago,* I: 79 ff.

1126. Forsyth to Ninian Edwards, July 13, 1812, in Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers,* XVI: 251.

1127. Kinzie, *Wau-Bun* (1901 ed.), 181.

named Elliott captured the Shawnee chief Captain James Logan, who was in the service of the Americans. When Logan attempted to escape, both he and Winnemac were killed in the melee.[1128]

The chief's name appears as *Wenameac* in the first Treaty of Greenville, August 3, 1795, as *Winnemac* in the Treaty of Fort Wayne, June 7, 1803, and *Winemac* in another treaty at the same place, signed September 30, 1809.[1129] The name signifies "catfish."[1130]

The second Winnemac, or Winamac, who died in 1821, was considered friendly after the Tippecanoe battle, and visited Washington several times. His village, given his name by the whites, stood near present Winamac, Indiana.[1131] It seems to be he whose name appears as Wenamech in the Treaty of Vincennes, August 21, 1805, and Wynemac in the Treaty of Miami Rapids, September 29, 1817.[1132]

WINNESHIEK (*creek, village, Stephenson Co.*)

Ackerman, who said this was the former name of Freeport, described Winneshiek as chief of a band of two or three hundred Indians who had a village at that place in 1827, and whose burying ground was on the site of the Illinois Central freight house.[1133] M. M. Quaife declared that the "ruler" of a Winnebago village at the site of Freeport "when the whites came into the country, was Chief Winneshike."[1134] Lucius Lyon's map of 1829 shows the village of "Wenasheeke" at or near the site of Freeport.[1135] It was about that time that Winneshiek moved to the Winnebago village at the site of La Crosse, Wisconsin.[1136]

1128. Drake, *Biography and History,* 629. Alexander Robinson told Draper in 1866 that the "Win-ne-meg" who was killed in 1812 lived on the Wabash, and was about 45 years old when he died. Draper Notebooks, S-21, p. 278.

1129. Kappler, II: 44, 65, 102. These treaties are attributed to *this* "Winamac" by Mooney in Hodge, II: 956.

1130. "Catfish (Winnemec)," "Winemege or Catfish," Forsyth, in Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers,* XVI: 251, 261; "Wi-ne-magne, or Cat Fish," Edwards, *History of Illinois,* 39; "Winnemeg or *Catfish,*" Kinzie, *Wau-Bun* (1901 ed.), 166; "Catfish – *Miyani-mêk,*" Gailland, "English-Potawatomi Dictionary," 114; "catfish, compounded of wee-nud, meaning 'turbid' or 'muddy,' and mak, 'a fish,'" Dunn, "Indiana Geographical Nomenclature," 114.

1131. Hodge, II: 957; Dunn, "Indiana Geographical Nomenclature," 114.

1132. Kappler, II: 81, 151; Dunn, *Indiana and Indianans,* I: 97.

1133. *Early Illinois Railroads,* 140.

1134. *Chicago's Highways,* 240.

1135. Tucker, *Indian Villages of the Illinois Country,* Pl. LII.

1136. Atwater, *The Indians of the Northwest,* 97; miscellaneous letters in the Black Hawk War Collection, Illinois State Historical Library.

Winneshiek, born about 1777,[1137] had a son of the same name, born at Portage, Wisconsin, in 1812. During the Red Bird uprising of 1827, the younger Winneshiek was held as a hostage for two weeks at Galena, and in 1832 he joined his uncle (the Winnebago Prophet) in the Black Hawk War.[1138] His later wanderings and forced migrations took him to Iowa, Minnesota, and South Dakota, thence down the Missouri, where he died in Kansas opposite St. Joseph, Missouri, about 1872.[1139]

The name Wee-no-shee-kaw appears in the Treaty of Green Bay, August 25, 1828, and in a treaty signed at Washington, D.C., February 27, 1855, we find "Wau-kon-chaw-koo-haw, the Coming Thunder, or Win-no-shik," representing both his Winnebago and Algonquian names.[1140]

The name Winneshiek, also given to an Iowa county, is Algonquian. One writer derives it from *Winnishig*[a], alleged to signify "a dirty person who is lying down."[1141] Another maintained, from information supplied by the elder Winneshiek's grandson John Blackhawk, that the Algonquian form of the name was composed of *Winne,* short for Winnebago, and *shiek,* meaning "leader."[1142] In the Winnebago language it is claimed that he was called Wa-kon-ja-goo-rah, Wau-kon-chaw-koo-haw, or Wa-kan-ja-ko-ga, meaning "Coming Thunder."[1143]

WINNETKA (*village, Cook Co.*)

Originally called Wynetka,[1144] this affluent place was platted in 1857 and incorporated in 1869. Its name was reportedly taken by Mrs. Charles E. Peck, wife of the founder, from an "Indian" word meaning "beautiful land" or "beautiful place."[1145] Whatever the origin, it

1137. Thomas Hughes, *Indian Chiefs of Southern Minnesota* (Mankato, Minn., 1927), 117-24.

1138. "Memoir of Hon. Thomas Pendleton Burnett," *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin,* II (1855): 331; Black Hawk War Collection, Illinois State Historical Library.

1139. Hexom, *Indian History of Winneshiek County* [Iowa], [38-47; not paginated]; Leon C. Hills, *History and Legends of Place Names in Iowa . . .* (Omaha, 1937), 64; Hughes, *Indian Chiefs of Southern Minnesota,* 117-24.

1140. Kappler, II: 293, 693. The first named may be the father.

1141. Hexom, *Indian History of Winneshiek County,* [38]. Others have held the name to be Winnebago for "stinking" and Algonquian for "muddy." Kuhm, "Indian Place-Names in Wisconsin," 143.

1142. Hughes, *Indian Chiefs of Southern Minnesota,* 117-24.

1143. *Ibid.;* Hexom, *Indian History of Winneshiek County,* [38].

1144. J. Seymour Currey, "Chicago's North Shore," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society,* XIII (1908): 105.

1145. Scheidenhelm, "Early History of Skokie Valley," 527; Goodspeed and Healy, *Cook County,* II: 262; the latter source says the town was laid out in 1854.

has surely been altered for euphony.[1146] See also WYANET.

WOLF POINT (*Chicago, Cook Co.*)

This name was given to the land at the forks of the Chicago River, where north and south branches form the main river. It was applied more properly to the point of land on the northeast side of the forks, just west of the present Merchandise Mart, where a little creek made a peninsula. Here stood Miller's tavern and store in 1828. On the west side, also sometimes called Wolf Point, stood the Wolf Tavern of James Kinzie, later rented to Elijah Wentworth, Here also were the cabins of Alexander Robinson and Claude La Framboise and Chicago's first schoolhouse.[1147]

Some have claimed that this place was named for the wolves which once roamed here,[1148] but Juliette Kinzie, who was a guest at the Wentworth tavern in 1831, said that the place was "called *Wolf Point,* from its having been the residence of an Indian named '*Moaway,*' or 'the Wolf.' "[1149] A Potawatomi Indian named *Mo-ah-way* received a quarter section of land on Aux Sable Creek in the Treaty of Prairie du Chien in 1829, and $200 in the Chicago Treaty of September 26, 1833. The name appears as *Mowa* in a treaty signed in Kansas, June 17, 1846.[1150]

WYANET (*township and village, Bureau Co.*)

Incorporated in 1869, Wyanet bears a name alleged to signify "beautiful" in Potawatomi.[1151] Cf. WINNETKA, above, and note 1122.

WYOMING (*city, Stark Co.; township, Lee Co.*)

The township was named by the county commissioner's court, May

1146. *Wê'wanùk,* "beautiful – (*i.e.,* fine looking)," and *ku,* "land," Gailland, "English-Potawatomi Dictionary," 28, 181; *Winne,* "beautiful," *auke,* "place" (New England Algonquian), Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes,* V: 222-23; *Wunohke,* "good land," Trumbull, *Natick Dictionary,* 285; *Wynachkee,* N. Y. (variants: *Wynogkee, Winnakee*), Mahican, "good land," Ruttenber, "Indian Names in the Valley of Hudson's River," 44; *Wunneotan,* "good town," Tooker, *Indian Place-Names on Long Island,* 302; *Wa-wanis-see* (Sauk-Fox), "beauty," Forsyth, in Blair, ed., *Indian Tribes,* II: 242. Cognates of Winnetka might be *Weyanoke,* W. Va., *Waunakee,* Wis., and *Waynoka,* Okla., though different explanations have been given for the first two.

1147. Harry Hansen, *The Chicago* (New York, 1942), 226-27; Jensen, *Historic Chicago Sites,* 81-85; Leonard Dubkin, *Wolf Point . . .* (New York, 1953).

1148. Andreas, *History of Chicago,* I: 629-32, citing Gurdon S. Hubbard.

1149. *Wau-Bun* (1901 ed.), 143.

1150. Kappler, II: 298, 405, 560.

1151. Gannett, *Origin of Place Names* (1905 ed.), 331; Barge and Caldwell, "Illinois Place Names," 303.

14, 1851, at the suggestion of James Goble, "in deference to the wishes of the many who came from the beautiful valley of Wyoming."[1152] The "beautiful valley" mentioned is not in the West but in Pennsylvania. The city of Wyoming, Illinois, which appears on maps as early as 1846, though it was incorporated in 1865, must be named for the same place, for the Territory of Wyoming was not organized and named until 1869.

All places named Wyoming, including the state, receive their names from a valley along the Susquehanna River near Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, formerly occupied by the Delaware Indians. The name, today borne by a county and a town in Luzerne County, Pennsylvania, was popularized by the poet Thomas Campbell in his *Gertrude of Wyoming: A Pennsylvanian Tale, and Other Poems,*[1153] an imaginary story based on scenes and incidents from the massacre of settlers at that place on July 3, 1778, by a party of British soldiers, Tories, and Iroquois Indians. Wyoming was also the name of a village in that vicinity occupied first by Shawnee and Mahican, and later by Delaware Indians under chief Tedyuskung.[1154]

According to Heckewelder, the name Wyoming came from the Delaware *M'cheuomi,* or *M'cheuwamí,* meaning "extensive flats." *M'cheuweamisipu,* meaning "river of the extensive flats," was the Delaware name for the north branch of the Susquehanna River.[1155] Gerard gives early forms of the name as Chiwaumuc, Wiawamic, Wayomic, and Waiomink, corrupted from *M'chewomink,* "upon the great plain."[1156] The present beautiful name of Wyoming appears in the journal of Christian Frederick Post, July 28, 1758.[1157] Other definitions given are "mountains with valleys alternating,"[1158] "the place of green flats," [1159] and "large prairie place."[1160]

Wysox *(township, Carroll Co.)*

Named for a town in Bradford County, Pennsylvania, located on a

1152. Hill, pub., *Lee County,* 640.

1153. (London, 1809). First line: "On Susquehana's side, fair Wyoming." On the Wyoming massacre, see Carl Carmer, *The Susquehanna* (New York, 1955), Chap. X.

1154. G. P. Donehoo in Hodge, II: 978.

1155. *Narrative of the Mission of the United Brethren,* 559.

1156. Hodge, II: 978. Cf. *Wajomik,* in "David Zeisberger's History of the Northern American Indians," *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly,* XIX (Jan.-April, 1910): 110.

1157. Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels,* I: 189.

1158. Lawrence, "State Names," 133.

1159. Sipe, *Wars of Pennsylvania,* 15.

1160. Harrington, *Our State Names,* 387.

tributary of the Susquehanna. Once called Wysockton, sometimes written Wes-sau-ken, the Pennsylvania name is derived from that of an Indian band, probably of the Munsee band of Delawares, which resided in the locality.[1161] According to Heckewelder, *Wysox* or *Wysaukin* was corrupted from *Wisachgimi,* signifying "the place of grapes."[1162]

YELLOW HEAD (*township, Kankakee Co.*)

Named for a local Potawatomi chief, brother-in-law of Sauganash[1163] (*q.v.*), who had a village at Yellow Head Point, near the present village of Grant Park, six miles north of Momence.[1164] This may be the "Ozanotap (*Yellow-head*)" mentioned by Keating in 1823, as a thrice-wed man who became a chief upon the death of his brother.[1165] According to fur trader Gurdon S. Hubbard, Yellow Head, while drunk, attempted to kill him in 1827, and looted his trading post on Iroquois River. The chief was later killed in a brawl.[1166]

By some, Yellow Head's Indian name has been given, inexplicably, as Minemaung or Minnemung, called a dialectical variation of the Algonquian word for "catfish," though Beckwith believed it signified "Yellowhead."[1167] The Treaty of Tippecanoe, October 20, 1832, awarded "for Min-e-maung, one section, to include his village." The name appears as "Mix-e-maung" in the Chicago Treaty of September 26, 1833.[1168]

1161. Haines, *The American Indian,* 804; Hodge, II: 980; Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes,* V: 670.

1162. *Narrative of the Mission of the United Brethren,* 559. He gave the following related terms: *Wi-sach-gan* – "bitter, pungent," *Wi-sach-gim* – "grapes," *Wi-sach-gi-min-schi* – "grape wine," and *Wisach-gank* – "rum." Cf. *Wisachgim* – "wild grapes," Brinton and Anthony, eds., *Lenâpé-English Dictionary,* 162. See also Espenshade, *Pennsylvania Place Names,* 289; Sipe, *Wars of Pennsylvania,* 15.

1163. Hubbard to Draper, Feb. 16, 1883, "Tecumseh Manuscripts," Vol. IX, Doc. 65. His father-in-law was Nee-scot-nee-meg, a chief living near St. Joseph, Mich. Kinzie, *Wau-Bun* (1901 ed.), 148.

1164. *Ibid.*; Beckwith, *Iroquois County,* Pt. 1, pp. 146-47; Hodge, I: 864. Stephen R. Moore said he lived at Rock Village, near Bourbonnais Grove. "Noel Le Vasseur," 48.

1165. *Narrative* (1825 ed.), I: 112.

1166. *The Autobiography of Gurdon Saltonstall Hubbard . . .* (Chicago, 1911), 160 ff.

1167. Treaty of 1832, *infra;* Beckwith, *Iroquois County,* Pt. 1, p. 146, and *Illinois and Indiana Indians,* 175-76. Cf. *Ozawundib,* "Yellow Head," Chippewa Indian guide to Schoolcraft in 1832. *Indian Tribes,* I: 145.

1168. Kappler, II: 353, 404.

ZUMA (*creek, township, Rock Island Co.*)

Though evidence is lacking, this appears to be taken from the Ibericized name of the Aztec chief, or "emperor," *Montezuma* (*q.v.*).

Errata and Addenda

CHENOA: It was the Kentucky town of this name, not the Illinois town, that is said to have been named for W. A. Chenoa.

C. Merle Parry, a resident of Chenoa, has informed us that the village was named "Chenowa" by its founder, Matthew T. Scott, in 1856, to recall the "Indian name" of his native state of Kentucky. This has been verified by correspondence with Scott's daughter, Julia Scott Vrooman, of Bloomington, Illinois; see also *Chenoa Community Centennial . . .* (Chenoa, Ill., 1954), 13. Since Kentucky is itself an Indian name (supposedly Wyandot), Chenoa, if an Indian name for that territory, must be from a different language, probably Cherokee. The antiquity of the name and the spelling of its original form seem to preclude the supposed derivation from the name of "Mr. W. A. Chenoa."

NACHUSA: Lee County also has a Nachusa Township, and the city of Dixon a Nachusa Avenue.

OREGON: Jonathan Carver himself was not, as stated earlier, explicit about the source of his information on the Oregon River, although some later writers said he got it from the Sioux. The word is probably from the Cree, an Algonquian language. Baraga, *Otchipwe Dictionary,* I: 300, says that Oregon is from a Cree word for wooden plate or vase. Fairly conclusive evidence of Algonquian origin for the name is to be found in Vernon F. Snow's "From Ouragan to Oregon," *Oregon Historical Quarterly,* LX (Dec., 1959): 439-45.

Book Reviews

PRELUDE TO GREATNESS: LINCOLN IN THE 1850's
By Don E. Fehrenbacher. (Stanford University Press: Stanford, Calif., 1962. Pp. xiii, 205; notes and index. $4.75.)

Few present-day Americans would disagree with the proposition that the rise of Abraham Lincoln to national prominence in the 1850's and finally to a position of almost crushing responsibility in March, 1861, is a theme without parallel in our history. Professor Don Fehrenbacher sets the stage in the preface of *Prelude to Greatness* when he poses the question, "How did Lincoln, with his undistinguished political record, establish himself as a major contender for the presidential nomination by the spring of 1860?" The answer to this and other questions is what the volume under review is all about!

It is refreshing to discover once again that a book does not have to be ponderous to be significant. Here the author has produced a thoroughly researched, highly lucid, and genuinely interpretive volume in seven chapters and 205 pages counting notes and index. While it is true that several chapters and portions of chapters in substantially their present form have appeared elsewhere in print, one does not have the feeling that the volume is in any way forced or contrived. Fehrenbacher's purpose is clear from the outset, the material covered by the several chapters follows a logical and (for the most part) chronological sequence, the transitions are smoothly made, and the net result is a reader's delight. Whether one is a Lincoln "fan" or a serious scholar of the man and his times, it is hard to believe that he could examine these pages without reaping a generous combination of enjoyment, enlightenment, and stimulation.

The book bears no resemblance to a standard biographical account of Lincoln's life in the 1850's. Instead, it focuses upon certain questions or problems which have arisen in connection with the pre-presidential phase of his career. Taking full advantage of the rich mass of documentary and monographic material over which he exhibits a remarkable mastery, Fehrenbacher has added quantitatively to our knowledge, but more especially to our understanding, of this exciting and fateful period in American history. Among the questions investigated with great care are such highly controversial issues as: Lincoln's role in the formation of the Republican Party in Illinois; his strategy in winning the Republican senatorial nomination in 1858

and particularly the purpose (and wisdom) behind the "House Divided" speech; the true relationship of the "Freeport Question" to the entire series of debates; and the nature of the success-producing formula which characterized Lincoln's determined drive for the Republican presidential nomination in the spring of 1860. The only caveat that I could lodge at this point would be to suggest that the author "doth protest too much, methinks!" In other words, it is hard to escape the feeling now and then that Fehrenbacher takes some of the "hoary myths" (which he so successfully demolishes) much too seriously.

It would not be fair to try to summarize such a sparkling volume in a sentence or two, but perhaps a few examples of the author's "felicity of expression" will serve to whet the reader's appetite for more. Commenting on the tendency to draw certain unwarranted conclusions from the great debates of 1858, Fehrenbacher remarks: "Historiography thus inverts history and makes yesterday the determinant of the day before" (page 96). Again in an early enumeration of some of the advantages that accrued to Lincoln because of his residence in a pivotal state (Illinois) at a crucial time, we are offered the startling observation that the most important of these advantages was "the dominant influence of Stephen A. Douglas in the politics of the 1850's" (page 17). Typical of the balanced judgments which appear throughout the book is the author's conviction that "the sudden rise of Lincoln to national leadership will never be stripped of all its mystery, but when studied against the background of the preceding decade, it ceases to appear miraculous" (page 2).

With all of its appeal for those who tend to view American history through the twin lenses of Lincoln and the Civil War, *Prelude to Greatness* is, in the judgment of this reviewer, one of the finest contributions to Illinois history to appear in a long, long time.

Robert M. Sutton
University of Illinois

LINCOLN: A CONTEMPORARY PORTRAIT
Edited by Allan Nevins and Irving Stone. (Doubleday & Co., Inc.: Garden City, N.Y., 1962. Pp. 226. $4.50.)

This collection of essays or "portraits" resulted, according to biographer Irving Stone, from the desire of a group of Lincoln enthusiasts living in Southern California, "to do something to celebrate the Lincoln Sesquicentennial." What the group hopes this volume achieves, continues Stone, is a "group portrait" of the Sixteenth President.

The result is twelve different

portraits by noted authors ranging from historian Nevins to poetess Marianne Moore and radio and Broadway writer Norman Corwin to old Lincoln hand Jay Monaghan. This reviewer enjoyed some of the essays more than others — a natural reaction to collections of this type. "Old Pro" Nevins did his usual scholarly job on the opening portrait, "Lincoln's Ideas of Democracy." Very interesting were the character sketches of Henry W. Halleck (William E. Marsh) and Thad Stevens (Fawn Brodie). David Miller's description of the Sioux outbreak in Minnesota was even blood-curdling.

This reviewer does have critical comment to make on two of the essays. He cannot agree with Harold Hyman's sympathetic portrait of Edwin M. Stanton. The Secretary of War was an honest man, true, but he was also compounded of equal parts of devil and fanatic. Hyman conveniently neglects to mention Stanton henchmen like Lafayette Baker or the Secretary's conduct under Andrew Johnson. In the final essay, Andrew Rolle discusses the "biographical Lincoln." One suspects that he leaned heavily on Ben Thomas, but who doesn't? The reviewer, an old Randall student, was most surprised to learn that Richard Current was a student of the great Lincoln scholar. While those of us who were fortunate enough to study under Dr. Randall would certainly welcome Professor Current, he succeeded Dr. Randall at Illinois but did not study under him.

This is a most worthwhile and readable volume and should be of interest to both professional and general readers.

L. M. Hamand
Eastern Illinois University

LINCOLN AND THE NEGRO
By Benjamin Quarles. (Oxford University Press: New York, 1962. Pp. 275, $6.50.)

September 22, 1962, marked the opening period of celebration for "100 years of freedom." Probably no greater tribute can be paid Abraham Lincoln's memory than this new assessment — this new evaluation of the Negro attitude toward the "Great Emancipator."

Benjamin Quarles, professor of history at Morgan State College, Baltimore, has written a most interesting and informative book. Historically sound and well-documented, *Lincoln and the Negro* can be read with the same interest and ease one would read a serious novel.

The story begins with Charlotte Scott's idea for a Lincoln memorial, which later developed into the famous Thomas Ball piece, "Emancipation." Step by step, the

author traces Lincoln's thoughts and attitudes from his first contacts with slavery, clearing away some myths and setting the record right. Emphasis is placed on his seeming hesitancy to consider the problem of slavery in its proper light. Through Lincoln's own writings (and those of his associates) the slow swing away from gradual compensated emancipation to full citizenship unfolds.

Frederick Douglass, J. Sella Martin, Henry Highland Garnet, William Fleurville, and Elizabeth Keckley are just a few of the prominent Negroes who played a part during this eventful period in history and who appear in this valuable book.

Considerable misunderstanding exists today regarding the actual text of the Emancipation Proclamation and its purpose. The fight to bring universal freedom to all slaves and the part played by the Negro fighting man is ably covered in Quarles's informative history.

Just thirty years ago, *Set My People Free: A Negro's Life of Lincoln* was published. Written by William E. Lilly, a Chicago Negro lawyer, this was the first Lincoln biography ever written by a Negro. The language is flowery and sermonizing in style. In contrast, Quarles devotes his book to "Lincoln and the Negro," while Lilly covered Lincoln's life in a more general manner as reflected in his political career.

Sylvestre C. Watkins, Sr.
Chicago

THE STATE-SUPPORTED UNIVERSITY
By Lloyd Morey, with a foreword by Charles D. Tenney. (Southern Illinois University Press: Carbondale, 1961. Pp. 112. $2.75.)

WHAT PRIORITY FOR EDUCATION: THE AMERICAN PEOPLE MUST SOON DECIDE
By David Dodds Henry. (University of Illinois Press: Urbana, 1961. Pp. 92. $2.50.)

These two books are excellent examples of publications of current interest that are coming from the University of Illinois and Southern Illinois University presses. They are also, as it happens, the handiwork of the immediate past president and the current president, respectively, of the University of Illinois.

Dr. Morey, class of 1911 at Urbana, was for many years comptroller of the university before he became president in 1953. After the resignation in 1956 of Orville E. Hodge as state auditor, Dr. Morey took over that position by appointment of Governor Stratton in the emergency situation. Then in 1957-1958 he served as Distinguished Visiting Professor at Carbondale, where he de-

livered a series of lectures that were the basis of his book *The State-Supported University.*

In his foreword, Dr. Charles D. Tenney of the S.I.U. administration commends the "ripe and mellow" Morey views "for their statesman-like breadth, tolerance and wisdom." Dr. Morey is an intense believer in public education, but he is also a strong advocate of doing all that can be done at the local and regional levels. For example, in suggesting alternatives to the federal plan for expanding scientific education, he proposes: "Re-examine high school programs and methods and readjust where necessary so that, without neglecting science and mathematics, all students, whatever else they get, receive a good foundation in the essentials for a broad education."

Dr. Henry, who was executive vice-chancellor at New York University and president of Wayne State University, Detroit, prior to coming to Illinois, appreciates what the American people are doing for education but says simply and frankly that it is not nearly enough to meet the needs. He points out that while the sums being spent are large, they are not relatively so large as they sound. Thus, he shows that the percentage of the national income spent on schools has declined steadily over the last ten years, even though the population has grown greatly and demands on education have vastly expanded.

His general view of the problem can be told from his concluding note: "A national program for strengthening higher education remained to be conceived, let alone written; and the state, local, and private constituencies of our several institutions are only beginning to understand what must be done. Recreation and luxuries command an increasing share of our resources as we try to decide how much to pay our teachers and how to put an educational roof over our heads."

Drs. Henry and Morey do not always see eye-to-eye on policy, but where they differ they demonstrate the democratic process in action from whose give-and-take our system derives its great strength.

Irving Dilliard
Collinsville

AMERICAN INFIDEL: ROBERT G. INGERSOLL
By Orvin Larson. (Citadel Press: New York, N. Y., 1962. Pp. 316. $5.95.)

Professor Orvin Larson's biography *American Infidel: Robert G. Ingersoll* is probably going to get some unfavorable reviews. This is not one of them, and I lament the minor lapses of publisher, publicist, and proofreader that are bound to bring at least a light pat-

ter of unhappy qualifiers on what is essentially a fine book.

The reviewer for *Newsweek* (May 28, 1962) called *American Infidel* "a book of dash and substance." And such a judgment will be readily accepted by the general reader. The biography reads with the easy sweep of a popular novel, and the author handles a multitude of facts with the ease and unobtrusive certainty of a Don Kingery writing for *True Magazine.* Although academic scholars do not demand dullness as the price for soundness, there is still a general suspicion of the "popular"; and he who would please the general public without offending the scholarly critic must pay close attention to the details.

American Infidel, unfortunately, is a rich game preserve for the "carping critic" and the comma counter. On page 40, for example, the date *1958* is given when *1858* is intended. On page 27, "*God* so loved the world . . . " is corrupted to "*Go* so loved the world . . . ," an error that must have caused Professor Larson, chairman of the theater department at Brooklyn College, particular pain in this age of Samuel Beckett's *Waiting for Godot.* Although these lapses — and there are far too many in this book — are of no real importance, they are annoying.

More annoying than any proofreader's errors, however, are the claims of the publisher and publicists for the book. *American Infidel,* it is proclaimed on the jacket, is "the definitive biography of the man who more than any other figure in the history of the United States influenced the course of popular thought in the realm of unorthodoxy." It is not, and perhaps no book of this size can be, "the definitive biography" of Ingersoll. Neither Larson's accomplishment nor Ingersoll's career needs the kind of exaggeration here evidenced, and certainly Professor Larson's modest, sane style does not suggest it.

Professor Larson is primarily concerned with Ingersoll as a public speaker. *American Infidel* had its beginnings in Larson's doctoral dissertation, "Robert G. Ingersoll's Anti-Religious Lectures." The biography is more than an examination of an oratorical style, but it is from the point of view of a professional speech teacher that entry is made. Ingersoll at the height of his career made close to a quarter of a million dollars a year from his lectures; certainly anyone even remotely interested in nineteenth-century American culture, oratory, or money-making must be impressed by that fact and seek to understand the culture and the man that made such an accomplishment possible.

American Infidel does give us an understanding of Ingersoll the orator, and Professor Larson brings to the book a great deal

of scholarly detail and sympathy. The book will not only find a place on the shelf of anyone interested in American culture; it will be read with enjoyment before it is placed there.

Paul T. Nolan
The University of Southwestern Louisiana

PRESIDENT JAMES BUCHANAN: A BIOGRAPHY

By Philip S. Klein. (Pennsylvania State University Press: University Park, 1962. Pp. xviii, 506. $7.50.)

Any new publication dealing with the significant pre-Civil War years will attract attention during this centennial period. A book about President James Buchanan by a recognized historian will receive careful reading, not only by members of the historical profession but by all who try to understand these complex times. When many authors seek to capitalize on this interest, readers can only express thanks to those commercial and university presses who publish serious research by qualified writers. Philip S. Klein is a professor of history at Pennsylvania State University whose many studies in early Pennsylvania history and politics prepared him for his task. He draws heavily upon these earlier research activities, especially *The Story of Wheatland* (1936) and *Pennsylvania Politics, 1817-1832: A Game without Rules* (1940). He describes his new book as not exhaustive but concise.

The author's preface is deserving of study both before and after reading the book. Klein steps bravely into the quicksand of conflicting interpretations regarding James Buchanan by stating that as President he endeavored to play the role of peacemaker and for his efforts received both Northern and Southern criticisms. The author poses questions: "Why was Buchanan's peace policy unproductive? To what degree was its failure attributable to the Chief Executive, or to the people who chose him or to the existing form of government?" The reader is left with the responsibility of answering these questions inasmuch as Klein chooses not to exalt or condemn but to present the material largely from the point of view of the President. Nevertheless, Klein states that the image of James Buchanan before the Civil War in the minds of his contemporaries was very different from that of the post-Civil War writers. He declares that this biography presents the earlier picture and that his documentation is largely from the manuscripts and newspapers of the pre-Civil War period. Emphasis is placed upon the first forty years of Buchanan's public career as a basis for understanding the presidential

leadership. The presidential years are condensed because of recent treatment by scholars, notably Roy Nichols in *Disruption of American Democracy*. Klein acknowledges his indebtedness to P. G. Auchampaugh, who was among the first of the more recent writers to undertake a reappraisal of James Buchanan. These introductory statements as well as the favorable treatment of the Buchanan position will place Klein close to the revisionist point of view.

Readers will be delighted with the descriptions of Pennsylvania in Chapter One, but they may wish for a map. Buchanan's early education, study of the law, and membership in the state legislature prepared him for later responsibility as a United States senator. He had made his way from Federalism to the Family Party to Jacksonian Democracy by the 1840's. Klein calls attention repeatedly to his "Statesmanship of the Long View" and presents his subject as always alert to constitutional and legal problems. This approach enabled Buchanan to accept the petition but not the prayer in the petition controversy over slavery. He treated the extension of slavery as a constitutional rather than a moral question. As secretary of state during the administration of James K. Polk he dealt with the Mexican War and problems of the Caribbean area. Possibly his greatest contributions are in the field of foreign affairs, where he was trained as our representative to Russia and as chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs in the Senate. Buchanan was no stranger to the patronage struggles in Pennsylvania and his knowledge of the New York situation was also to his advantage. Students of the election of 1860 will profit from the able presentation of these local situations involving J. W. Forney and the rise of men like Simon Cameron.

After the Whig victory in 1848, James Buchanan retired momentarily from public life to his home at Wheatland. His friends urged him to seek the Democratic nomination in 1852, but he was disappointed as in 1844 and 1848. President Pierce prevailed upon him to accept a diplomatic appointment to London. Upon his return his acceptance of the presidential nomination from his party in 1856 came almost as an anticlimax to his long career of public service. Possibly it was the capstone to an already distinguished career.

Few would argue against the contention that James Buchanan has received some unjust criticism for his efforts to maintain a united Democratic Party during his presidency. The record has probably been distorted in many instances. New manuscript materials have served to correct some of these impressions. That Buchanan would have been a "great President"

in other times may remain open to question despite these adjustments. This reviewer finds it difficult to overlook the complete lack of first-hand knowledge on the part of this President regarding the stirring economic development and the deep-seated attitudes toward the expansion of slavery and the power of Congress over the territories present in the states of the Old Northwest. These were the forces that produced the positions adhered to by Stephen Douglas and Abraham Lincoln. Had the Philadelphia-Lancaster, New York, Washington, European orbit of James Buchanan not been so circumscribed, possibly he would have brought more than legalism and constitutionalism to a period of history so fraught with the complex entanglements of emotionalism, expansion, and economic growth in the western states.

Professor Klein has presented a much more understandable account of the Buchanan leadership than has been available for some years. His presentation of the Lecompton struggle, the English compromise, and the tense days from the election of 1860 to Lincoln's inauguration will be of interest to both Douglas and Lincoln scholars. Illinois readers will find the book informative and challenging. If they do not accept all of the findings, they will probably agree that more attention must be paid to detailed studies of state history if our national history is to gain depth and accuracy.

HELEN M. CAVANAGH
Illinois State Normal University

HALLECK: LINCOLN'S CHIEF OF STAFF

By Stephen E. Ambrose. (Louisiana State University Press: Baton Rouge, 1962. Pp. 226. $5.00.)

In the Civil War study of most persons, Major General Henry Wager Halleck comes on the scene as commander at St. Louis and then fades into the background — after he has taken over from General Ulysses S. Grant at Shiloh.

But Halleck was in the war all the way. After Corinth he was in Washington as general-in-chief and coordinator of military operations. When Grant was raised to lieutenant general after Chattanooga and became general-in-chief, Halleck became chief of staff and continued functioning about the same as he had been, though with Grant as his superior.

The value of this book is that it brings into perspective "Old Brains" Halleck's entire Civil War career, from his authorship of *Elements of Military Art and Science*, based on Jominian principles, to his participation in "total war" as practiced by Generals

Grant and William T. Sherman.

At times author Stephen Ambrose seems to be a partisan of Halleck's, and an overgenerous one at that. For instance, Halleck is given more credit in the victories at Fort Donelson and Vicksburg than most Civil War fans would be willing to accord him.

Most satisfying is Ambrose's account of Halleck's operations in Washington — his relationships with President Lincoln, War Secretary Stanton, and with the generals; his efforts to keep the latter supplied with men and materials; and his efforts to keep the army in good fighting shape, and strategy in good order. Also, Ambrose's account of Halleck's march from Shiloh to Corinth puts a better light on the one campaign of "Old Brains" in the field.

Halleck's job in Washington was an almost thankless task. He was in the middle all the time — with Lincoln, Stanton, and the politicians on one side and the generals on the other. Grant did give him limited praise. Sherman at times gave him glowing praise but turned on him in a clash over orders at the time of General Joseph E. Johnston's surrender. But Sherman in his memoirs again gave Halleck due credit. Halleck faded fast at the close of the war. With Lincoln dead, Stanton shifted Halleck from post to post and he died in 1872 almost in obscurity.

Ambrose canvassed much material for his story and has a thoroughly documented book. It is a fine addition to Civil War biographies. Ambrose is a native of Lovington, Illinois. He studied and taught at the University of Wisconsin under historian William B. Hesseltine. He took his doctoral work under T. Harry Williams at Louisiana State University and has been teaching in the university's New Orleans branch.

GILBERT G. TWISS
Chicago

LADIES OF RICHMOND, CONFEDERATE CAPITAL
By Katherine M. Jones. With introduction by Clifford Dowdey. (Bobbs-Merrill: Indianapolis, 1962. Pp. 365. $6.00.)

"We begin to feel we are to be scattered like chaff before the wind, and we go to meet our fate in our best bonnets and with smiling faces." So wrote Margaret Sumner McLean, wife of a Maryland-born army captain, in December, 1860, adding, "If we must secede, let us do so becomingly." And they did, the ladies of Richmond, from whose letters, diaries, and memoirs this account has been compiled.

The women who spent the Civil War in the Confederate capital were unique in American history. Only they witnessed and recorded the birth and death of a nation.

Only they and their menfolk knew defeat and conquest. In this volume the events and emotions of four terrible years are vividly recounted.

The book opens late in 1860, a time of terrible uncertainty. Would the southern states secede? When Mississippi left the Union, "the tall, handsome, and belligerent Mississippi women [were] in ecstasies and the children . . . [made] a Fourth of July of it with fire crackers." But not all were so festive. When Mrs. Jefferson Davis left Washington, she felt, by her own account, "exceeding sorrowful." Mrs. Joseph Johnston was described as being "in low spirits. She feels the parting from old friends and . . . does not look on the future with a very bright eye, though she is too politic to say so."

But once in Richmond the southern ladies quickly set about mending their shattered lives. Social life was so gay that one foreign diplomat compared the Confederate capital favorably with Paris. But then came the summer of 1862, the Seven Days battles, and twenty thousand Confederate casualties. The Richmond ladies responded magnificently. They thronged the hospitals and tended the wounded, at times so zealously that one soldier — when asked by a young lady if she might wash his face — replied wearily, "Well, lady, you may if you want to. It has been washed fourteen times this morning! It can stand another time, I reckon."

Nursing had its grimmer side, too. Eliza Smith made the long journey from Charleston to Richmond to nurse her dying son. But Miss Emily Mason once had the joy of taking a body consigned by the surgeon to the death house and patiently restoring him to life. "At last all the bandages were removed . . . and our 'dead man' came forth a handsome youth of 18 or 19, graceful and elegant."

The war dragged on, and as the Northern blockade became more effective, life in Richmond grew increasingly difficult. Those of us who complain about the inflation of recent years might ponder the prices paid by Confederate women for what little food they could get: $15 for one and one-half pounds of sugar; $12 for one pound of butter; $5 for two pounds of rice; and $2 for one quart of wheat "to make coffee of." As Emma Mordecai noted after purchasing these items, "This may in some future day be read with amazement."

And while today's husbands may bemoan their wives' extravagance in clothes, pity the poor Confederate who saw calico, which sold prewar at 12½ cents a yard, priced at $30-$35 a yard! Ladies' shoes were $200-$250 a pair; kid gloves were $125-$175 a pair; and ladies' hats varied from $600 to $1,500.

Living quarters were, to put it

mildly, crowded. One refugee wrote of sharing a room in Richmond with her mother and sister, a ton of coal, a pile of wood, bags of peas, rice, and potatoes, and miscellaneous kitchen utensils (they cooked in their room's fireplace). A visiting colonel once remarked to her, " 'I confidently expect to come here some day and find a pig tied to the leg of the bed, and a brood or two of poultry utilizing waste space.' He wasn't so far out of the way [continued the lady] for we *did* get hold of a lean chicken once. . . . We tied it to the foot of the bed and tried to fatten it with boiled peas. . . . [Yet] somehow, we laughed and sang and played on the piano — and never believed in actual defeat and subjugation."

But sheer good spirits and determination could not win the war. One dreadful day the ladies of Richmond saw enemy troops take possession of their city. Once again life had to begin all over again.

Those who wish to know war as it is experienced on the home front should read this book. Katherine M. Jones has arranged her material, some not previously published, to present a fascinating account of life in the beleaguered Confederacy. What emerges is a picture of some gallant women who, though they were conquered, did not admit defeat.

PHYLLIS E. CONNOLLY
Stamford, Connecticut

DIARY OF A UNION LADY, 1861-1865

By Harold E. Hammond. (Funk and Wagnalls Co.: New York, 1962. Pp. xlvii, 396. $6.00.)

Mrs. Maria Lydig Daly, wife of Judge Charles P. Daly of the Court of Common Pleas in New York City, was adamant in support of the Union during the Civil War, but she was also an unbending Democrat. As a society hostess, she favored the Democratic leaders and generals who frequently visited her home on West Eighth Street. Rarely did she have a good word for any Republican, and when describing Abraham Lincoln, she dipped her pen into rennet instead of ink. Her kindest remark about the President was that "Lincoln, though a man of little practical ability, seems to be straightforward and honest" (page 23). And when she learned that the Chief Executive had been assassinated, Mrs. Daly wrote: "It will make a martyr of Abraham Lincoln, whose death will make all the shortcomings of his life and Presidential career forgotten" (page 354).

Yet this wife of a politician thought that Lincoln was about to appoint her husband to an important post! If Lincoln had lived,

Daly might have received an office; the Emancipator was most generous with his severest critics — especially Democrats. Nor did Mrs. Daly ever recognize the greatness of Lincoln, the keenness of his mind, and his fairness. She ranted about his "vanity and self-sufficiency" (page 355), thus proving that she never knew Lincoln personally. Much of her diary is devoted to gossip, and her stories concerning Mary Lincoln are easy to disprove. Thus, the reader wonders about the validity of her other "observations." Nevertheless, the diary is important in showing how a Northern Democrat expressed personal views of the Civil War. Important local history is also recorded here. Entries cover the period from January 31, 1861, to December 30, 1865. The remainder of the journal is not reproduced.

Dr. Harold Earl Hammond, the editor, is professor of history and an associate dean at University College in New York University. He earned a Ph.D. degree from Columbia University in 1951 and wrote a biography of the diarist's husband: *A Commoner's Judge: The Life and Times of Charles Patrick Daly* (1954).

Diary of a Union Lady has a foreword by Allan Nevins, brief sketches of the various people mentioned in the diary, footnotes, and an adequate index. It is a scholarly volume.

Wayne C. Temple
Lincoln Memorial University

JOSEPH KIRKLAND

By Clyde E. Henson. (Twayne Publishers, Inc.: New York, 1962. Pp. 160. $3.50.)

When he was a Chicago lawyer in his middle fifties, Joseph Kirkland finally found time to begin work on the novel which he had been itching to try for years. Published in 1887, *Zury, the Meanest Man in Spring County* turned out to be a vivid portrait of an uncouth, hard-dealing downstate farmer, and a rich record of rural Illinois manners and colloquialisms in the generation prior to the Civil War. It was reprinted in 1956 by the University of Illinois Press.

As a piece of literary art the novel is as crude as its hero, but compared to the sentimental, genteel Victorian fiction of its day, *Zury* was so honest and strong a book that it has earned Kirkland a respected niche as an early American realist. It is this which has justified the present study of him by a professor of English at Michigan State University.

Joseph Kirkland's varied career makes his life more interesting, especially to Illinoisans, than that of many a more illustrious man.

Born in 1830, the son of a college professor and a brilliant woman of letters, Kirkland grew up in literary New York and frontier Michigan, and was successively a seaman, publisher's assistant, immigrant to Illinois (in 1855, when he was twenty-five), traveling auditor for the Illinois Central, coal mine operator at Tilton, near Danville (where he had some acquaintance with Lincoln), and in 1861 a volunteer private who was to rise to the rank of major in two years.

By 1868 Kirkland had married and settled in Chicago as a coal merchant. After the Fire destroyed his business and home in 1871, he entered the Internal Revenue Department as a researcher into the Whisky Ring Scandals, and began to study law on the side. The Panic of 1873 led to his bankruptcy in 1877, but in 1880, at the age of fifty, the resilient Kirkland passed his bar exams and began a successful career as a tax lawyer.

As such he gradually gained the leisure to pursue his literary bent. Sometimes called Chicago's earliest professional literary man, Major Kirkland, versatile to the end, was variously a book reviewer, playwright, magazine contributor, literary editor of the *Tribune,* and author of six books — three novels about Illinois life and three histories of Chicago.

The present study of Kirkland as an author does not attempt to be a detailed critical biography. It might, however, have been more reliable than it is. Aside from many typographical errors and a certain absent-mindedness here and there, it is marred by errors of fact — such as in its misspelling of characters' names, its misdating of Kirkland's death, and in its inaccurate bibliography. Though it well documents Kirkland's war and law careers, the book makes little use of other students' discoveries about the man and does not help itself to much of the human interest in Kirkland's private letters at the Newberry Library. It makes no attempt to evaluate him as a historian.

Despite these disappointments, *Joseph Kirkland* will be a useful addition to Illinois history and, to a lesser degree, to our knowledge of midwestern authorship in the 1870's and 1880's.

James B. Stronks
University of Illinois (Chicago)

A HISTORY OF INDIANA LITERATURE

By Arthur W. Shumaker. (*Indiana Historical Collections,* Vol. XLII. Indiana Historical Bureau: [Indianapolis], 1962. Pp. 611. $7.50.)

In his introduction to *A History of Indiana Literature* Arthur Shumaker says that he began with a list of 1,563 names of possible Hoosier creative writers and that he was able to cut down that list

to 142 by establishing 1939 as the closing date, by excluding "juveniles" and by excluding further if there was: "(1) an insufficient quantity of works published to justify inclusion; (2) inferior quality of works published; (3) insufficient residence in Indiana; (4) insufficient quantity of works obtainable; (5) insufficient quantity of works of the type included in this study [poetry, novel, humor, short story, essay, drama]; and (6) no creative works published during the period included in this study." The pity is that he did not weed further.

Of the authors whom he included, those of some major interest to students of American literature, rather than to Hoosier enthusiasts, would be James Whitcomb Riley, William Vaughn Moody, Edward Eggleston, Booth Tarkington, and George Ade, and these are of interest to students of American culture for their "phenomenal" qualities rather than for any abiding literary quality. A writer of real stature that Indiana has produced — Theodore Dreiser — is excluded "because of insufficient residence and Indiana influence in [his] works," although Dreiser lived in Indiana from his birth in 1871 until about 1887, surely formative years in the life of any man.

Shumaker says that from the first the people of Indiana have been highly prolific writers. This is true, as his statistics show. He also presents figures compiled in 1947 by John H. Moriarty, librarian at Purdue University, showing that "in the preceding fifty years books of Indiana authors sold better than the works of the writers of any other state save New York," Indiana having 213 best sellers and New York having 218. What were some of these best sellers? The writings of George Barr McCutcheon, Gene Stratton Porter, James Whitcomb Riley, and Booth Tarkington, and single books such as Lew Wallace's *Ben-Hur,* Maurice Thompson's *Alice of Old Vincennes,* and Charles Major's *When Knighthood Was in Flower.* Apparently Hoosiers of 1821 to 1870 were especially writers of verse; yet supposedly the greatest Indiana poets of the period were Alice and Phoebe Cary and Sarah T. Bolton. The greatest of the period 1871 to 1921 were James Whitcomb Riley and William Vaughn Moody. The author singles out Marguerite Young as the possible leader of the poets of 1921 to 1939.

The period 1871 to 1921 is called in this study "the Golden Age of Hoosier letters," and the form which dominates this period is the novel. Yet the "great" novelists of the period were Edward Eggleston and Booth Tarkington. Shumaker points out justly that humor — a cracker-barrel sort of humor — has always been a popular ingredient in Indiana literature; the major figures have

been George Ade and Kin Hubbard.

What can one say? Well, one can credit this tremendous production of mediocre material to the influence of the frontier and to the general bad taste of the age, always keeping in mind, however, that other parts of the country were producing Irving, Cooper, Poe, Hawthorne, Melville, Longfellow, Bryant, Emerson, Thoreau, Whitman, Mark Twain, Henry James, Stephen Crane, Edith Wharton, Willa Cather, Henry Adams, Edwin Arlington Robinson, Edgar Lee Masters, Robert Frost, Eugene O'Neill, Sinclair Lewis, Ernest Hemingway, F. Scott Fitzgerald, Katherine Anne Porter, William Faulkner — to name only a few. Certainly these came from a variety of states, yet they indicate that there was a taste superior in the country to the taste represented by the best Indiana writing.

My quarrel is not with Shumaker's detailed study. He has obviously spent hours of devoted research. His knowledge of minor Indiana writers is astounding. His energy and perseverance have been amazing. His tastes and judgments, within the 142 authors he discusses, are usually sound. His organization of the book is clear and helpful. He presents biographical facts, analysis and criticism of the work of each author, arranged by type and by chronology.

We must thank him for a study which so clearly reveals the taste of a nation which made some of these books best sellers between 1897 and 1947 and the taste of a state which produced them between 1821 and 1939; the book becomes, unintentionally, a sociological study. We must thank the author for providing a valuable source book on obscure Indiana writers; surely, if anyone wishes to obtain reliable information on any of these 142 writers, he will go first to Shumaker's careful study. We must thank him for a perceptive analysis in his introduction (pages 8-13) of why Hoosiers have been such prolific writers. He concludes this analysis: "Altogether, then, many subsidiary factors influenced the rise of a state literature: the melting pot of population; the development of articulateness; the lack of elementary education with its resulting impetus toward folklore, toward richness of language, and toward a hunger for knowledge as seen in the rise of libraries and literary societies; also, the emergence of a Hoosier character; the opportunities for publication; the popularity of eloquent oratory; the example of the East and a desire to express and defend their own individuality."

Shumaker's three periods of Indiana literature are from 1821 through the Civil War until 1870 (the most fascinating works of this period prove to be confession

literature and travel literature); from 1871 (the year of the publication of Eggleston's *Hoosier School-Master*) until 1921 (the year of the publication of Tarkington's *Alice Adams*); and from 1922 to 1939 (the beginning of World War II), a period which he calls the "afterglow" of Indiana literature. Let us hope that the period following 1939 will present more works of interest to what John Ciardi has called the vertical audience (readers from successive generations) rather than to the merely contemporary horizontal audience.

Lois Hartley
Boston College

AMERICA'S HISTORYLANDS: LANDMARKS OF LIBERTY
Edited by Merle Severy. (National Geographic Society: Washington, D. C., 1962. Pp. 576. $11.95.)

Beautiful, factual and descriptive, this book will amply reward many hours of reading and study. And, more important, in these days of easy travel, it fills one with an almost compelling urge to seek out and to actually stand before these landmarks, still filled with the spirit of our forefathers whose courage — physical and spiritual — made these places notable.

The initial chapter of *America's Historylands* is by poet and historian Carl Sandburg, who reflects on the character of the builders of America and what this land has meant to him. Other well-known writers have contributed sections on the Discoverers, the Colonizers, the Revolution, the Civil War, and the gradual but persistent pushing back of the frontier until, all land being occupied, we now confront the new frontier: Space. From Christopher Columbus to Cape Canaveral the reader sees and feels American history with his ancestors and his contemporaries.

As would be expected in a book published by the National Geographic Society, the illustrations are handsome. All told, there are 676, more than 450 of them in color, mostly of historic sites as they now appear. Some pictures are reproductions of old engravings; some are of paintings by, among others, Winslow Homer, Frederic Remington, and Charles Russell; and others are photographs of historical personages.

One of the book's outstanding features, at least to this reviewer, is the number of justly famed Geographic maps. Thirty-six accompany the text, and two large ones are folded in a pocket in the cover: one of the United States and contiguous territory, the other the National Geographic Civil War battlefield map. Both are liberally sprinkled with descriptive notes.

It goes without saying that in one volume all of America's historic landmarks and the events that gave them significance could not be accorded the treatment they deserve, but the essence is here. The illustrations and text give a splendid introduction to the newcomer to American history and should make him more aware of the priceless heritage which has come down to him, not only from generals and statesmen but from the pioneer farmer and his wife, the miller, the smith, and the merchant as well. *America's Historylands* should inspire a desire for more thorough reading and will serve as a guide for worthwhile vacation trips for years to come.

E. R. Underwood
Forest Park

CIVIL WAR PRISONS AND THEIR COVERS
By Earl Antrim. (Collectors Club of New York: 1961. Pp. 215. $10.)

This is Handbook Number 12 published under the auspices of the Theodore E. Steinway Memorial Publication Fund, primarily a series for stamp collectors. However, a large proportion of the text in this book will be of interest to Civil War buffs as well. For example, there are ninety-five places listed where Confederate prisoners were held in the North (compared with only thirty-one listed in the *Official Records*) and sixty-five Southern camps for Union prisoners (compared with forty-four). There is also considerable information in regard to the manner in which mail crossed the lines, parole camps, censorship, and other pertinent subjects.

There are 176 illustrations of covers and cancellations on mail sent from prisoners (both Union and Confederate), tables of the number of prisoners buried at various locations, a list of commissaries general of prisoners and commissioners of exchange, and a two-page bibliography. The book is well set up, though marred by numerous typographical errors.

This reviewer recommends the book to those who want factual information on Civil War prison camps in general, rather than a treatment of camp conditions which is found in such books as MacKinlay Kantor's *Andersonville*.

J.N.A.

Out in History's Left Field

By Clyde C. Walton

We are in what appears to be the golden age of the reprint. A great many books, some very important, very old, very rare, and therefore of great price, as well as others not so very rare or very old but equally important, are now back in print at modest prices. True enough, the originals can be located in the larger libraries, but until recently few of us could ever expect to own them. I have the affection of the collector for the originals, which I cannot afford; but I can afford to buy the reprints, and I am glad to have the opportunity. I prefer reprints which have a new introduction by an accepted authority, who places the book in perspective and explains its significance. Even without such an introduction, however, I like reprints and the publishers who put them out. They are making material available for me that I never thought I would have a chance to buy.

Here are a few I have seen lately: From American Classics of Quadrangle Publishers (119 West Lake St., Chicago), William Darby's *A Tour from the City of New York, to Detroit . . . 2d of May . . . 22d of September, 1818 . . .* ($7.00), a fine, informative narrative (reprinted from the first edition of 1819) by an official government surveyor sometimes called the "first American geographer"; J. C. Beltrami's *A Pilgrimage in America* ($10), an 1823 narrative (reprinted from the first English edition of 1828), in the extravagant language of the period, by an interesting Italian who *almost* located the source of the Mississippi River.

The following are from the Yale Western American Paperbound series; they all have excellent introductions and, best of all, sell at very low prices. I recommend them highly, particularly Number 1 and Number 4. *Trail to California: The Overland Journal of Vincent Geiger and Wakeman Bryarly,* edited by David Morris Potter (YW 1, $1.75), a good gold-rush journal with an excellent introduction, taken from the 1945 edition, and with tables showing the 1849 schedule of parties through South Pass, the first tables of their kind; *Down the Sante Fe Trail and into Mexico: The Diary of Susan Shelby Magoffin, 1846-1847,* edited by Stella M. Drumm, with a foreword by Howard R. Lamar (YW 3, $1.95), a perceptive narrative (first published in 1926) of an intelligent woman who was on the spot when stirring events were happening in New Mexico (La-

mar's twenty-four-page foreword is particularly well done); *A Canyon Voyage . . .*, by Frederick S. Dellenbaugh, with a foreword by William H. Goetzman (YW 4, $1.95), the fascinating account of the second Powell expedition down the Colorado River, which, as Goetzman says, has "come to serve as a virtual handbook for those modern adventurers who shoot the dangerous rapids of the Colorado in steel-hulled boats or life-raft innertubes"; *An Introduction to the Study of Southwestern Archaeology . . .*, by Alfred Kidder, with an introduction on "Southwestern Archaeology Today" by Irving Rouse (YW 5, $1.95), one of the classics of American archaeology; *The Fur Trade in Canada . . .*, by Harold A. Innis (based on the revised edition prepared by S. D. Clark and W. T. Easterbrook), with an introduction by Robin W. Winks (YW 6, $1.95), a book, as Winks points out in his introduction, "of the greatest significance because of Innis' fundamental reinterpretation of North American history and because of the effect of that reinterpretation on subsequent scholarship."

Next, a book that is a bit of an oddity, not because of its contents but because of its size, 2 5/8 inches by 2 1/8 inches, *The Civil War in Miniature through the Words of Participants,* by Otto Eisenschiml (Black Cat Press: Chicago, 1962). Otto Eisenschiml, who delivered the excellent banquet speech at our annual meeting, is well known to us all and has done an interesting job of selecting short pieces for this "keepsake" volume. Norman Forgue of the Black Cat Press (510 North Dearborn in Chicago) is perhaps not so well known to all of us, but as a designer, topographer, printer, and publisher, he deserves to be; over the years he has turned out some very attractive books, and this miniature is no exception.

And now a handful of Civil War books: Jack Coggins, *Arms and Equipment of the Civil War,* Doubleday and Company: Garden City, New York, 1962, $5.95. Illustrated by the author with good, clear drawings and organized under these topics: Army, Infantry, Cavalry, Artillery, Engineers, Signal Corps, Railroads, Medical Departments, Quartermaster Corps, and Navies, the author has put a lot of information into 156 pages of text. The danger in this kind of book is over-simplification, but Coggins has avoided this error by making no claims to a definitive work; he has produced an interesting and informative book in an area of Civil War history we often neglect.

The Civil War: The Artists' Record, by Hermann Warner Williams, Jr., Beacon Press: Boston, 1961, $12.50. A magnificent achievement is this catalog of displays held in the Corcoran Gallery of Art and the Boston Mu-

seum of Fine Arts. The author, director of the Corcoran Gallery, has done an outstanding job, first in putting the display together and second in producing this volume. There are 166 reproductions (six in full color), taking the viewer from Bingham's *The Country Election* to Homer's *The Veteran in a New Field.* To my mind this work is much more than a catalog of an exhibit; it is a reference book, and a good one, to the artists of the Civil War. It surpasses the work of Pratt (*Civil War in Pictures,* Henry Holt and Company: New York, 1955, $10) and Stern (*They Were There,* Crown Publishers, Inc.: New York, 1959, $7.50) and is wider in scope and more nearly definitive than the excellent *The Civil War: A Centennial Exhibition of Eyewitness Drawings* (National Gallery of Art: Washington, D.C., 1961, $3.25). A tip of my hat to Mr. Williams, because if you want "the book" about Civil War artists, this is the one to buy.

Confederate Cavalry West of the River, by Stephen B. Oates (University of Texas Press: Austin, 1961, $4.50) "seeks to illuminate but one aspect of a little-known theater of the Civil War." And this it does; if you want to know about Confederate cavalry west of the Mississippi, you want this book. Alvan F. Harlow's *Brass-Pounders* (Sage Books: Denver, 1962, $4.00) is subtitled "Young Telegraphers of the Civil War" and so is not about artillery. It may be fiction in that it uses continually quoted conversations without credit or source, but it may be a kind of history in that it does tell something about telegraphy during the war.

Note that George F. R. Henderson's *Stonewall Jackson* is available in a paperback for seventy-five cents. This is a modern abridgment with an introduction by our fellow member and good friend E. B. "Pete" Long. This new edition of a Civil War classic is published by Fawcett Publications, Greenwich, Connecticut, and is part of a series titled Premier Civil War Classics.

Harry Hansen in *The Civil War* (Duell, Sloan and Pearce: New York, 1962, $4.95) has produced a solid one-volume history of our Civil War. This book has no bibliography and is not very well printed. Someone still needs to produce a one-volume history of the war somewhere between Fletcher Pratt's dramatic *Ordeal by Fire* and this more stolid volume. But until it comes along, this will be the book to buy.

Another of our good friends — Ruth Painter Randall — has produced a book which I recommend to you wholeheartedly. It is *I, Varina* (Little, Brown and Company: Boston, 1962, $3.75), a well-written biography of Varina Howell, later Mrs. Jefferson Davis, and I know you will enjoy it.

Three items from the Far West:

Old Town Albuquerque, by Peter Hertzog, with drawings by Walter Dawley (The Press of the Territorian: Santa Fe, 1962, $1.00) is a nicely done short history of fascinating Albuquerque. *The Golden Frontier: The Recollections of Herman Francis Reinhart, 1851-1869* (University of Texas Press: Austin, 1962, $6.00) was edited by Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., with a foreword by Nora B. Cunningham. Reinhart left Lake County, Illinois, for the West, and his recollections are among the very best of the period that I have seen. *The Southwest in Life and Literature,* compiled by C. L. Sonnichsen (Devin-Adair Company: New York, 1962, $7.50), provides "a sampling of the good writing which the southwest has produced," and it is good indeed, as are Sonnichsen's superior introductions to the seven sections.

Two I have enjoyed that are, for us, out in left field: Friedrich Sieburg's *Chateaubriand,* translated from the German by Violet M. Macdonald (St. Martin's Press: New York, 1962, $5.95), a good biography of the great French author and politician, and Paul MacKendrick's *The Greek Stones Speak: The Story of Archaeology of Greek Lands* (St. Martin's Press: New York, 1962, $7.50), which held my interest from beginning to end. It will serve me as a quick reference book to Greek archaeology, for it certainly brings the subject right up to date.

Finally, a book you may want to look at because it forcefully presents one point of view about history. This is *The Quiet Betrayal,* by Sidney L. DeLove, with an introduction by Ralph G. Newman (Independence Hall of Chicago, 1960). DeLove is sincerely, deeply concerned about the teaching of social studies, particularly of history. Many will not agree with his conclusions; many will not agree with his opinion of the National Education Association; many will disagree with his solution. Nonetheless, read what he has to say because the problem he discusses is of vital significance to each one of us.

Recent Acquisitions Of the Historical Library

Several recent additions to the collection of Civil War manuscripts in the Illinois State Historical Library have served to increase our knowledge of military movements and men during the 1861-1865 period. Most notable of the acquisitions are twenty-seven letters and dispatches of General John Alexander McClernand, the prominent southern Illinoisan. The documents concern the military movements of the First Division; they were addressed to Brigadier General Leonard F. Ross and dated at Jackson and Bolivar, Tennessee, between March and September, 1862.

The Civil War journal of Benjamin T. Smith of the Fifty-first Illinois Infantry deals with the period from October 8, 1861, to November 7, 1865. Smith describes in great detail such places as Camp Douglas, Cairo, New Madrid, and Corinth. From 1863 to 1865 he served on detached service with the cavalry in the Army of the Cumberland and was at one time a personal escort to General Philip Sheridan. A sensitive, moving section is devoted to the Lincoln funeral services. The journal was a gift from Joseph R. Wood, Princeton, Illinois, a great-nephew of Smith's.

The library has microfilmed typewritten copies of letters of another Smith, William A., written to his wife and family at Fostersburg from August 23, 1861, to November 28, 1862. Harry Oglesby of Salem, Smith's grandson, permitted the use of the transcripts, which contain exceptional descriptions of service life and combat. Smith's army career was short-lived; he was killed in action soon after the receipt of his last letter.

From the F. L. Bevan estate, Atlanta, have come the letters of Frederick Marion, a member of Company K of the Thirty-first Ohio Infantry. The correspondence dates from 1861 to 1866, and has accounts of the military actions at Perryville, Stone River, Chickamauga, Missionary Ridge, and Atlanta.

The papers of Miss Agnes Crosier Wright have been given to the Historical Library by her sister, Mrs. W. F. Lent of Colgate, Wisconsin. Miss Wright served as a hostess of the service club in Camp Grant, near Rockford, from 1919 to 1921, after which she was transferred to Fort Wayne, Michigan. The collection contains her official papers, clippings, guest book, and a large number of snapshots of Camp Grant.

Bernard Wax

News and Comment

State Society Holds Sixty-third Annual Meeting

Two historians became storytellers to provide entertainment highlights for the sixty-third annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society, which was held in Chicago, October 12-14. They were Otto Eisenschiml, who spoke at the banquet meeting Saturday, and Lloyd Wendt, who addressed the Sunday afternoon session.

The most important business transacted during the brief periods devoted to that subject was the election by the board of directors of Robert M. Sutton of Urbana as president and Gilbert G. Twiss of Chicago as senior vice-president of the society for the 1962-1963 year. At the membership meeting earlier, five directors were elected to serve a three-year term ending in 1965: Dr. A. V. Bergquist, Park Ridge; Mrs. John S. Gilster, Urbana; Mrs. G. T. Millhouse, Galena; J. Robert Smith, Carmi; and Robert Sterling, Charleston.

The membership meeting, at which President Doris P. Leonard of Princeton presided, began the program on Saturday morning. The registration desk on the mezzanine floor of the St. Clair Hotel, which was headquarters for the meeting, had been open the night before and there had been a showing of a new half-hour-long sound and color film on Chicago. In addition to electing the new directors the members heard reports from several committees and Executive Director Clyde C. Walton. Ebers Schweizer, of Chester, chairman of the historical markers committee, revealed plans for a program of six area markers to be erected at the principal border entrances to the state: one each at the north and south and two each on the east and west.

In his report Walton stated that next year there will be two special enlarged issues of the society's *Journal*: the Summer number will be devoted to the Civil War and the Autumn number to the Negro in Illinois. The Civil War Centennial Commission of Illinois and the American Negro Emancipation Centennial Commission, respectively, will pay the extra cost involved. The increase in the society's annual dues from $3.00 to $5.00 resulted in a slight loss in membership but greatly increased the society's revenues, Walton said. He also revealed that the society had been unable to continue financing its oral history project. Walton concluded his report with a summary of the results of the membership survey recently conconducted by the society. More than 40 per cent of the blanks

were returned, which gives an unusually accurate representation of membership opinion, since 10 per cent is considered adequate for most surveys.

At the Saturday luncheon Seymour F. Simon, president of the Cook County Board, substituted for Chicago Mayor Richard J. Daley in extending an official welcome for the city. He pointed out that while Lincoln enjoyed attending the shows at North's, the Metropolitan Hall, and other theaters, he would find today that Chicago's big show is its building and slum-clearance program, which has been in operation for the past six or seven years. Robert Christensen, of the Public Building Commission, and Robert Adams, of the Department of City Planning, then explained the origin and purposes of the planning commission and showed a series of nearly a hundred slides illustrating some of the recent and future changes.

Many of the improvements mentioned in their talks were seen on the bus tour that followed. The route to the Congress Street Expressway via Wacker Drive gave the visitors in the three Gray Line buses an opportunity to see the Marina City towers; the Executive House; the United of America, Masonite, Hartford, and U. S. Gypsum buildings; the Civic Opera House; and two of the city's new multi-story parking garages. The buses left the expressway at the West Side Medical Center district and followed a course south and east, where, in addition to the Medical Center itself, the tourists saw the new University of Illinois site, several housing projects, the unfinished South Expressway, Hull House, and the Fire Training Academy on the site of the O'Leary barn. Along the route the visitors went through several slum neighborhoods similar to those that are being replaced by housing projects. The first stop on the tour was at the Stephen A. Douglas monument at the east end of Thirty-fifth Street. There Glenn H. Seymour of Charleston, past president of the society, presented a brief sketch of Douglas's career.

When the tour resumed, the buses passed the Ida B. Wells, Clarence Darrow, and Olander homes of the Chicago Housing Authority and proceeded down Woodlawn Avenue, with its large, beautiful old houses, to Oak Woods Cemetery on East Sixty-seventh Street. At the Confederate monument Philip L. Shutt of Paris, a vice-president of the society, read a tribute to the six thousand Confederate dead who are buried there. His script was written by former Chicago Police Commissioner Timothy J. O'Connor.

On the return to the hotel the caravan passed through Jackson Park and by the McCormick Place exposition center, Soldier

At the sixty-third annual banquet of the Illinois State Historical Society are President Leonard, Dr. Eisenschiml, the evening's speaker, and Executive Director Walton.

Field, Adler Planetarium, Shedd Aquarium, Meigs Field, and the band shell and Buckingham Fountain in Grant Park.

At the annual banquet that evening Executive Director Walton announced the Illinois State Historical Society's three Awards of Merit for the year. These went to Alexander Summers of Mattoon, a past president of the society; Philip D. Sang of River Forest, formerly a director and now a vice-president; and the Cairo Historical Association. The President's Award for membership gains was presented to J. Robert Smith, who received it for the White County Historical Society.

Walton then presented certificates of three awards received by Illinoisans from the American Association for State and Local History and announced at its annual meeting in Buffalo, New York. These went to John W. Allen of Carbondale, Dr. Robert W. Johannsen of Urbana, and the Junior League of Springfield. The latter award was accepted by Mrs. Perry Lindley, president of the Junior League.

These presentations were followed by the reading of two award-winning *Illinois History* magazine articles by their teenage authors. Joanne O'Connor of Elgin read her biography of Stephen A. Douglas, titled "The Little Giant," which won the John H. Hauberg Memorial award for the "year's article of greatest historical interest." Bruce Kelsey of Sterling then read his article, "No Scoffer at Religion," which was about Lincoln's religious views. He won the Ralph E. Francis Award for the "best written and/or most original article of the year."

The speaker of the evening, Dr. Otto Eisenschiml, who titled his talk "Stories That Seldom Get into Print," told of many interesting incidents involved in the writing of his books, *Why Was Lincoln Murdered?, The Case of A.L. — Aged 56, The Story of Shiloh, The*

Celebrated Case of Fitz John Porter, and *Vermont General.* One of these was about how he succeeded in getting access to the War Department records of the Battle of Shiloh, and another involved obtaining approval of his manuscript from a Civil War officer's daughter who was so aged that she seemed likely to die before he could finish the book.

Robert M. Sutton, president-elect, took over the office at the Sunday buffet brunch, held in the Chicago Press Club roof garden atop the St. Clair Hotel. After brunch the group adjourned to the auditorium of the Chicago Historical Society for the afternoon session. The speaker was Lloyd Wendt, editor of *Chicago's American* and co-author, with Herman Kogan, of half a dozen books about early Chicago, including *Lords of the Levee; Chicago, a Pictorial History*; and *Big Bill of Chicago.* He said he had found that most audiences preferred stories about the background of such books to the detailed history of obscure places like "Mud Lake," and he proceeded with reminiscences of interviews with "Bathhouse John" Coughlin and "Hinky Dink" Kenna and stories of the Everleigh Club and the famous First Ward Ball, where the motto was "let joy reign unrefined."

Following Wendt's talk there was a program of slides with tape-recorded narrative and Civil War music titled "The Ballad of the North and South." The text was by Paul M. Angle and Earl Schenck Miers, and the pictures were compiled from the collections of the Chicago society.

This showing ended at 4 P.M. and closed the sixty-third annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society.

ANNUAL MEETING NOTES: Along with the new president and senior vice-president, the directors reelected Clyde C. Walton executive director and named eight new vice-presidents: Robert G. Bone, Normal; Miner T. Coburn, Wilmette; Michael S. Lerner, Chicago; James L. Norton, Galesburg; William A. Pitkin, Carbondale; Mrs. Harry E. Pratt, Springfield; Philip D. Sang, River Forest; and Sylvestre C. Watkins, Chicago. Six vice-presidents were reelected: Gunnar Benson, Sterling; Mrs. William Henry, Jr., Cambridge; King V. Hostick, Springfield; Herman G. Nelson, Rockford; Mrs. Theodore C. Pease, Urbana; and Philip L. Shutt, Paris.

At the Douglas Monument the visitors found the scarlet salvia, petunias, and marigolds in bloom, and many of them stopped to admire another bit of nature: the caretaker's pet hen named Hercules.

The local arrangements committee could not have found four

more knowledgeable guides for the bus tour. These superior spielers were Arnold Alexander, Newton C. Farr, Michael S. Lerner, and Ralph G. Newman.

At the annual banquet the invocation was given by Rev. L. A. Parr of Evanston, an uncle of Mrs. Doris Parr Leonard, retiring president of the society.

Activities of Local Historical Societies

Many members of the Alton Area Historical Society devoted much time and talent to the Madison County sesquicentennial observance, which was held September 9-15. Mrs. Maitland A. Timmermiere, president of the Alton group, served as secretary of the sesquicentennial executive commitee, and others were members of the committee or its subcommittee.

One phase of the observance was the publication of a sixty-four-page souvenir historical booklet titled *Our 150 Years, Madison County, Illinois.* The text of this illustrated 8½-by-11-inch booklet repeats the early history and then brings the Madison County story up to date. Its price was fifty cents a copy, and any profit realized on the project was to go to the Madison County historical museum building fund.

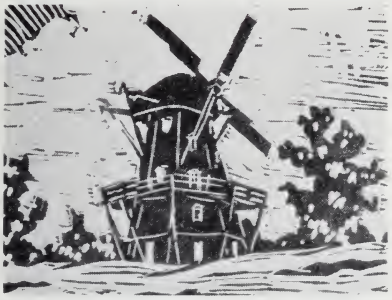
One of two known sets of colored slides of the Chicago Columbian Exposition of 1893 was shown by S. P. Mulley at the July meeting of the Arlington Heights Historical Society. Mrs. Milton Daniels, society curator, provided the accompanying commentary on the eighty-two pictures. The other set of slides is owned by the Chicago Historical Society. The 1962-1963 officers of the Arlington Heights society are Mrs. G. Rex Volz, president; Melvin L. Kurtz, vice-president; Mrs. Stephen Jurco, recording secretary; Mrs. Herman Berthold, Jr., corresponding secretary; and Albert F. Volz II, treasurer.

A bequest of $25,000 to the Aurora Historical Society was provided in the will of the late Mrs. Stella Smith Sencenbaugh of Batavia which was filed on August 8 in Geneva. The society maintains the Aurora Historical Museum and its adjoining "carriage house" transportation museum.

Publication of *Historic Batavia, Illinois,* by John A. Gustafson, was announced on September 16 by the Batavia Historical Society. The 146-page book is illustrated by eighteen linoleum block prints made by the author. It is five by eight and a quarter inches in size and sells for $2.00.

Although he has divided his subject into chapters, Gustafson has broken these down still further by years so that most of the

book is a year-by-year (1833-1962) story of his Fox River Valley home town. Preceding this annual record are three brief chapters: one is on the geological setting of the area, another is about its historical background,



Dutch mill at Fabyan Forest Preserve, north of Batavia. From linoleum block print by John A. Gustafson in Historic Batavia.

and the third is on the town's first settler, Christopher Columbus Payne. Following the chronological record is an epilogue (setting forth Batavia's present-day assets and liabilities) and an index.

The year-by-year format makes the book an excellent reference work, but at the same time Gustafson takes the space necessary to tell the stories of the more important events and to pay tribute to the noteworthy citizens of his Kane County community such as Dr. D. K. Town, Samuel D. Lockwood, Miss Grace McWayne, and many others.

Colored slides of historic sites in Texas were presented by Harold Luhman at the August meeting of the Boone County Historical Society. Construction of the society's new museum building at the corner of East Menominee and Webster streets in Belvidere has begun, and a variety of fund-raising efforts was launched in the fall to pay for its completion.

Duncan Bryant and Charles Schultz were elected president and treasurer, respectively, of the Bureau County Historical Society at the annual meeting held in June. Reelected were Art Stickle, vice-president, and Mrs. Doris P. Leonard, secretary. Roger Steele was elected to the board of directors, and the following directors were reelected: Mrs. Leonard, Mrs. John Bailey, Harvey Trimble, H. F. Herbolsheimer, and Mrs. Ina Hoover. At the end of the year the Bureau County society had a total membership of 433, made up of 331 annual members and 102 life members.

Emmett Dedmon, managing editor of the *Chicago Sun-Times,* has been appointed to the fifteen-member board of trustees of the Chicago Historical Society to fill the unexpired term of the late Sterling Morton. The new trustee is the author of four books, three of them about Chicago: *Fabulous Chicago* (1953); *Great Enterprises* (1957), a centennial history of the YMCA in Chicago; and *A History of the Chicago Club* (1960). His fourth book, *Duty*

to Live (1946), is a World War II novel. Dedmon was one of the speakers at the annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society held in Chicago in 1956.

"Historic Du Page" was the theme of the Du Page County Fair last summer. The principal exhibit at the fair was an arrangement of early Du Page County scenes by the county historical society on the stage of Exhibition Hall. The West Chicago Historical Society also had an exhibit on the early history of that community, and the fair's nightly pageant carried out the theme.

The Evanston City Council has designated 1963 as the city's centennial year and has named a centennial committee as the official sponsoring agency for its observance. The council also named Alderman Paul F. Gorby, president of the Evanston Historical Society, as chairman of an executive committee which will coordinate the activities. Gorby's committee will be composed of members of the historical society. Evanston was incorporated as a municipality on December 29, 1863.

The Greene County Historical Society launched a membership drive this fall with the addition of seventy names to its rolls as a result of maintaining a booth at the Greene County Fair. The booth, which was donated, was staffed by young women dressed in old-fashioned costumes and was decorated with photographs of lodge memberships, graduating classes, and other groups from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Mrs. Charles Meek is chairman of the membership committee.

Sixty-five persons in sixteen cars made a history tour of Jefferson County on a July Sunday under the auspices of the county historical society. Among the sites visited were the Tazewell B. Tanner home, which was built in 1866 and is now in use as the main building of a Methodist children's home; old Union Cemetery, location of the county's first school and church and burial place of many of its pioneers; the Zadok Casey home site; and the ghost town of Drivers, about five miles west of Mt. Vernon, which once had a dozen families, a depot, hotel, and a huge hay barn. The group also stopped at the home of Harry Bishop on the old Centralia road, where their host fired a cannon that had been made in the Mt. Vernon car shops for use in the McKinley presidential campaign of 1896.

When the Land of Goshen Historical Society of Edwardsville resumed its meetings after the summer recess, its members were presented a full program for the next eight months. The society meets at 2:30 P.M. on the first Sunday of each month in a library, park, or private home. At

the October meeting Edward Kane was scheduled to review the Madison County sesquicentennial celebration, with members and guests giving their recollections of the centennial of 1912. In November, E. E. Williams was to tell of "The Negro in Madison County," and in December Karl Monroe and William M. P. Smith were to speak on the "World War I Period." In January Mrs. Louise Ahrens will present a "History of the Telephone in Edwardsville." The February theme will be a film presentation, "Happy Holidays in the Land of Lincoln," and T. M. James will be in charge of the program. In March, Blair Watson will review three wars — the War of 1812, the Black Hawk War, and the Mexican War — from Edwardsville's point of view. On April 7 Mrs. Willard Smith will present the "History of the Boone Family," and the season will close in May with Mrs. Willard Flagg's review of early Flagg family correspondence.

The Lawrence County Historical Society has published a thirteen-page pamphlet (5½ by 8½ inches in size), *Fort Allison, Historic Site Now in Lawrence County, State of Illinois,* by Byron R. Lewis of Bridgeport, president of the organization. In addition to the history of the fort, the pamphlet contains sections on "Families in Early Lawrence County," on various spellings of names in the census of 1810, and on the first child born in the county. Lewis used some of his material for a talk before the quarterly meeting of the society held in July at Red Hills State Park.

A public meeting of the Madison County Historical Society on September 9 inaugurated the week-long celebration of the county's sesquicentennial. The meeting, which was held on the sesquicentennial grounds (the Kettle River site, south of Edwardsville on Route 159), was preceded by the traditional ribbon-cutting ceremony. Gus Haller, a member of the county board of supervisors for forty-five years and its chairman for thirty years, did the ribbon cutting and delivered an address of welcome to the visitors. At the business meeting of the county society the following four directors were reelected: Irving Dilliard of Collinsville, a past president of the State Historical Society; Burton C. Bernard of Granite City, a director of the state society; and Donald F. Lewis and Leslie E. Prehn, both of Bethalto. Following the meeting there was a massed band concert by musicians selected from the high school bands of the county under the direction of Franklin C. Kreider of Collinsville.

Following a potluck dinner at the Wenona Methodist Church on July 29 Roscoe Ball, a director of the Marshall County Histori-

cal Society, led a group of forty-six members of the society and their families on a caravan tour of historic sites in the vicinity.

The itinerary included the new Wenona city park; the Wenona, Cherry Point, and Cumberland cemeteries; and the private museum of Arthur Theisinger. At the cemeteries the group was particularly interested in finding the graves of the three Revolutionary War soldiers buried in the county, and at the museum they saw three farm buildings filled with farm and household implements and tools that the owner has been accumulating since the turn of the century.

An "Evening of Music" program was presented by Uhl Sackmann, music director of the Columbia Unit School District, at the July 29 meeting of the Monroe County Historical Society. The program was preceded by a picnic supper. Sackmann gave a talk on the waltz and polka, favorite dances of the pioneers, and a Columbia Girl Scout troop gave a square dance exhibition. Music for the occasion was by the Columbia School band under the direction of Sackmann.

Members of the Ogle County Historical Society paid a two-hour visit to the Bureau County historical museum in Princeton on August 26.

About thirty-five joined the car-and-bus caravan for the fifty-mile trip from Oregon, with stops at historic sites along the way and a picnic lunch at Princeton.

The new Ogle County historical museum in the home of the late Ruby Nash in Oregon was scheduled to be opened in October.

Mrs. Ruth Brierly traced the early history of the county's schools for the September meeting of the Pike County Historical Society. Much of her material was taken from a thesis written by G. Bradford Barber, a former resident of Pittsfield. At the August meeting Mrs. Gladys Hoover of Milton gave a history of that town's newspapers. The Pike County Society's Book Fair, held in July, was such a success that repeat performances were planned.

The Randolph County Historical Society sponsored its second art fair of the year at the St. John's Lutheran Grade School playground in Chester on Sunday afternoon, September 23. Early in the summer a similar event had been held in Sparta. Recepits from the two exhibits went into the rehabilitation fund for the old octagonal Charter Oak School near Schuline, which now has a new shingle roof. Renovation of the brick work and refinishing the interior are next on the repair list.

Randolph County's seventh grade pupils were given a historical tour of their county on October

5 by the historical society. This was the fourth annual tour.

The Rock Island County Historical Society has been given a new home by an anonymous donor. The large frame house is the former home of Burton F. Peek, at 822 Eleventh Avenue, Moline. He was one of the founders of the society, which was organized in 1905. The house will be converted into a historical museum and library.

Two half-hour-long documentary films, "Lee the Virginian" and "U. S. Grant, Improbable Hero," were shown at the August 28 meeting of the Rockford Historical Society. The films were a part of the group's study of Rockford's contribution to the Civil War. About fifty members attended the meeting.

Representatives of four Illinois counties in the American Bottom met at old Cahokia on Sunday, September 30, for a panel discussion on the part played by that area in American history. The panel was moderated by Dr. John Francis McDermott, of Washington University, a scholar of the early French period in Illinois history; and members included Dr. L. G. Osborn of St. Clair County, Mrs. Katherine Fiehne of Randolph, Irving Dilliard of Madison, and Armin Hartmann of Monroe. Some three hundred persons from the four county historical societies attended the meeting in the Cahokia Village Hall.

The program was arranged by the St. Clair group under the chairmanship of Miss Rose Josephine Boylan; J. D. Trabue, president of the St. Clair society, presided.

The Sangamon County Historical Society opened its second season in September, with a talk on William H. Herndon, Lincoln's law partner, by Springfield author Carl G. Hodges.

A "Black Pot Dinner" (a steaming stew served from a black cast-iron kettle) was held at the old Clayville Tavern, Sunday, October 7. The historic building on Route 125, thirteen miles west of Springfield, has been restored by Dr. and Mrs. Emmet F. Pearson, who opened it for the festive affair, at which many of the guests were dressed in costumes of one hundred years ago. Mrs. Ernest East and Wayne Morgan were co-chairmen of the dinner.

An exquisite hand-crafted harp, with a frame of walnut and cherry, is now on display in the museum room of the Stark County Historical Society in the Toulon Public Library. The harp was the gift of Mrs. Charles VanDyke of Wethersfield, whose husband, a toolmaker and musician, made it and played it throughout his lifetime.

The Stark County organization is headed this year by Charles

Wilson, president; E. H. Nichols, vice-president; and Miss Rena Baker, secretary-treasurer. Officers were elected at the September meeting.

Tourists visiting northern Illinois' Rock River country should make the Stephenson County historical museum in Freeport a "must" stop on their trip. Imaginative, creative exhibits in the historical museum are changed every few months; the farm museum, open during the summer, continues to add fascinating acquisitions; and the society's arboretum, with trees and plants well identified, is a delight to gardeners and landscapers.

The society also arranged its own first historical pilgrimage this year — a bus-and-car caravan to Cassville and Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, by way of the lead mine country of southern Wisconsin.

The Sterling-Rock Falls Historical Society climaxed its year of unusually successful formal programs with a series of county historical bus tours. On the final summer tour, members visited sites in western Whiteside County. At Fulton, Wayne Bastian guided the visitors along the riverfront, pointing out sites of abandoned commercial establishments that have been replaced by recreational facilities such as boat docks and boat clubs. Members were particularly interested in the fragments of pottery they found near the site of the pottery works established there in 1866.

After visiting a Unionville mill, the hangout of a counterfeit ring west of Morrison, and an old stagecoach stop, they arrived at Cottonwood, the home of the Royce Oatmans. There they heard the tragic story of that family, which was wiped out in an Apache massacre except for two girls who were taken prisoner and one brother who, after many years, finally located the one sister who survived.

Among the society's speakers at the year's meetings were President Gunnar Benson, who talked on Whiteside County in the Civil War; Springfield attorney Edward G. Pree, whose subject was the greatness of Lincoln; Elaine Bluhm, of the Illinois Archaeological Survey, who has been working for some time at various "diggings" in the Rock River area; Richard S. Hagen, of the Illinois Division of Parks and Memorials, who discussed the restoration of several of the state's historic homes and sites; and Wayne Bastian, whose talk "Through a Glass Darkly" on the history of glass was illustrated by pieces from his collection of rare and antique glass.

Civil War history was the subject of the summer tour and first two fall meetings of the Union County Historical Society. On

June 23, members of the society joined the Jackson Purchase Historical Society of Kentucky for a tour of battle sites and forts in Kentucky and Tennessee. (The Union County group conducted a similar Illinois tour for the Kentucky society in 1961.)

Bernard Wax, field services supervisor for the State Historical Library, and Dr. William A. Pitkin, of Southern Illinois University, were special panel members at the society's September meeting, which dealt with the background and early history of the war. In November the scheduled subject was the history of the 109th Illinois Infantry Regiment of Union County.

Is there a hidden "historical marker" in your town? Have you often wondered what is lettered on that boulder completely surrounded by shrubs at the crossroads? Cleaning up and re-landscaping such long-neglected spots is one of the worthwhile projects of many local societies. Under the leadership of President James Getz, members of the new Vernon Township Historical Society recently refurbished the only historical marker in their township. Erected in 1909 by the Lake County Historical Society, the marker indicates the location of the cabin of the county's first white settler, Captain Daniel Wright, who built his home about a mile south of Half Day in 1834.

The society's first fall meeting was held at the Chicagoland Airport in the administration building — the site of the home of the Talcott family. The history of that family and early events in the community of Half Day, as revealed in a family diary, constituted the evening's formal program.

A once thriving but now vanishing business of many small Illinois towns — the poultry house — was the subject scheduled for the September meeting of the Wayne County Historical Society, with Walter Blackburn as speaker.

The society's new museum room — a $10,000 wing added to the Fairfield Library — was recently completed, and President Peter G. Rapp has announced plans for a drive to raise $3,500 for the purchase of display cabinets and shelves. Funds for the museum wing were provided in a bequest of the late Mrs. Charlie Brown of Flora.

From one end of the state to the other, historical societies are making an important contribution to the current Illinois campaign to attract tourists to the state. In White County, where the historical museum in the restored Ratcliff Inn is open only on Friday afternoons, 103 persons from ten states were registered on August 24 and 31 and September 7.

Within the last few months,

scores of valuable gifts have been added to the museum's collections, according to Mrs. Chalon T. Land of Enfield, chairman of the museum committee. These range from rare books, maps, and court records to antique tools and toys. Of special interest are a piggin (a small wood pail with a stave handle used to dip water from a spring); a flax hackle (or hatchel); a century-old sewing basket; and a sadiron with a circular handle.

Eleven-Year Index to Lincoln Herald *Issued*

Wayne C. Temple, director, and Glenna A. Rice, secretary, of the Department of Lincolniana at Lincoln Memorial University, Harrogate, Tennessee, have compiled an *Analytical Index to the Lincoln Herald* for the years 1950 through 1960. The thirty-nine-page, seven-by-ten-inch pamphlet was published by the Lincoln Memorial University Press and sells for $5.00. These years include Volumes 52 through 62 of the *Herald*. A similar index, issued in 1954, was for the years 1938 through 1949.

Shelbyville Revives Old-Time Chautauqua Days

Shelbyville's revival of old-time Chautauqua for a one-day stand in 1961 was so successful that six events were held during the past summer — five had been scheduled originally, and they were so well received that the public was treated to a free bonus program on August 23.

The old Chautauqua Auditorium in Shelbyville's Forest Park is one of few such buildings still standing, and it was rehabilitated for the revival. The auditorium was built in 1903 but has had only occasional use since 1930, when the annual Chautauqua programs were discontinued. The building is unusual in that it is circular in shape, 150 feet in diameter, without any supporting posts to interfere with the view of the stage; the weight of the roof, controlled by rods on a central stem, acts as its own support.

Along with this revival was the reorganization of the Queen City Band to supply music for the various events. It was formed originally in 1898 but was deactivated ten or fifteen years later.

The 1962 season was inaugurated by a parade — probably the biggest the community ever had — on June 16. The "olden days" theme was carried out by antique autos, nineteenth-century fire engines, and the decoration of the floats. The parade was followed by an antiques and hobby show on June 24.

The Chautauqua programs

Shelbyville Chautauqua scenes of about 1909. In the background above is the auditorium building which was built in 1903 at a cost of $8,000 and was rehabilitated for the 1961 Chautauqua revival. Below is the old ticket office at the main entrance to the grounds.

themselves were held on July 12 and 29 and August 9 and 23. In addition to the Chautauqua band, which played all four evenings, some of the other acts were a banjo and guitar artist, ladies barbershop chorus, local talent minstrel show, traveling circus, a twelve-year-old hoe-down fiddler, a magician, and a "sing-along" chorus. Attendance at these programs averaged about two thousand persons, according to John Hawk, who acted as chairman of the events for the Shelbyville Fire Department.

Association to Publish U. S. Grant's Works

The Civil War Centennial Commission of Illinois, together with similar commissions for the states of New York and Ohio, has announced the formation of the Ulysses S. Grant Association for the purpose of publishing the collected works of the Civil War general. Publication of the complete works will be preceded by a two-volume edition of his letters. Illinois members of the association are Ralph G. Newman, president; Clyde C. Walton, treasurer; and Newton C. Farr, member of the board of directors. Other officers are Robert S. Harper, secretary; Bruce Catton, David C. Mearns, and T. Harry Williams, vice-presidents; and Carl Haverlin, John Hope Franklin, William S. Carlson, Erwin C. Zepp, and James I. Robertson, members of the board of directors. Allan Nevins is chairman of the editorial board, and the executive director is John Y. Simon. Persons with information about Grant correspondence in private hands or in obscure places are asked to write to Simon at the Ohio State Museum, Columbus 10, Ohio.

Two History Fellowships Offered

Two fellowships providing for graduate study at the University of Delaware in history and related fields will be awarded next April by the university in cooperation with the Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation of Wilmington, Delaware. These grants are for the academic years 1963-1965, with an annual stipend of $2,000 each, renewable upon satisfactory completion of the first year. After two years of work, including a thesis, the recipients will receive a Master of Arts degree in American history from the university. Applications must be made by March 5, 1963. Information about these Hagley Museum Fellowships may be had by writing to Chairman, Department of History, University of Delaware, Newark, Delaware.

Journal
OF THE
ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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The *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* is published by the Illinois State Historical Library for distribution to members of the Illinois State Historical Society. Individual dues are $5 a year; sustaining membership, $10 minimum; student membership, $2.50; and life membership, $50. Business firms may support the Society as sustaining members ($10 a year) or as contributing members ($25 a year). Membership is open to all.

In addition to the *Journal,* which is published four times a year, members of the Society receive publications sponsored by the Society which are printed by authority of the State of Illinois. The latter include occasional books and pamphlets on Illinois history.

The Society's annual meeting is held in October. In May the Society visits some historic area. Both the meeting and the tour are open to all members and to the public.

Manuscripts for the *Journal* should be submitted to Clyde C. Walton, Illinois State Historical Library, Centennial Building, Springfield, Illinois. The editors do not assume any responsibility for the personal opinions expressed by the authors of articles published.

The Society's purpose is to collect and preserve data relating to the history of Illinois, to disseminate knowledge of the state and the story of its citizens, and to encourage historical research.

To preserve historical data in all possible completeness many types of material are needed. These include books about Illinois or Illinoisans, family histories, state and municipal publications, reports of Illinois institutions of all kinds, manuscripts, letters, diaries, newspapers, magazines, maps, prints, and photographs. The Historical Library specializes in Lincolniana and materials related to the Civil War and has large holdings in these two categories.

Although the Historical Library purchases a few items, its funds are limited by appropriation. Therefore it must depend in large measure on the public-spirited generosity of the people of Illinois, including members of the State Historical Society.

Materials which pertain in any way to Illinois and its history will be gratefully received and carefully preserved. All gifts will be suitably acknowledged. Donors may be assured of the appreciation of future generations of Illinois citizens.

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